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Transactions of the Kansas
State Historical Society

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

1905-1906.

EMBRACING

ADDRESSES AT ANNUAL MEETINGS; EARLY MISSIONS IN KANSAS; SEMICENTENNIAL OF TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION; RIVER NAVIGATION; POLITICAL ADMINISTRATIONS; THE SOLDIERS OF KANSAS, AND MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

Edited by GEO. W. MARTIN, *Secretary.*

VOL. IX.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

THERE is much I would like to say about this volume and its contents, but it has already expanded beyond the limit and I must forbear. The Historical Society and all the good people of Kansas interested in the splendid record made by our state most heartily acknowledge great obligations to the contributors who have furnished so much interest to these pages. The research and editorial work have been very extensive, and it has been performed by Miss Zu Adams, Miss Clara V. Francis, and George A. Root; I cannot give too much credit to the earnestness, persistence, enthusiasm and scholarship of these assistants. Then, no matter how much work has so far been placed upon it, the result must pass through the brains and hands of certain mechanics before appearing to the public. Equal acknowledgment is therefore due Thomas B. Brown, foreman of the composing-room, M. E. Lanham, who cuts up and arranges the copy, and Albert G. Carruth, proof-reader (an invaluable familiarity with Kansas proper names and dates characterizing these three), and George W. Tincher, foreman of the bindery, and J. M. Hill, pressman, of the state printing plant, for the almost faultless and entirely handsome appearance of the book. With these acknowledgments as to whom credit is due, I am in a position to say that volume IX is an admirable book.

One thought: the division of statecraft is a new departure, which it is proposed to continue down to the latest administration. I wonder if public men ever stop to think that what they do is history, and that it is quite impossible in compiling history to separate the chaff from the wheat, or the dirt from the good. There are no instruments in making history more important than those charged with public administration. It is not the province of the State Historical Society to publish that which may be unpleasant, but, unfortunately, the bad is not lost.

G. W. M.

TOPEKA, August 15, 1906.

I.

ADDRESSES AT ANNUAL MEETINGS.

THE ALLIANCE MOVEMENT IN KANSAS—ORIGIN OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY.

An address by W. F. RIGHTMIRE,[1] of Topeka, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its twenty-ninth annual meeting, December 6, 1904.

THE first Farmers' Alliance originated in Lampasas county, Texas, in 1874 or 1875, and was organized for the purpose of protecting the farmers from the encroachments of the wealthy cattlemen, who sought to prevent the settlement of farmers in that section and to keep the lands in pasture for the use of their ranch herds.

A permanent organization was made at Poolville, Parker county, Texas, July 29, 1879, and this spread through Parker and adjoining counties. A state Alliance was organized at Central, Parker county, December 27, 1879.[2] After several meetings had been held, the permanent ritual and constitution were adopted August 5, 1880, and a charter of incorporation was secured on the 6th day of October following, by the officers elected at a meeting held August 12, 1880. The charter stated the objects of the organization and its purpose to be "to encourage agriculture and horticulture, and to suppress local, personal, sectional and national prejudices and all unhealthy rivalry and selfish ambition."

The order spread rapidly through the seven cotton states of Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, North Carolina, and Tennessee. On the 15th day of May, 1889, delegates from these seven states of both the Agricultural Wheel[3] and the Farmers' Alliance met at Birmingham, Ala., and took joint action against the cotton-bagging trust, and shortly thereafter—September 24, 1889,—these two organizations were merged, under the name of the Farmers' Alliance.

The state Alliance of Texas, at the meeting held at Mineral Wells Au-

NOTE 1.—W. F. RIGHTMIRE, who furnished this manuscript by request, was born in Tompkins county, New York, March 20, 1849. He worked his way through college, graduating in 1869, and removed to Pennsylvania, where he read law, and was admitted to the bar in 1872. Removing to Iowa in 1874, he became district judge in 1884. Resigning this office in 1887, he came to Kansas and settled at Larned. He later removed to Cottonwood Falls, and in 1891 to Topeka, where he still resides. Having voted for Peter Cooper in 1876, and always acted with the so-called reform movement, he was accepted as one of the leaders of this movement in Kansas, and was one of the leaders in the political history he describes in this article.

NOTE 2.—The data for this history of the organization of the Alliance have been compiled from W. S. Morgan's "History of the Wheel and Alliance," 1889, and Dunning's "Farmers' Alliance History," 1891.

NOTE 3.—The Agricultural Wheel was organized at Des Arc, Prairie county, Arkansas, February 15, 1882. The original constitution stated the objects to be "the improvement of its members in the theory and practice of agriculture and the dissemination of knowledge relative to rural and farming affairs." A preamble to the constitution, adopted later the same year, declares in favor of "providing a just and fair remuneration for labor, a just exchange of our commodities, and best mode and means of securing to the laboring classes the greatest amount of good."

gust 8, 1882, adopted as the law of the Alliance this resolution: "*Resolved*, That it is contrary to the spirit of the constitution and by-laws of our order to take part in politics; and further, that we will not nominate or support any man or set of men for office as a distinct political party." This remained the law of the order while it was in existence. The Kansas organization was planted, by a few persons, for a distinct political purpose, as will hereafter be shown.

When the question of the resumption of specie payments and a contraction of the currency was agitated in 1867 and 1868, the representatives of the Southern states and those west of Pennsylvania in a large measure followed the lead of representatives Thaddeus Stevens and Wm. D. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, in resisting contraction and resumption. Self-appointed delegates met at Indianapolis, Ind., in the summer of 1876, and organized the Greenback party, and nominated Peter Cooper, of New York, as the party's candidate for president. The result of the campaign was the election of a number of representatives in Congress, who, holding the balance of power between the Republican and Democratic parties, were able to force the enactment of a law prohibiting the retirement of the government legal-tender notes or greenbacks below the sum of 346 millions of dollars.

In the campaigns of 1878 and the following years, in Kansas and many other Western states, the Republican conventions, and in all of the Southern states the Democratic conventions, for their financial planks, adopted the demands of the Greenback party, and by this means destroyed the Greenback party in those states, and the party passed out of existence in the campaign of 1884, when its presidential nominee was Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts.

Many of the former Greenbackers and representatives of various labor organizations met in national convention at Cincinnati, Ohio, May 15, 16, 1888, and organized the Union Labor party, and nominated Alson J. Streeter, of Illinois, and Charles E. Cunningham, of Arkansas, as its candidates for president and vice-president. At this convention the leading delegates of each state were initiated into, and made organizers of, the National Order of Videttes, a secret, oath-bound society which had been organized by a few of the leaders of this movement in Kansas a short time prior to the convention, with the object of preventing fusion with either the Democratic or Republican parties. Its membership was restricted to those leaders in each county who would pledge themselves for all time to form no alliance with either of those two parties.

The ritual and all other records of the organization were printed in a secret code known only to those initiated into its ranks, and it was extended over Kansas until it had enrolled in its ranks every person who had been prominent in each county as an opponent of the two old parties.

At the convention of the Union Labor party held in Wichita August 28, 1888, a meeting of the Videttes was held the evening before the convention, and the entire work of the convention of the next day decided upon.

The general convention did not deviate in any manner from its prescribed course, and among its nominees as candidates for various state officers, were P. P. Elder, of Franklin county, for governor, and W. F. Rightmire, of Chase county, as the candidate for attorney-general. These candidates were the most prominent speakers of the party in the campaign that followed.

As the ritual of the Videttes had become exhausted, a new edition was printed at the *Nonconformist* office, in Winfield. From this office a ritual was taken by a member of the order, a printer by the name of C. A. Henrie, and with a key to its cypher code delivered into the hands of a leader of the Republican party.

The ritual was translated in full, and printed and stereotype plates furnished to nearly all if not every Republican paper of Kansas, with big headlines branding the order of Videttes as a gang of anarchists, and holding up to obloquy and denunciation the known members of the order, those who had been present at its last state meeting at Yates Center as delegates, and whose names had been furnished by Henrie. This expose was given by those papers as a supplement of their issue of a week agreed upon. But this publication changed no vote for or against the different political parties.

The result of the election was a vote for the Union Labor party's leading candidate of about 40,000,[4] while the Harrison electoral ticket received a plurality of about 82,000[5] in the state of Kansas.

Pursuant to the call of the commander of the Videttes, nineteen selected leaders met in Wichita on the 19th day of December, 1888, and, after a two days' conference, disbanded the order of Videttes and the state committee of the Union Labor party, and organized in their place a State Reform Association. W. F. Rightmire, of Chase county, was elected president; J. D, Latimer, of Linn county, secretary; Andrew Shearer, of Marshall county, vice-president. With the president, editors John R. Rogers,[6] of Harvey county, E. H. Snow,[7] of Franklin county, Henry Vincent, of Cowley county, and W. H. H. Wright, of Cloud county, formed the executive committee. This committee was instructed to select some existing organization, or to organize a new one, into whose ranks the reformers and farmers and laborers of Kansas could be enlisted as members.

After an examination of the declaration of purposes of various organizations, it was ascertained that the declarations of the secret[8] Farmers' Alliance of the South embodied every tenet of the platform on which the Union Labor party had waged its campaign of that year. Three editors,[9] members of the executive committee of the State Reform Association went to Texas, and were initiated into the order. Upon their return home they planted the Farmers' Alliance in Kansas by organizing a suballiance in Cowley county

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NOTE 4.—H. A. WHITE, candidate for associate justice, received 38,960 votes.

NOTE 5.—Republican plurality over Democratic electors, 80,159.

NOTE 6.—JOHN R. ROGERS disposed of his newspaper, the *Kansas Commoner*, at Newton, and removed to the state of Washington. He was elected governor of this commonwealth in 1896 for a term of four years, and was reelected in 1890. He died before the close of his second term.

NOTE 7.—EDWIN H. SNOW was elected state printer of Kansas in 1891 and held the office for four years. Some time thereafter he moved to Nebraska, and was engaged in newspaper work in Lincoln in 1904.

NOTE 8.— There were two organizations by the name of Farmers' Alliance. The one known as the Northern held open meetings, and was of the nature of a cooperative society. It had an extensive organization in Kansas, and held its first state meeting in Lyons, Rice county, August 2, 1888 (Lyons *Republican*, August 16, 1888), at which representatives from 603 subordinate Alliances were present. This organization held a meeting December 20, 1888, and elected Benj. H. Clover president. The Southern Alliance, whose organization we have thus far traced, held secret meetings, had a ritual, secret work, grips, and passwords, and excluded attorneys and all residents of incorporated cities from its membership, and was a close organization, obeying the directions of its general officers.

NOTE 9.—These editors were C. Vincent of the *American Nonconformist*, Winfield; John R. Rogers, of the Newton *Kansas Commoner;* and W. F. Rightmire, of Cottonwood Falls, Kan., associate editor of the *Nonconformist.*

by changing a Northern suballiance at Cloverdale into a secret Alliance.[10] The members of this executive committee constituted themselves recruiting officers to enlist organizers to spread the organization over the state. Selecting, if possible, some Republican farmer in each county who had been honored by elections to two terms in the state house of representatives, and then retired, and who had become dissatisfied because his ambition and self-esteemed qualifications of statesmanship received no further recognition at the hands of the nominating conventions of his party, he was engaged to "organize the farmers of his county in the order, so that if the order should conclude to take political action, he, as the founder of the order in his county, could have any place he desired as the reward for his faithful services at the hands of his brothers of the order." But few of their men so selected failed to accept the office of organizer or to go to the designated place for initiation, instructions, and a commission, as the compensation of the organizer ranged from $1.50 to $2 per day, and they changed open to secret Alliances, and put in new ones where there were no organizations.

Through the channels of the old Vidette organization instructions were sent to the members of the Union Labor party to hold back from membership and to denounce the Alliance as a move on the part of the old parties to steal the Union Labor platform and destroy the Union Labor party, until all their Republican and Democratic neighbors had been initiated, then to allow themselves to be coaxed to join, and then, after initiation, to begin applying the tenets of the platform to the condition of the farmers and laborers of Kansas.

The work of organization thus directed progressed so rapidly that there were no county organizations in the Northern Alliance instituted. The presidents of the county Alliances issued a call for a meeting at Newton, November 16, 1889, to organize a state Alliance.

After the call was issued, the Reform Association sent a call through the Vidette channels for all of its former members to be present and help perfect the state organization. This call was obeyed, the program of the Reform Association adopted in detail, and its choice elected as the officers of the state Alliance, reelecting the officers elected at the Topeka, 1888, meeting.

The state president selected was Benjamin H. Clover,[11] an old Greenbacker, of Cowley county. He placed himself under the guidance of the members of the executive committee of the Reform Association, and actions advised by its president and Committeeman Vincent always received his approval and hearty cooperation.

The first action taken was a circular letter from the president of the state Alliance, countersigned by the state secretary and seal of the order, suggesting that every suballiance, by resolution, should submit the Alliance

NOTE 10.—This subordinate Alliance at Cloverdale had as its local president Benjamin H. Clover, who was a National Labor candidate in Cowley county, Kansas, for member of the legislature in the campaign of 1888. At a called meeting from some Alliances for a state convention meeting at Topeka, December 20, 1888, Mr. Clover had been elected president of the state organization Alliance of the Northern Alliance, and used all his influence as such officer to change the Northern suballiances into secret Southern suballiances.

NOTE 11.—BENJAMIN H. CLOVER, of Cambridge, Cowley county, was born in Franklin county, Ohio, December 22, 1837; received his education in the common schools of his native state; a farmer, school commissioner, and held similar local offices; twice chosen president of the Kansas State Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, and twice vice-president of the national organization; elected to the fifty-second Congress as a candidate of the Farmers' Alliance. (Biog. Congressional Directory, 1903, p. 460.) His death occurred at his farm near Douglass, Kan., December 30, 1899. (Topeka *Daily Capital*, December 31, 1899.)

platform to the representative in Congress from their congressional district, and to the Kansas United States senators, and request an answer of approval or disapproval. This was done. Every Kansas congressman and Senator John J. Ingalls dodged an answer, while Senator P. B. Plumb unqualifiedly approved every plank of the platform.

The next action was the submission of the platform, by every suballiance, to William A. Peffer, then editing the *Kansas Farmer*. The result was his pamphlet, "The Way Out," and his taking the lecture field to champion the principles of the platform of the Alliance.

Then followed the call for a meeting of the county presidents on March 25, 1890, at Topeka, for a conference upon the affairs of the state Alliance. At this meeting political action was ordered by the adoption of the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That we will no longer divide on party lines, and will only cast our votes for candidates of the people, for the people, and by the people."

On June 12, 1890, in response to a public call for a conference by President Clover, of the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, to members of Grange, Alliances, Knights of Labor, and Single-tax clubs, there met in Representative hall, Topeka, ninety delegates, of whom forty-one were of the Alliance, seven of the Grange or Patrons of Husbandry, twenty-eight of Knights of Labor, ten of Farmers' Mutual Benefit Associations, and four from Single-tax clubs. The conference adopted a resolution, by unanimous vote, to put full state, congressional, legislative and county tickets in the field, and the name "People's Party" was adopted as a title under which to take political action. A committee of one from each congressional district was elected. This committee organized with J. F. Willits, of Jefferson county, as president, S. W. Chase, of Cowley, as secretary, and the name "People's Party" was adopted as the title under which to take political action, and the calling of a state convention was left to the option of this committee. A delegate state convention called by this committee met at Topeka August 13, 1890, and nominated a state ticket for the People's Party of Kansas. The campaign which followed was also managed by the original committee. The president of the Reform Association was nominated for chief justice of the supreme court, and gave his entire time to speaking, as did others of the association, and the State Reform Association ceased to exist as an organization.

At the regular meeting of the state Alliance, at Salina, in October, 1890, an attempt was made to give the candidate for governor, J. F. Willits,[12] the indorsement of the state Alliance by electing him as its president, but this movement was opposed by the members of the Reform Association who were members of the state Alliance. Frank McGrath,[13] of Mitchell county, was elected state president.

NOTE 12.—JOHN F. WILLITS came to Kansas from Howard county, Indiana, about 1863. He represented Jefferson county in the legislatures of 1871 and 1873 as a Republican. At the time of his nomination he was fifty-five years of age. His occupation is given as a farmer. Mr. Willits now resides at McLouth.

NOTE 13.—FRANK MCGRATH was born in West Virginia January 3, 1846; served in Co. C., Fourth Illinois volunteer cavalry during the civil war; came to Mitchell county, Kansas, in 1868, and engaged in stock business. He built the Avenue hotel, of Beloit, and was also interested in the opera-house and livery business. He was sheriff of Mitchell county, served three years as deputy United States marshal under Wm. H. Mackey, jr., and at the time of his death, at Lansing, Kan., September 27, 1905, was state parole officer.

Near the close of the campaign, National President L. L. Polk, of North Carolina, and L. F. Livingston, state president of Georgia, came to Kansas to attend the annual meeting of the state Alliance. At its close, they delivered addresses in Topeka, giving the *quasi*-indorsement of the national Alliance to the political movement.

While the Southern Farmers' Alliance thus led the way for the Kansas political action, the Northern Farmers' Alliance, not secret, led the way for political action in Nebraska, Iowa, Wyoming, Colorado, Montana, Minnesota, and the Dakotas. The Farmers' Mutual Brotherhood elected members of the legislature in Wisconsin, Illinois, and Indiana, and the Southern Alliance, working within the Democratic party, elected several congressmen, and controlled the legislatures in several Southern states.

After the election of 1890, the president of the ex-Reform Association urged upon the men who had been prominent in the various states the calling of a conference for 1891 to organize a national third party, and the signatures of every prominent Northern reformer were secured to a call for this purpose. The Southern men did not join in this movement.

At the meeting of the National Farmers' Alliance in Ocala, Fla., December 3, 1890, Capt. C. A. Power, of Indiana, sent forth this call, which gave great offense to the delegates from the Southern states. The Kansas delegates, to preserve harmony in the Alliance, suppressed and withdrew the call, and as a reward were given two of the national officers. President Clover, of Kansas, who had been elected to Congress from the third Kansas district, was made national vice-president, and J. F. Willits, who had been the Kansas candidate for governor, was chosen as the national lecturer of the national Alliance.

While the Kansas Farmers' Alliance was organized under the charter granted in Texas, it deviated therefrom by enacting a by-law at its first state meeting prohibiting any resident within an incorporated town or city becoming a member of a suballiance. To offset this discrimination, an organization was effected at Olathe of the residents of cities and towns, called the Citizens' Alliance. At a state meeting held the day before the People's Party convention, the secretary of the first Citizens' Alliance, D. C. Zercher, was elected state president, and the Reform Association's president, W. F. Rightmire, was elected state secretary.

The political convention on the following day, August 13, 1890, nominated W. F. Rightmire for chief justice of the supreme court, and D. C. Zercher for the office of secretary of state. After the election, about the first of December, many of the members of the defunct State Reform Association, in person and by letter, urged their past president to issue a call to perfect a secret organization somewhat similar to the Farmers' Alliance, and yet upon the plan of the old Videttes, to pledge its members against voting for any person nominated for any office by a convention of either the Democratic or Republican parties. He therefore shortly afterwards issued a call as state secretary of the Citizens' Alliance for a meeting in Topeka on the 13th day of January, 1891, the day of the convening of the legislature.

Pursuant, to this call about 250 self-appointed delegates met in Manspeaker's hall, in Topeka, and perfected their organization by adopting a ritual, secret work, and incorporating under the laws of Kansas as "The National Citizens' Industrial Alliance." Among other officers, W. F. Right-

mire was elected as its national secretary, and by a resolution he was instructed, at such time as he should deem it advisable, to issue a call for a conference to meet in Cincinnati, to organize a national third party.

Securing by correspondence the call issued at Ocala, Fla., in the previous December, with all the signatures attached, and which had been withdrawn and suppressed, Mr. Rightmire issued a call for a conference of reformers to meet in Cincinnati, Ohio, on the 19th day of May, 1901, to consider, and, if deemed necessary, to organize a national party. Securing the signatures of the officers and many of the members of the Kansas house of representatives to this call, he attached thereto the signatures that had been attached to the Ocala, Fla., call, and gave it to the representatives of the press on said February 7. This call was received with great enthusiasm by the reformers of the Northern states, and with coldness and opposition by the Alliance leaders and press of the Southern states.

When the day of the conference was at hand, a self-appointed delegation of 483 persons from Kansas gathered at Kansas City, and proceeded to Cincinnati by special train. At Cincinnati many representative Alliance men of the South had gathered to oppose the formation of a new party. They advocated the capture of the Democratic party by taking possession of the state organizations in the Western and Southern states. So well did they champion this course that many leaders from the Northern states held a caucus, and determined to prevent action by capturing the committee appointed to formulate a platform for the conference, and then to delay the report until the delegates had returned home in disgust; then to recommend that all action be postponed until the joint meeting of the Alliance and Knights of Labor at St. Louis on February 22, 1892.

Upon the temporary organization of the conference, the members of this caucus were given control of the committee on platform. A committee on permanent organization was appointed, every member of which was an old-time Greenbacker. The conference took a recess until the following morning.

All interest in the conference centering in the committee on platform, the committee on permanent organization held a hurried meeting, provided for permanent officers of the conference, and the speakers at its meetings, and adjourned. Desiring to know the result of this committee's deliberations, Colonel Norton, of Chicago, Morris L. Wheat, of Iowa, and W. F. Rightmire, called upon the secretary, who read its report. Thereupon W. F. Rightmire proposed that the secretary add to the committee's report this clause: "That the delegation from each state select three members of the executive committee of the new party." This received the approval of the secretary and Messrs. Norton and Wheat. It was then agreed that the approval of this clause by the other members of the committee on organization should be delayed until the gathering at the convention hall on the morning following, and that a still hunt should be made by those four present. Quiet work was done by hunting up the old Greenbackers who were delegates, and asking them to move the previous question upon the submission of the committee's report to the conference.

So quietly was the work done that, when the report was submitted to the conference in the morning, those opposed to the organization of a party were taken by surprise, and the previous question was moved. More than 500 delegates arose to second the previous question, and it and the adoption of

the report of the committee were carried by the unanimous standing votes of the delegates assembled.

A recess was then taken to allow each state delegation to elect its members of the national executive committee. The committee on platform was notified that the conference had settled the organization of the party, but wished that committee to provide the name for the new party. By the time the executive committee had been selected, the platform committee came into the hall and reported as the name that of the "National People's Party." A platform embodying all of the planks of the Alliance platform, and a plank presented by the ex-Confederate delegates from Texas demanding a service pension for every honorably discharged Union soldier, was unanimously adopted.

The adoption of this platform by the conference ended its work, and the mission and educational work of the Kansas Farmers' Alliance, having culminated in the organization of a national reform party, the interest in the Alliance movement was transferred to the People's Party. The Alliance organizations perished through the neglect of their members to attend upon the meetings of their suballiances.

THE SALINE RIVER COUNTRY IN 1859.

An address delivered by JAMES R. MEAD[1] before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its twenty-ninth annual meeting, December 6, 1904.

MY story is not of war, political strife, the founding of cities, nor building of railroads, in all of which I have played a part—others have written of these—but of the hills and plains of Kansas, God's great park, surpassing anything that art or wealth of man has made. To me their primeval condition was the most beautiful and interesting of all the earth, especially that portion of the plains comprising the valleys of the Saline, Solomon and Smoky Hill rivers for 100 miles west of Salina—at the time of which I write a land almost unknown, of absolute liberty and freedom to do in as one pleased. It was a land of timbered rivers, streams of pure water fed by springs in the Dakota sandstone, broad valleys, rolling hills covered with a velvety coat of sweet grass, sandstone cliffs sculptured by nature in form of ruined castles; monoliths, cyclopean walls, with cedar canyons and sparkling springs.

Over this entrancing land roamed countless numbers of buffalo, elk, and deer. Beaver built their dams and sported undisturbed in the rivers and streams. Glossy black turkeys were as common as chickens about a farmhouse. Eagles soared aloft, and thousands of ravens, a bird peculiar to the plains. There were prairie-chickens of two varieties; occasional flocks of quail, of the Texas variety; fox-squirrels in the oak timber; raccoons, porcupines, foxes, otter; the lynx, wildcat, and panther; badgers and prairie-dogs; and everywhere big gray wolves and the musical coyotes, subsisting on the weak or fallen and the hunter's waste. On every side was animal life, and no one to disturb the harmony of nature except the occasional roving bands of the red men of the wilderness, who claimed the country as their own since man inhabited the earth. Nature here supplied all things

NOTE 1.— For sketch of JAMES R. MEAD, see Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 8, p. 171.

their needs required, free to all alike. Such was the Saline country as I found it in 1859, then in its original condition of life and beauty, and here I had many adventures.

As this article is one of personal experience, I will briefly narrate the circumstances which led up to my life on the plains. I was born in New England; was raised at the foot of the timbered bluffs which overlook the father of waters, near the city of Davenport, Iowa. Arriving there before the land was surveyed by the government, I early learned to use a rifle, and the woods were full of game. I loved adventure and the wild, free life of the frontier. Kansas was at that time first in men's minds in our neighborhood, occasioned in part by a visit from Gen. James H. Lane, who had set the land aflame by his magnetic presence and forceful eloquence, as he depicted the woes and beauty of "bleeding Kansas."

Having decided to go to Kansas, I had made to order two of the finest rifles money could procure, with a fine saddle-horse, good clothes, and plenty of grit. With two neighbor boys, I set out for Kansas, and crossed the Missouri river at Weston on the 23d day of May, 1859. We found a beautiful land; a few people along the eastern border, but among them many men who would rank high in any line of human activities. Did space permit, I should like to write of these grand men whose names stand high in the history of Kansas. I again met General Lane, was his friend, aided his ambitions,[2] and, later, stood by his dying bedside.

My two companions soon tired, became homesick, and returned to Iowa. I stayed, and spent the summer getting acquainted with Kansas. We tried boating corn down the Kaw river from Topeka, Lecompton and Lawrence to McAlpine's warehouse at Wyandotte, for government use, 500 sacks each load. Boating was not a success that summer; too little water, too many sand-bars; but I did meet two Delaware Indians who were Fremont's guides to California, and got much valuable information of the plains and mountains. Then I tried breaking prairie, as I had taken up some land, and became a "squatter sovereign." But the sun and wind dried the ground till it was hard as a grindstone, and I became disgusted with honest endeavor, and quit, retiring to the hospitable home of that genial frontiersman, I. B. Titus, on the banks of Switzler creek, at Burlingame. Here I assisted him in sitting on his porch beside the great Santa Fe trail watching the dusty trains drag their slow lengths along with a rattling fire of popping whips, mingled with strange oaths in mixed Mexican and frontier jargon. Incidentally we gathered in $20 or $30 or more each day for the privilege of crossing Titus's $100 log bridge. So Kansas had its redeeming qualities even then.

From these voyagers of the plains I learned of the vast herds of buffalo and the wild life to the west; of Indians more or less wild and savage, who took their toll in scalps, mules, etc., to liven up the monotony of the plains.

The warm blood of youth longs for adventure. Here was an opportunity. My impatient rifles longed to show their mettle. Later they had their fill, for to my shame be it recorded that they laid low 2000 buffalo and other of God's creatures in proportion during some years of service.

On September 1 we organized a party of young men, of whom D. R. Kil-

NOTE 2.—JAMES R. MEAD represented Butler county in the legislature of 1865, and, January 12, voted for the reelection of James H. Lane as United States senator.—House Journal, 1865, pages 42-45.

bourn was one, with six or seven teams. We followed the Santa Fe trail west, crossing, as I remember, Dragoon, Log Chain and Rock creeks to Council Grove; then Diamond Springs, Cottonwood, Little and Big, and Running Turkey creeks, to a little wayside trading-house south of the big bend of the Smoky Hill, called a ranch, as all such places on the plains were then called. Any camping-place on the Santa Fe trail was as good a point for business as the main street of a town. Along the trail we met long trains of wagons; they usually drove twenty miles a day or less, as water and camping-places required. Some of these trains were loaded high with the coarse wool from New Mexico. The Santa Fe trail was about 100 feet wide, worn smooth and hard by the broad tires of countless wagons, each drawn by four to eight spans of mules or oxen, with a loose herd driven behind containing the sore-footed, lame, given-out and extra animals. They were called the "cavayard."

Among others we met Colonel Bent, with a train-load of buffalo-robes and furs from his fort up the Arkansas. Some of these trains were accompanied by merchants from Santa Fe, riding in carriages and carrying large amounts of specie.

As one ox train was passing, loaded with wool, we stopped at the side of the trail to view the uncouth caravan, men, teams and wagons covered with dust. Underneath each wagon a net was swung, made of hides or sacks sewed together, filled with buffalo-chips for fuel, or sometimes a log or driftwood was swinging underneath, with cooking utensils and rawhide ropes hung along the sides. I walked out to the train to get a closer view, and the first driver I noticed was a young man named George McGranahan, who was raised on a little farm back in the woods near my father's home in Iowa. Boys were we together; I had lost trace of him, and here we met on the wide plains.

At the ranch we were told there were plenty of buffalo back from the trail, north or south. We turned north. The plains seemed boundless; not a tree or bush was in sight; lying in long, rolling swells, always higher ground bounded the horizon in the distance. Soon we saw an occasional big gray wolf lying dead, poisoned for its hide. After traveling five or six miles a dark horizon appeared in the distance on the divide. "Timber!" our party shouted. On closer approach it proved to be buffalo, extending to east and west as far as we could see. All the loose men, except the writer, seized their guns and started in hot pursuit afoot. Soon we heard the popping of guns, which continued for the next two hours, as we drove slowly along. Later the men came straggling in, exhausted from their long chase, but not a buffalo tongue to show. They declared "a buffalo could pack off twenty pounds of lead," as they were sure they had shot that much into some of them.

In the afternoon we crossed the divide and camped on a stream running north to the big bend of the Smoky Hill. The "buttes" were in sight to the north. Buffalo were all around us. In the morning all scattered out hunting, the writer going alone among the bluffs south of the Smoky, and on returning towards evening had as many tongues to show as the twelve others comprising our party. While at this camp, a lone stranger, unarmed, came walking into camp in search of help. His story was that he and his brother, with two yoke of oxen and a wagon, had gone for a winter's hunt.

Arriving at a difficult crossing on the Saline, they were delayed, having to cross their outfit on a bridge made by felling a tree. While here their oxen developed Spanish fever and died, leaving them afoot in the wilderness in a thicket of timber and weeds, on the bank of a miry river, and no help within fifty miles, so far as they knew. I was so entranced with the wild life of the beautiful country and the multitude of game, I was anxious to see more of it. Here was an opportunity. With the consent, but against the advice, of my companions, who predicted I would never be heard of again, I took the chances, having a team and outfit of my own. The stranger and I started off north, crossing the Smoky, and drove to the top of the buttes to get a view of the country, finding a little lake of water and springs. From the summit of the buttes, so far as the eye could reach, were broad valleys and rolling hills, rivers and streams lined with timber, and buffalo and other animals grazing or lazily reposing in the warm sunshine. A beautiful park. All was peace, as nature's God had made it.

On the second day we arrived at the desolate camp; found a man and a dog, verging on insanity from solitude and fear and the horrors which sometimes come to men and animals when left alone in the wilderness. A horde of hungry wolves had discovered the camp. The nights were a pandemonium of fighting, snarling, and howling, as they devoured the dead oxen within fifty feet of the tent. Nothing was left but the large bones, and the terrified man and dog supposed their time would come next. A little later I gathered in the pelts of these same wolves. The next summer, on visiting the place, I found several stalks of corn growing; on one, two well-developed ears of corn. This was the first civilized corn grown on the banks of the upper Saline. Not far away I found a beautiful spot sheltered by timber, near the north bluff, commanding a view five miles down the valley. We moved to this place and built cabins, stable and corral for the winter. There had been a great flood in the Saline valley in 1858. In the lowlands along the river the sunflowers grew a dense thicket ten feet high. Through them were paths made by buffalo, and in riding along them on horseback I several times met a bull buffalo face to face. Along the bluff was a line of drift, showing the valley had been covered six feet deep with water. This line of drift extended far up the river, and the valley above where the town of Lincoln now stands must have been covered, judging from the drift, ten to fifteen feet deep, occasioned by the bluffs on either side and the thick timber forming a gorge.

Having completed comfortable winter quarters, which became known as Mead's ranch, I set out to explore the country. So far we had seen no one. Riding down the river fifteen or twenty miles, I found a lone squatter named Shipple, who had a ferry across the river on the trail leading from Fort Riley to Fort Larned, and, a couple of miles southwest on the Smoky, a little town of a dozen or more houses, called Salina.

Here I met some excellent people. Col. William A. Phillips,[3] founder of the town; H. L. Jones and his estimable wife, who kept a very comfortable hotel; Alexander M. Campbell[4] had a store and post-office; the brothers, Robert

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NOTE 3.—WILLIAM A. PHILLIPS was the territorial correspondent of the New York *Tribune* and the author of "The Conquest of Kansas." He was a member of Congress from 1873 to 1879. For complete biography, see Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 5, pages 100–113.

NOTE 4.—ALEXANDER M. CAMPBELL was born in Renfrewshire, Scotland, August 12, 1835. In 1848 he emigrated to the United States, and settled in Randolph county, Illinois. In 1853 he

H. Bishop[5] and Rev. William Bishop,[6] were there. The surrounding country was a buffalo range. Between Salina and Fort Larned were two hunters' ranches—Farris brothers,[7] on Elm creek, and Page[8] and Lemon, at the crossing of the Smoky, both on the Fort Larned trail. I afterwards found these men to be good fellows and excellent hunters.

Colonel Phillips offered me one-sixteenth of the town site and a vacant claim adjoining, if I would locate there and help build up the town. I was out for sport and adventure, not for town building. I replied that I already owned all of the Saline country for a hundred miles west, with a million head of live stock, and that was enough.

For information I was directed to a young man named Spilman,[9] who had been up the Saline to a large tributary which he described as very miry near its mouth, and that brief conversation gave his name to the stream which it still bears. The Saline river at that time was unexplored, and there were no names for the tributaries on the north side; so for convenience I named them, and by those names they are still known. Returning to the ranch with two men I had picked up, I fitted out a team to explore the country up the river to the west. A trail ran up the river on the north side a short distance, as all trails in central Kansas did. Our first camp was on a small

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moved to Clinton county, Missouri, and in 1856 he came to Kansas and settled at Lawrence. He first engaged in cutting wood for Delaware Indians, and then hired out to run a ferry across the Kansas river. He was an ardent antislavery man, and was interested with Montgomery and Abbott in their campaigns in southern Kansas. He acted as deputy sheriff of Douglas county, and took a census of the county. He settled in Saline county in 1858, opened a farm, traded with the Indians, and trapped. He was appointed postmaster in 1861, and held the position for years, engaging in general merchandising. He was married October 6, 1858, in Riley City, to Miss Christina A. Phillips, sister of Col. William A. Phillips. He still resides in Salina.

NOTE 5.—ROBERT H. BISHOP located in Saline county in 1860, one-half mile west of the town site of Salina, and engaged in farming until 1868. He then engaged in insurance and real estate. He was county clerk of Saline county for several years prior to 1867, and acted as deputy register of deeds. He was a member of the legislature in 1863. In 1874 he was elected justice of the peace, which position he held for many years. He was born in Scotland, and graduated from Illinois College, at Jacksonville. He died a few years ago.

NOTE 6.—REV. WILLIAM BISHOP, D. D., was born December 9, 1825, at Whitburn, Linlithgowshire, Scotland. His father brought his family to the United States when William was nine years old. After finishing a common-school course William entered Illinois College, from which he graduated in 1847. He took a theological course at Princeton, and was licensed to preach by the second presbytery of New York in April, 1850. In Illinois College he held the chair of Greek for two years, and in 1852 was elected professor of Greek language and literature in Hanover College, Indiana. In 1859 he removed to Kansas, and accepted the pastorate of the Presbyterian church at Lawrence. In the first move to establish the State University, Doctor Bishop was made corresponding secretary of the board of trustees, and professor of Greek language and literature. In 1874 he became president of Highland University, where he served seven years. He settled in Salina, and for four years was county superintendent of schools. He accepted a call to become pastor of the Presbyterian church at Independence. He returned to Salina, and again served four years as county superintendent of schools. He was president of the State Teachers' Association in 1881, and served twice as moderator of the synod of Kansas. He died at Salina June 4, 1900.

NOTE 7.—The hunting ranch of Henry V and Irwin Farris (who were among the second party attempting a settlement in Ellsworth county) was located on what was "Elm" creek, but now known as "Clear" creek. They settled there September 20, 1860. Their ranch was on the line of the Fort Riley to Pawnee road, about four miles east of Page & Lemon's ranch. The Farris brothers were at their ranch when the guerrillas raided Salina, and both were visited by the freebooters, and their horses and arms taken, the robbers following the road to the crossing of Cow creek, where they made their first halt, sixty miles.

NOTE 8.—D. H. Page and Joseph Lemon had a hunting ranch on the north bank of the Smoky Hill river where the Fort Riley to Larned road crossed that stream, and theirs was one of the first settlements in Ellsworth county. These men were single and were engaged exclusively in hunting and doing a little trading. They occupied their ranch from 1860 to 1863, when they abandoned it on account of Indian troubles. Joe Lemon was the more active of the two; was an expert hunter, and was said to be a man who could take care of himself and party under all circumstances. Fort Ellsworth was built on their deserted ranch on the Smoky Hill, about three-fourths of a mile southwest of where Fort Harker was afterwards located.

NOTE 9.—ALEXANDER CARAWAY SPILMAN was born October 5, 1837, at Yazoo City, Miss. His father, Dr. James F. Spilman, was a planter in Mississippi, but, meeting reverses, in 1837 removed to Illinois. His mother was Margaret Caraway, a native of Tennessee, of Scotch

creek with many beaver dams. We named that Beaver creek. Here I shot two fat elk from a passing bunch. On the next small creek were evidences of war. Scattered about were broken pots, kettles, pans, and camp equipage; probably a small hunting party of Delawares had been surprised and driven out by the Cheyennes, who were jealous of this, their country. What they did not choose to carry away they had destroyed. In walking along the bank of the timbered creek my foot struck the end of a chain extending into the ground. On digging down we found a nest of heavy, new camp-kettles, such as Indians use, cached. I gave the name of Battle creek to this stream. Late that evening we approached a large tributary stream, and in the darkness drove into a salt marsh. I remarked, "We have found Spilman's creek," and that name it still bears. On this large stream was abundant game, and, in the thickets, shelters made of fallen wood, where small parties of Indians stopped over night while on predatory expeditions. No large camp sites were seen. Continuing on up the river we came to another large stream, which, from the large number of wolves we killed there, I named Wolf creek, as it now appears on the map. On this creek I found the remains of two Indians, the flesh eaten by animals and ravens. Stuck fast in the bones were about thirty iron arrow points. Our verdict was, thieving Pawnees, overtaken by Cheyennes, evidently a large party, as each one shoots an arrow into a fallen enemy, and those they cannot pull out remain, except the shaft, which is pulled off. Wolf and Spilman creeks were on the road of war used by the Pawnees upon the Platte river, whose main occupation was stealing horses from the wild tribes on the Arkansas and south to Texas. The Pawnees, in parties from two to thirty, would start down from their reservation afoot, with five or six pairs of extra moccasins and several lariats, subsisting on game. They knew the country perfectly, as they formerly occupied it and still claimed it, so they told me. These

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ancestry. The family of Doctor Spilman and wife consisted of six daughters and five sons, and of the latter three were Presbyterian ministers and two were physicians. A. C. Spilman attended the public schools at Edwardsville, Ill., and in 1854 entered Illinois College. In 1856–'57 he attended the Michigan University, but the exciting events then taking place in Kansas drew him thither. He arrived at Lawrence in August, 1857. His attention was attracted to the Saline River country, and in February, 1858, the Salina Town Company was incorporated, and he became its secretary. In March, 1858, the site was selected, and in 1859 Mr. Spilman surveyed and platted the town of Salina. In 1860 he was clerk of the board of commissioners appointed to organize Saline county, and, July 2, 1860, was elected first register of deeds. He enlisted in company F, Sixth Kansas cavalry, serving as sergeant, and upon the organization of the Indian brigade he was made captain of company B, Third regiment. He represented Saline county in the legislature of 1867. In 1870 he removed to McPherson county and engaged in farming and stock-raising. He served three terms as probate judge of that county and two terms as mayor of McPherson, and is an elder in the Presbyterian church, as his father and grandfather were before him. Mr. Spilman writes as follows concerning Mr. Mead's statement:

"I have read with a great deal of interest Mr. Mead's account of his adventures and explorations in the upper Saline valley in 1859. He was possibly the first white man to visit a portion of that region and note its streams and prominent landmarks. Hunters and explorers are, in a large measure, responsible for the geographical nomenclature of the country. Streams and other noteworthy physical features of a new country usually owe their names to some distinctive characteristic, some local happening or incident, or some individual who was first identified therewith. This is illustrated in Mr. Mead's article, where the presence of many beaver dams gave the name of 'Beaver' to a creek, while the evidences of a conflict between hostile bands of Indians gave the name of 'Battle' to another, and so on. At the time of Mr. Mead's visit to Salina, in the fall of 1859, Mr. James Muir and myself, having been members of the surveying party on township lines, in 1858, were credited with a somewhat extensive acquaintance with the geography of the Saline valley and its tributaries for a distance of about forty miles west. In his conversation with me at that time, Mr. Mead stated that he was establishing a ranch on the Saline for hunting purposes, and asked information as to the streams entering the valley above. I particularly described one large creek coming in from the northwest, on which there was a considerable growth of young hardwood timber. It was currently reported, and I have never denied the statement, that while on the survey, in attempting to cross this creek on a mule, I got mired down in the quicksand. Owing to the recent great flood, all of the streams were miry and almost impassable. Our surveying party gave no names to the tributary streams, and in the field-notes reference by name was made only to the so-called rivers, the Smoky Hill, Saline, and Solomon."

Pawnees had a regular route of travel, coming into the state near the northeast corner of Jewell county, south across Mitchell and Lincoln counties, across the northwest corner of Ellsworth county, into Barton county and the big bend of the Arkansas, and from there wherever Indians camps could be found, traveling by night when near other Indians.

I had many adventures with these parties during the three years I spent in that country. On one occasion a straggling remnant of a party came to my camp nearly famished and frozen. It was winter. They had found a camp of Comanches somewhere south, had got near a lot of horses in the night, were discovered and pursued. Some of them were killed, while others threw away arms, clothing, everything, to escape, and scattered, to meet at some prearranged place. One of them was shot through the thigh with an arrow. I had the meat of two or three buffalo lying on the grass, which they ate like famished wolves, cutting it in little squares and boiling the meat a few minutes in my camp-kettles. They were nearly naked, and their sole weapons for the party of a dozen were two bows and arrows. They were not in good spirits. When the Cheyennes discovered that a bunch of their horses were stolen, they would start in hot pursuit, like a swarm of angry hornets.

Another time, in March, 1861, near the same place, a party of fourteen came along. They had twenty-four horses and mules, all with Mexican brands. They said they left their reservation on the Platte in the fall, afoot, when the leaves were on the trees, had been gone nearly seven months, and said they had been to Old Mexico. Some of their horses were loaded with rock salt from the Cimarron, and they made a map showing a lot of rivers beyond, which I knew nothing of. Another time I had to stand off a party of thirty-five who proposed to rob us, as my young men were too badly scared to do any good. Once I left a young fellow at a camp I had established, while I went over to Wolf creek to hunt a few days. On returning, I found my man hidden out in the brush, nearly frozen, with nothing to wear but his underclothes. Two Indians came along with some stolen horses, saw he was scared, made him cook all they could eat, then took off his clothes and whatever else they wanted, and leisurely packed their ponies. Back of the camp shelter was my young man with two loaded guns hid under some skins. He was too badly scared to use them. He could easily have gotten away with both Indians, but lacked grit. The timid and the weaklings had no business in that country.

On another occasion* I established a camp on Spilman creek, and, after collecting a quantity of furs, left one man in the camp and went to hunt with my other man and team. It was winter, very cold, and snow deep. In a day or two the man I had left came to my camp; said he heard shooting all around, was scared, and skipped in the night. I drove back, found the camp plundered and a big trail in the snow leading down the river. Directing my men to follow, I started after them on my pony. In a few miles I saw them ahead, on foot. Each one had a big wolf skin of mine hanging down his back, a slit in the neck going over his head. There were thirty-three in the party. I followed them, unseen, for some distance, and saw I could not possibly get around them, as my pony could hardly stand, her feet were so smooth; but I had to get to my ranch ahead of them for various

* December, 1861.

reasons; so I took the chances and rode into them, just after they crossed the creek, and was surrounded and captured. I found they were a party of Sioux on a marauding expedition, some of them the most villainous-looking beings I ever saw. I gave them a good talk, let on I was glad to see them, proposed we all travel together, to which they agreed, had a jolly time for half a day, by which time I had so ingratiated myself with the chief, who was a fine fellow, that I was allowed to go on alone. Some of the Indians loudly protested, but a chief's word is law. Our conversation was carried on in the sign language, as not one of them could speak a word of English. I had two men at the ranch, and my men with the team got in that night. The Indians came to my place the next morning and built a fortified camp in the timber back of the house. I treated them nicely, gave them tobacco, and got all of my furs back except an otter skin, which the chief had cut into strips, and wore a part of it braided in his head-dress and the other attached to his war club. I have some of their war arrows. Before leaving for the northeast, they agreed not to molest any hunters they might meet, but they did go over to the Solomon and plundered and abused the few families they found there.

I had a somewhat similar experience with Sioux on the Solomon in the winter of 1862, in what is now Phillips county, where I spent most of the winter hunting. Plenty of buffalo wintered there. I escaped, while others down the river, towards the settlements, were plundered. What surprised me was that they traveled afoot in the winter long distances, with the thermometer at zero, and in deep snow, without the least inconvenience, seeming to like it. These are but a few of many such experiences I enjoyed in the Saline country. After we had gotten out of one scrape we would laugh over it and wonder what would happen next. I went no further west on this trip, but, after hunting and exploring all we wanted to, returned to the ranch on the Saline with a big load of furs, hides, and meat, and had all the hunting we wanted at home.

The next exploring trip I undertook was up the Smoky Hill river, in the month of February. We went far up the river, but found nothing. The country had been burned over; the game had all left, as there was no feed—a dreary, desolate waste. We turned north and went over to the Saline, halting on a high bluff south of the river. I looked about. Not a thing appeared in sight. I had no field-glass. At length in the dim distance, ten or fifteen miles away to the north, I could see the tops of the hills were black, and, by watching, could see that the summits moved. Then I knew buffalo were there, and where buffalo could be found in winter there was sure to be wood, water, grass, and all other game. We crossed the Saline below some salt springs from which the river derives its saline properties, and traveled north. We soon found a large, dry, sandy creek coming from the hills in the distance; following this up we came to beaver dams and water. The beaver held back all the water in the dry season. Further along were plenty of buffalo, and where the stream came out of the bluffs were groves of beautiful oak timber. The canyons were full of large cedars and no sign of an ax or of white man's presence in any of it. I had found a stream unknown.

As we drove into this beautiful spot I exclaimed, "Boys, we have got into paradise at last!"—and that name it bears to this day, and the town of

Paradise is near the spot of our first camp. We had surely found a paradise of game—buffalo, elk, black-tailed deer in bunches of fifteen or twenty, turkeys in abundance, beaver, otter, and hungry wolves in gangs. My next morning's experience will illustrate this. I started with my rifle at daylight, came to the creek, Paradise, near by; water deep, from beavers' dams; found a log to cross, but a porcupine occupied the center and declined to move. I punched him with my rifle and he stuck the stock full of quills by blows of his tail. I finally punched him into the creek and crossed, crept up the opposite bank, and peeped over into a dog town; saw a big wildcat sneaking up to a dog hole looking for breakfast. He saw me and skipped into the brush. Then two turkey gobblers came chasing and fighting one another. I got them in range, running toward me, but got only one of them. The other walked around his fallen adversary several times, then marched off. I hung the turkey on a tree out of reach, and went on about eighty rods and shot two bulls, and a little further I shot three cows. On returning I found the bulls surrounded by a mass of big wolves nearly white, and resembling a bunch of sheep, busily engaged in tearing the bulls to pieces. They paid no attention to me. I walked up within seventy-five yards and fired my rifle several times into the mass before they would leave. Four of them lay dead and others were crippled. I went to camp, got the team, and hastened back to the cows, and found them nearly devoured. While I was gone my men had shot at three bull elk which came near camp; said they hit one in the paunch—perhaps they did. I put out a quantity of strychnine that night for my friends, the wolves, and next day we gathered in eighty-two. As their pelts were worth $2.50 apiece, we had no fault to find with the wolves. On going up the creek, I found a large, old Indian camp at the entrance to the hills, probably ten years old. I also found a camp a few days old, where two Pawnees were returning from a successful horse-stealing expedition from the Indians on the Arkansas, and had left a letter written in hieroglyphics for the benefit of some of their comrades who were behind. I added to it a short account of our hunt, our number, where we were going, etc., in the same characters. Further up the stream were cliffs of sandstone on which were recorded, in usual Indian style, accounts of battles, and many other things, but no white men's names, and in my exploration of that country I found but one name carved in the rock. That bore the date of 1786. We returned to the ranch down the Saline, told others of our paradise, and by that name it has been known since.

There was a battle fought on the plains north of Spilman creek in June, 1861, not recorded in history. The Otoe tribe, from the north, with their families and a letter from their agent, came down for a big hunt. They camped in the valley along the creek. The Cheyennes found them and sent 300 or 400 warriors to drive them out. The Cheyennes were afraid to charge the camp, as the Otoes had guns. Both sides fought on horseback with bows and arrows, and after the battle arrows could be picked up everywhere. In one instance two young men rushed together at full speed, seized each other with their left hands, stabbing with their right till both fell dead, without relaxing their hold. The Otoes finally retreated down the river to my ranch, with scalps, ears, fingers and toes of their enemies, trophies of the fight, tied on poles.

Somewhere up the Saline, on the south side, should be the legendary tin

mine. (See Schoolcraft, vol. I, p. 157.)[10] General McGee, who surveyed this country in 1860 or 1861, and made headquarters at my ranch, was on the lookout for the mine. He obtained information from a Wyandotte Indian named Mudeater, who was one of Fremont's guides. His description was: "At the first camp we made on the trail after crossing the Saline I rode to the mine. It was on a creek in a northwest direction. I was gone two hours and brought back some of the metal." He made a rough sketch of the location, which would place it on the head of Elkhorn or Elm creek. Mudeater had intended to come and locate the place, but died. We hunted that country, but failed to find it.

The Saline and big bend of the Smoky Hill were favorite hunting-grounds of the Kaw Indians in the fall and winter of 1859, 1860, and 1861. A majority of the tribe were there. A chief named Shingawassa, with his band, camped in the timber close by our ranch.

The summer of 1860 was very dry, and in the fall the buffalo, in going south, crowded down along the eastern border of their range in order to get grass. There had been few buffalo in the country that summer, and grass was fine. In the fall the first wave of returning buffalo stopped in the valley; had a regular play spell in the tall grass and weeds. They were almost as tame as domestic cattle; fat and fine. They kept coming until the valley was full before they crossed the river. In a week's time nearly all the grass in the country was eaten off close to the ground. Then, for the next

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NOTE 10.— "Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States, Collected and Prepared under the Direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, per Act of Congress of March 3d, 1847, by Henry R. Schoolcraft, LL. D." The edition of this publication in possession of the State Historical Society does not contain the article on "Tin in the Kansas Valley"; hence it is deemed important to publish it herewith in full. We obtain this from the edition of 1853. It is the property of J. R. Mead.

"TIN IN THE KANSAS VALLEY.

[The importance of the subject named in the following letters will furnish the best reasons for inserting them. Indicating the existence of so important a metal as tin, on the waters of the Kansas, they supply a hint for exploring the region in question.— G. W. M.]

"COUNTRY OF POTTAWATOMIES, OLD KANZAS AGENCY, January 10, 1848.

"SIR: Permit me herewith to enclose you a specimen of American tin found in this region of country — the metal from which the britannia ware of commerce is manufactured. I have not, at this remote place, for the want of the necessary reagents, been able to subject it to a rigid analysis, but I believe I have sufficiently tested it to be able to pronounce upon its character, and if so, its discovery is a matter of some interest to our common country. It exists in great abundance, and passes here for zinc. Let it be tested.

"If I recollect my early reading right, the old tin mines of Cornwall, England, furnish the greater part of this metal used in commerce throughout the world. This deposit of tin, I presume, is equal to that. I have had some knowledge of the existence of these mines for more than ten years past. A beautiful specimen of gold was about that time found by my brother-in-law, Dr. R. M'Cay, about forty miles northwest of this place, and whatever this country may lack as to timber, etc., it is one of great interest and value on account of its mineral resources.

"Should leisure from the duties of my appointment as physician admit of it, I propose in the spring to furnish your office with a detailed exhibit of its geological aspects and mineralogical indications. Should you be pleased to acknowledge the receipt of this, please inform me whether the person discovering mines on lands unassigned to the Indians west of the state of Missouri is entitled to have a lease, as on other lands belonging to the United States.

"P. S.— The metal enclosed was run from the ore in a common melting pan for lead. J. L."

"SUB-AGENCY OF THE POTTAWATOMIES, KANZAS RIVER, May 15, 1848.

"SIR: Your favor, desiring that a portion of the ore, from which was smelted the metal sent in my former letter, should be sent through the superintendent of Indian affairs, arrived too late to enable me to comply with your request. I have not at this time any of the ore on hand, but will procure and send it as soon as practicable. The ore in question has been brought to this place by the Kansas Indians, formerly residing here, and is represented by them to exist in great quantities where obtained by them. From all I can learn from them, they obtain it on the Smoky Hill fork of this river, about 100 miles west of this place; but they are so superstitious in regard to such things, that little reliance can be placed on what they state—they have, however, promised to conduct me to the place whenever I may be able to go. My engagements have been such that I have not as yet found time to do so, and may not this season. As to the existence in this region of an extensive and very valuable deposit of tin ore of a rich quality I have no doubt. The Kanzas blacksmith at this place smelted from the ore, in his forge fire, a quantity sufficient to make a large pipe tomahawk. I had also in my possession, ten years since, a block of tin

three weeks, there was a steady wave of buffalo passing on to the south, day and night. The unceasing roar continued, and, when their myriads had passed, the surface of the earth was worn like a road cut into innumerable parallel paths. Three weeks later I went forty miles west, and found vast herds of buffalo still passing south. That winter there was deep snow, and the starving buffalo traveled east in search of food. Several thousand passed by Salina, and wintered in the valley of Gypsum creek. The Kaw Indians reaped a harvest of robes and meat.

Among the odd characters found on the frontier was a bald-headed old hunter named Tommy Thorn. He had a cabin at Salina, with earth floor covered with skins, a fireplace in the south end, bunks on the side. It was known as "the den." It was very comfortable—warm in winter and cool in summer. Fuel cost nothing, and at all times there was an abundance to eat and drink free to all. Buffalo meat, flapjacks and coffee gave men strength and courage. About twice a year Thorn would take a load of skins and hides to Leavenworth, bring back a load of provisions, consisting of flour, sugar, coffee, tobacco, and ammunition—meat, the best on earth, for the killing—not forgetting a ten-gallon keg of Kentucky whisky, of which he was very fond, but did not use to excess. On returning to "the den" he would unload his supplies, set his keg near the fireplace, put a faucet in it, hang a tin cup on a nail, and invite his brother hunters in to make themselves at home and help themselves to anything he had. Among other things,

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weighing one and a half pounds, smelted in a common log fire. So soon as practicable, I will send you the ore in question, with some other ores now on hand, found immediately here.

"I have made but little progress in making up data from which to construct a geological sketch of the country. I cannot command the time. Could I obtain leave of absence from my post for one or two months, in order to ascertain the precise locality of the tin mines, I would make such a tour with great pleasure, but otherwise cannot attempt it."

"PUB. M. L. SCHOOL, INDIAN TERRITORY, October 1, 1849.

"SIR: Some time since I transmitted to your office a specimen of American tin found in the Kanzas valley, and subsequently, through the Indian agent, made a special request of your predecessor in office for a permit to explore and work for a set time this tin mine, to which he made no reply. I now beg leave to call your attention to the subject. For many years I have been gathering up information respecting this locality of tin metal, and have at length satisfactorily ascertained its place. Twelve or fifteen years since a large block of this metal smelted from its ore was submitted to me for examination. More recently the Kansas Indians have brought in the ore, through whom, and by paying for it, they have privately revealed the secret. The rough sketch (plate 43) herewith submitted will give you some knowledge of its location. The deposit of metal in the form of an oxyde of tin appears to be immense, perhaps surpassing the old Cornwall mines of England.

"Our common country, as you are aware, is almost wholly dependent on foreign countries for its supply of this valuable metal; and its discovery within our reach and on our own soil must be regarded as a matter of great interest by all who seek the well-being of their country. I feel unwilling, after having labored some and expended something, that this subject should be lost sight of; and I most respectfully beg the favor of you to lay the request, which I now repeat, for a permit to work and explore these mines, before the president and proper authorities at Washington, and communicate to me the result. Should it be deemed (for want of authority) inexpedient to grant the request, I will then seek it elsewhere. The mine is too remote from the state to be visited by single individuals, being immediately with the range of the Pawnee and Comanche war parties. As you will notice, the locality is on the United States' lands not yet assigned to any of the Indian tribes.

"Thus far our informant. It may be well to add that neither of the three best-known species of tin ore can be reduced in an 'ordinary smelting-pan.' The red oxyde of zinc, discovered in New Jersey by the late Doctor Bruce, it has been found impracticable to separate from the franklinite with which it exists, and we may not unnaturally look for similar difficulties with the reported Western locality of the oxyde of tin. The geological sketch sent by Doctor Lykins (plate 43) indicates a country of sandstones, shell rocks, etc., which are unfavorable to the discovery of tin stone, wood tin, etc. If this metal exists as an oxyde, that fact will probably itself constitute a discovery. We cannot, from what is known in Europe, exactly prescribe its associations in the West—such has been the progress of metallic discoveries here; but the geology of the country, so far as it is known, is adverse to the theory and anticipations expressed.

"It may also be well to state that, from the known superstitions of the Indians, the Kanza account cannot be deemed to be free from all suspicion of insincerity, superstition, or gross self-interest. Yet the inquiries of our correspondent are deemed entitled to notice, and if followed up, however the subject be now distorted, may prove the means of mineralogical discoveries of value."

he had for a tobacco-box an Indian skull sawed in two. It was three-fourths of an inch thick, solid bone. Some congenial spirits would gather in, hang a few quarters of fat buffalo in a cool place, and for a week or ten days "the den" would be a place of joy, story, and song. It was not a disreputable resort, such as are found in cities, but a jolly hunters' club-house. Thorn usually hunted alone. This was bad policy, but we all did it sometimes. His last hunt was on Plum creek, alone. He made his camp by the creek, turned out his team, and had gone down the bank for a bucket of water to make coffee, when a party of Cheyennes surprised and killed him with arrows, and in scalping him took ears and all, to get the fringe of hair on his head. His body was found and given Christian burial.

REVEREND FATHER PAUL M. PONZIGLIONE.*

An address by S. W. BREWSTER,[1] of Chanute, delivered before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its twenty-ninth annual meeting, December 6, 1904.

LOVE always expresses itself in service. He who lives forever in the minds and hearts of his countrymen has loved humanity. Through humble, daily service, in kindly deeds to the unfortunate of earth, men become truly great.

History is not an impartial critic. By reason of material prosperity, one may be considered great in his day and generation, but such greatness "is oft interred with his bones." Crœsus is remembered for but one thing—wealth. In history, he is a cold proposition. The name Nero produces a creeping, cringing sensation which time never can obliterate. But to be lovingly reverenced by all generations, one must be a Buddha, a Socrates, a Savonarola, or a Ponziglione.

It often happens that, after great institutions are founded and immortal characters are built, the suggestive thought back of it all is forgotten. Oftener it is unknown to the world. In considering Osage Mission and the life-work of Father Paul M. Ponziglione, as missionary among the Indians, one would hardly anticipate a suggestion coming directly or indirectly from the great statesman, John C. Calhoun.

In the year 1823, when Calhoun was secretary of war under President Monroe, the Right Reverend Louis Dubourg, bishop of Upper and Lower Louisiana, consulted the president and secretary of war in regard to devising means for the education of Indian children within his diocese.

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* The writer is greatly indebted to many of Father Paul's old friends and parishioners for the use of most valuable historical papers, books, and documents. And, in this connection, he wishes to mention in particular W. W. Graves, editor of the St. Paul *Journal;* Hon. L. Stillwell, of Erie, judge of the seventh judicial district; Dr. E. B. Park, of Chanute; and M. Devine, Robert E. Greenwall, Miss Flora Greenwall, Mrs. M. Barnes, Miss Maggie Barnes, Mrs. J. H. Tepfer, W. P. Mason, Dr. C. L. Roland, and Miss Maggie O'Dwyer, of St. Paul.—S. W. B.

NOTE 1.—SAMUEL WHEELER BREWSTER was born on a farm in Bartholomew county, Indiana. His father, Marshall Brewster, was born in Berkshire county, Massachusetts, December 15, 1801, and died at Thayer, Kan., September 25, 1871. He was a graduate of Williams College, and was a descendant of William Brewster, of the Mayflower. Marshall Brewster, December 18, 1836, married Chloe K. Smith. She was educated at Warren, Ohio, and served several years as a teacher. Samuel W. Brewster was the youngest of six children. He came to Kansas at the age of fourteen. He maintained himself by clerking in a store, and all sorts of chores, while securing an education. He began in Kansas by teaching school. He attended Baker University and the Leavenworth Normal, and in 1876 entered the Kansas State University. He graduated from the classical course in 1883. In 1879 he married Hattie M. Wills, a prominent schoolteacher in Neosho county. They have four children. In 1883 Mr. Brewster formed a law partnership with Amos S. Lapham, of Chanute, and the firm still exists. He read law with Hutchings & Summerfield, in Lawrence.

Mr. Calhoun suggested the advisability of asking the Jesuit priests of Maryland to furnish members of their order to assist in such work. At White Marsh, Prince George county, Maryland, there were a number of young priests who, in 1821, had come with Rev. Charles Nerinckx from Europe for the purpose of devoting their lives to missionary work. Rev. Charles Van Quickenborne, a Belgian priest from Ghent, was then master of novices at White Marsh. He had come to the United States in 1817, hoping to become a Jesuit missionary among the Indians.

Bishop Dubourg conveyed Mr. Calhoun's suggestion to Father Van Quickenborne, at White Marsh, who at once saw the great opportunity of realizing his life hope — to be a missionary among the Indians.

On making known this newly suggested plan to the young priests who had come to the United States with Father Nerinckx, six of them, Belgians, immediately volunteered to accompany Father Van Quickenborne on his distant missionary journey to the West.

Bishop Dubourg generously offered to donate to these Maryland Jesuits a rich farm at Florissant, near the Missouri river, and to put them in possession of his own church and residence in St. Louis.

A more complete account of the establishment of the Jesuit society in Missouri is given in an exceedingly interesting book entitled "Historical Sketches of the St. Louis University," by Walter H. Hill, S. J.

In 1827 Father Van Quickenborne left this Jesuit home in Missouri and made his first visit to the land of the Osage Indians in southern Kansas.

He made two other visits to the Osages—in 1829 and 1830. But the noble work of the Jesuits among the Osage Indians took on permanent and lasting character in the spring of 1847, when they built a church and established schools at the place where Father Van Quickenborne first acquainted these untutored savages with the virtues of the Christian religion.

For nearly half a century this place was known as Osage Mission. Then, without regard for historic association, through an unfortunate and mistaken notion entertained by some of the leading citizens, the name was changed to St. Paul April 12, 1895. The town is located in Neosho county, Kansas, about ten miles southeast of the geographical center of the county, near the beautiful Neosho river.

There is a beautiful legend (which can hardly be called a legend, for want of age to make it such) that Father Van Quickenborne was the "Black Robe chief" of the mission where Longfellow's Evangeline,

> "Just as the sun went down, . . . heard a murmur of voices,
> And in a meadow green and broad, by the bank of a river,
> Saw the tents of the Christians, the tents of the Jesuit mission."
> . . . . . .
>
> "Under a towering oak, that stood in the midst of the village,
> Knelt the Black Robe chief with his children. A crucifix fastened
> High on the trunk of the tree, and overshadowed by grape-vines,
> Looked with its agonized face on the multitude kneeling beneath it.
> This was their rural chapel. Aloft, through the intricate arches
> Of its aerial roof, arose the chant of their vespers,
> Mingling its notes with the soft susurrus and sighs of the branches."

It is here pertinent to mention that the Presbyterian church,[2] for several

NOTE 2.—Presbyterian missions were established among the Osages at Harmony, on the Marais des Cygnes, in western Missouri in 1821, and on the Neosho, in the Indian Territory, as early as 1821. Rev. Benson Pixley in 1824 opened a mission near the present village of Shaw, Neosho

years previous to 1845, had partly maintained a mission among the Osage Indians of southeastern Kansas. It was located about two and one-half miles north and west of the Catholic mission, on what is now generally known as the James O'Brien farm, on the left or east bank of Four Mile creek, and about one-fourth mile from its junction with the Neosho. Here the Presbyterian missionaries lived and preached in a large building; but tradition has it that these Indians never took kindly to Calvinistic doctrines. In a letter written by Reverend Father Bax to Father De Smet, the noted Jesuit missionary, under date June 1, 1850, the writer quotes a speech made by an Indian chief to Major Harvey, superintendent of the Indian tribes, who was portraying to the Indians the advantages of a good education. As given by Father Bax, the speech is as follows:

"Our great father is very kind; he loves his red-skinned children. Hear what we have to say on this subject. We do not wish any more such missionaries as we have had during several years; for they never did us any good. Send them to the whites; they may succeed better with them. If our great father desires that we have missionaries, you will tell him to send us Black-gowns, who will teach us to pray to the Great Spirit in the French manner. Although several years have elapsed since they have visited us, we always remember the visit with gratitude, and we shall be ever ready to receive them among us and to listen to their preaching."

It would be impossible to give a fair sketch of Father Ponziglione and his work among the Osage Indians without mentioning two very important personages closely connected with him in his labors — Reverend Father John Schoenmakers and Mother Superior Bridget Hayden — the first, a young Jesuit priest from Holland, and the second, a nun of the order of the Sisters of Loretto, from Kentucky.

As the advent of these two noted people among the Osage Indians preceded the coming of Father Ponziglione by about four years, no better historical comment on that time and place can be given than to quote extracts from a speech made by Reverend Father Schoenmakers September 24, 1870, on the occasion of opening the mill on Flat Rock creek, just east of Osage Mission. The reverend father said, in part:

"On Christmas day, 1833, I landed on American soil at New York, being a young priest twenty-four years old. I had left Holland with the intention of living and dying with the Indians."

Having gone directly to Georgetown College (Jesuit), Maryland, Father Schoenmakers there received much inspiration, and entered upon a long, disciplinarian training. To resume his narrative:

"Before I reached the field of my labor fourteen years elapsed. On the 10th of May, 1847, I gathered into our school ten Indian boys. Then I visited Kentucky, where I obtained the assistance of the Sisters of Loretto for the girls. Before 1860, the number of pupils had increased to 136 boys and 100 girls. . . .

"The war deprived the Osages of all their labor and prospects. The youths of our school above the age of fifteen joined the Union army; 500 Osages had gone south, and of the remaining 3000, four companies also joined the army. New trials were now upon us. Major Whitney, a special agent, had brought provisions for the destitute Osages, while John Matthews, my old friend, whose five children I had raised in school, raised an alarm,

county, and another was established in 1831 by the Rev. Nathaniel B. Dodge on the east bank of the Neosho, near its junction with Four Mile creek. These missions continued their work until 1836 or 1837.—*The Herald*, published monthly by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1821–'36.

entreating the Indians to regard the provisions as poisonous. This occurrence alienated me from my old friend Matthews, and I was obliged to spend eight months at St. Marys, Pottawatomie county. On my return to the Osage Mission, in March, 1862, the Osages were divided. Frequent intercourse with their southern relatives increased our dangers. The southern Osages, accompanied by the Cherokees, invaded our mission three times to sack and burn it, but being associated with old pupils of our school and parents whose children were still at the mission, their counsel prevailed in sparing us, and, thereby, their own interests.

"But our dangers now enlarged on account of the avarice and bigotry of pretended friends of the Union, and if Gen. Charles W. Blair had not been a true friend of the mission, it could not have escaped destruction. Our friends, Colonels Thurston, of Humboldt (Kan.), and Brown, of Iola (Kan.), checked the malice of some ill-designing leaders; but General Blair had the *will* and power to save southern Kansas. The Osages, during these hard times, visited me by day and by night. Should my advice to them have been withdrawn, I have reason to believe that Osage City, Humboldt, Iola, Le Roy, Burlington and Ottawa would have been laid in ashes by the united Osages and Cherokees.

"God had spared us all. And in September, 1865, whilst the Osages sold and transferred a part of their lands, they have made thousands of homes for white families. As the whites settled first around our mission, the idea struck me of a mission town. General Blair was to be remunerated, if possible, and Governor Crawford [this doubtless refers to Gov. George A. Crawford] wrote me a letter congenial to my plan. The town took a start, whilst Sam. Williams and Ben. McDonald brought us a mill.

"Mission town being started and prosperous, I withdrew from partnership, for conscience sake, fearing that questions might arise not in conformity with God's law, and which might blast all my past labors."

While Father Shoenmakers was the actual founder of Osage Mission, he had been preceded, as said heretofore, by Father Van Quickenborne, in 1827, who in turn was preceded by Rev. Charles de la Croix, in 1822. The particular incident recorded of Father de la Croix's visit to the Osages was the baptism of two Indian children, James and Francis Choteau—the first within this state.

The first marriage ceremony of record within the state was that of Francis Daybeau, a half-breed, and Mary, an Osage woman, performed by Father Van Quickenborne in 1828—both the baptism and marriage ceremonies occurring where Osage Mission was subsequently founded.

Father Shoenmakers died July 28, 1883, at the age of seventy-six. His death caused universal sadness throughout both Catholic and Protestant communities, for he was loved and reverenced by all who knew him. He was buried in the Catholic cemetery at Osage Mission, where a simple marble slab marks his grave; but his noble life stands as a lasting monument for generations to come.

Mother Bridget Hayden, the coworker with Fathers Schoemakers and Ponziglione, was born in 1815. October 5, 1848, she arrived at Osage Mission with a small band of Sisters of Loretto from Kentucky, and at once established a school for the education of Indian girls. This school grew very rapidly, and, with the settlement of the country, its privileges were extended to the white girls. Soon an academy, or boarding-school, was started, the first boarding-school for girls in Kansas. The popularity of this academy extended beyond the borders of the state, so that, in a few years, several states and territories were represented on the roster of the school. This institution was maintained until September, 1895, when the buildings were destroyed by fire, and never have been rebuilt. The Sisters of Loretto hav-

ing left the mission after the fire, other sisters started a day-school; but only the picturesque ruins remain on the site of this once popular and famous academy.

Mother Bridget continued in charge of the girls' school for about forty years, and until the day of her death. She was a most lovable character. Eminently practical, her generosity knew no bounds. Her hand was always outstretched to the weak and needy. Many a poor girl, with no way or means of acquiring an education, was lovingly helped by Mother Bridget through St. Ann's Academy.

In 1870 Noble L. Prentis visited Osage Mission. Upon the death of Mother Bridget, some years later, Mr. Prentis, recalling this visit, paid a tender tribute to this saintly woman in an editorial article, from which the following extract is taken:

"It was at this visit that the writer met, for the first and last time, Bridget Hayden, known to the world as Mother Bridget. Born in 1815, her hair was white in 1870. She had passed through, in her earlier years in the wilderness, quite enough to change its color. She was a woman of commanding look, and spoke in a firm, resolute but quiet way, as one should, accustomed to impress herself on human creatures brought to her as wild as any bird or beast in all their native prairies; this she had done and more—she had gained their affections. The conversation which she held at once took a religious turn, and the listener would be very ungrateful if he did not remember that Mother Bridget, as well she might from the privilege of her years, spoke to him like a mother indeed, not of churches and creeds, but of the necessity of personal righteousness."

It is easy to do good when no sacrifices are required. Too often the best preacher is "called" to the best-paying place. But the greatest manifestation and supreme test of religious worth and nobility of character is when the preacher or priest renounces once and forever all the alluring fascinations of position, wealth and honor to cast his lot with the less fortunate of earth's children, and devote his energies and abilities to the uplifting of humanity.

Paul M. Ponziglione was born February 11, 1818, in the city of Cherasco, in Piedmont, Italy. He was of noble descent on both sides of the house—his father being Count Felice Ferrero Ponziglione di Borgo d'Ales, and his mother, Countess Ferrero Ponziglione, *nee* Marchioness Ferrero Castelnuovo. But the only nobility the good father ever acknowledged was that he belonged to "the noble family of Adam." Whenever his lineage was mentioned, he would peremptorily dismiss the subject with a quick, vigorous shaking of his right hand, making his long, slender fingers appear like so many missiles caught in a whirlwind, and exclaiming, with an impatient turn of his head, "Vanity, vanity, vanity!"

Father Paul, as he was commonly called, was christened Count Paul M. Ferrero Ponziglione di Borgo d'Ales. After his preliminary education, he entered the Royal College of Novara, and later he attended the College of Nobles at Turin, both being Jesuit institutions. The degree of bachelor of arts was conferred upon him by the University of Turin.

After taking his degree at the university, he studied jurisprudence for more than a year. But there seems to have been with Father Paul an inborn, manifest destiny for the priesthood. A religious instinct controlled him from the earliest years of his life. As a small boy, playing with his little sister in his father's palace gardens, he was accustomed to don the

vestments of the priest. This seems to have aroused the childish jealousy of his sister, and to all his grave arguments that only boys and men could be priests, she turned a deaf ear.

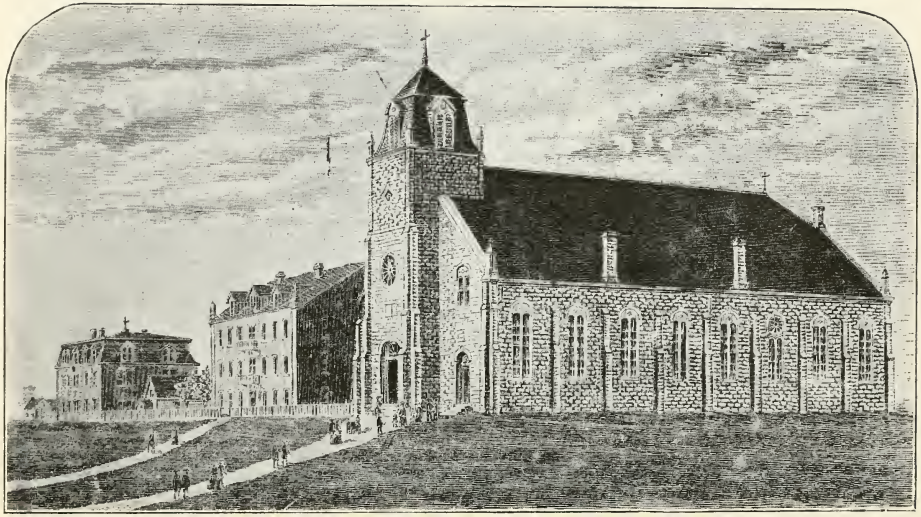
In this connection Father Paul once related a pathetic incident to a friend in Osage Mission. When a boy, in representing himself as a priest, Paul would assume the serious, severe attitude, in contrast to the little girl's laughing, joyous disposition. And in after-years, when the sister had entered a convent adjoining the monastery where her brother was preparing for his priestly calling, the echo of her girlish laughter, vibrating through the sacred stillness of his surroundings, often fell harshly upon the ears of the young novice engaged in his devotions. As yet, with the overzealousness of youth, he could not understand how a heart devoted to God could harbor any but solemn, religious thoughts. So, upon one occasion, he reprimanded his sister, in the presence of the mother superior, for her lightheartedness; but, in turn, he was reprimanded by the mother superior, who, by reason of many years of experience, comprehended religious life from a different standpoint. But there came a change, a brief sickness, and the lovely spirit of the young sister passed out from the gray convent walls into the pure delights of the city beautiful. Now, after more than half a century, the aged priest, broadened by years of loving, consecrated service to humankind, longed to hear again the echoed music of that girlish laughter.

The luxuries of wealth, the pomp and splendor of the Italian court, had no fascinations for young Paul. In 1839 he entered the novitiate of the Society of Jesus at Chieri, near Turin. Here he experienced the ordinary training of young Jesuits, and under it he developed that deep earnestness and single-heartedness which so characterized his entire life.

The year 1848 found Father Paul connected with the Jesuit college in Genoa. It was an eventful period in Italian history. There were foes without and foes within. Austria was recognized as a common enemy to all Italy. Three principal factions, strong among the Italians, were striving for national supremacy. One faction wanted a republic, another wanted a confederation, with the pope at its head, and the third wished to make Italy a constitutional monarchy to be ruled by the king of Sardinia.

On the night of February 28 of this year, the principal revolutionists in Genoa, belonging to the third faction just mentioned, arrested eighteen defenseless Jesuit priests at the college, and hurried them to the palace of the governor. One poor lay brother, stricken with age and sickness, was left behind. Father Paul, ostensibly, was allowed to remain with him in the capacity of nurse. The true reason, however, was that these revolutionists at that time were in doubt as to the advisability of laying hands upon the young nobleman-priest who was related to so many powerful families in Italy. But the governor sided with the revolutionists, and the next day Father Paul was conducted to the palace under strong military guard. That night all the Jesuit priests were put on board a Sardinian man of war and lodged in the hull of the ship, where they were confined as prisoners for three days. They were then transported to Spenzia, where a furious mob, confederates of the revolutionists, met them with sticks and stones. Father Paul was seriously wounded in the head. But the Jesuits made their escape to Modena, across whose borders the revolutionists dared not follow. Once in Modena, the

REV. FATHER PAUL M. PONZIGLIONE.



St. Francis School, Monastery, and Church—small log building between the two square ones was the first erected, where Father Paul served in the beginning and for many years. This picture shows the buildings as they appeared when he left them. (See page 29.)

Jesuits, with the exception of Father Paul, took to the mountains. He determined to go to Rome, and thence to the United States.

After overcoming many serious difficulties, by the financial help of a friend, he finally reached Rome on the eve of the outbreak of the revolution there. The life of Pope Pius IX was then in danger. His prime minister and private secretary had been murdered. Only the loyal Swiss Guard stood between his holiness and the revolutionists. Father Paul, under the direction of the father general, was received at San Andrea, the famous Jesuit novitiate at Rome, to prepare for the taking of holy orders. On March 25, 1848, he was ordained a priest by Cardinal-vicar Constantine Patrizi.

Leaving Rome, he first went to Turin to settle his family affairs. From there he proceeded to Paris, at that time the scene of those terrible dissensions incident to the establishment of the second republic. From Paris he went to Havre, and there boarded the first vessel for New York.

The ship was bad, the sea was rough, and the journey long—lasting forty-eight days. Added to the horrors of the situation, smallpox broke out among the passengers. But the young priest met all of these trials and dangers with unfailing cheerfulness and unfaltering courage.

After spending a few days in New York city, Father Paul went to St. Xavier's College, at Cincinnati, where he remained for a month.

While still in Italy, he had determined to spend his life as a missionary among the American Indians, and in pursuance of this resolve he had offered himself as such to the Rev. Anthony Elet, S. J., superior of the western Jesuits in the United States. Soon thereafter Father Elet sent him word that the general of the Jesuit society had assigned him to their mission in Missouri.

Upon leaving St. Xavier's College Father Paul proceeded directly to St. Louis and reported to Father Elet, who immediately assigned him to missionary work in Missouri and Kentucky. He spent two years in this field and then returned to St. Louis.

Now begins the realization of his early hopes—the commencement of his real life-work among the Indians. In March, 1851, accompanied by the Right Reverend Miege, S. J., bishop of Leavenworth, Father Paul left St. Louis for his far western mission. While his home was to be at Osage Mission, and his particular charge the Osages, his missionary labors extended from Fremont Peak, Wyo., to Fort Sill, I. T.

Father Paul M. Ponziglione was now a young man thirty-three years of age, a little above medium height, of slender build, and possessing an attractive personality. Much has been said of the personal beauty of the man. His features were aristocratic, of the distinctly higher Italian type. His large, well-shaped head was crowned with a luxuriant growth of close, jetty curls; the forehead, high and broad, betokened great intellectuality; the eyes, though dark and penetrating, were mild in expression, and tempered with a bare suggestion of sadness; his nose was somewhat of the Grecian type, and the thin, firmly closed lips slightly drooped at the corners. The chin, though prominent, was in symmetry with the rest of his face.

Every one who knew the good father speaks of the radiant kindliness of his greeting smile, which was but the "outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace." Upon his countenance at all times dwelt that "beauty of holiness," far surpassing any earthly beauty.

The following brief extracts from a letter written by Father Paul to the publisher of the Osage Mission *Journal*, under date of June 10, 1868, give some additional light upon the historic founding of Osage Mission by Father Schoenmakers, and the condition of the Osage Indian tribes at that time:

"It is a difficult thing to state when the Osages for the first time pitched their camps on the beautiful banks of the Neosho.[3] However, we can record some few facts which might one day prove interesting in forming a history of the early settlement of this part of the Neosho valley, now known as Neosho county. . . .

"The Osages, having made a treaty with the United States government, obliged themselves to vacate the state of Missouri and withdraw into Kansas, then generally known under the name of Western Indian Territory. . . .

"In 1827 Father Van Quickenborne, from Harmony, Mo., came to visit the Osages on Neosho river in this very country, where they had just begun to form permanent settlements. These, however, were not confined to this county, but were in two great divisions—one we might call of the Neosho, the other of the Verdigris, each containing from six to nine Indian towns, and each having its respective chief. But as the head chief of the whole Osage nation resided on the Neosho, and had his house built on what is now called Auguste creek (now corrupted into Ogeese creek), and his people were forming their towns, sometimes on the west and at others on the east side of the Neosho, on the very identical spot where now rises our beautiful town (Osage Mission); so this place was considered from the earlier days as the place of business.

"The Indian towns of the first division extended from the confluence of Labette creek with the Neosho to that of Owl creek into the same river. Those of the second division extended from the junction of Pumpkin creek to that of Chetopa creek, both with the Verdigris river.

"The half-breed settlement was mostly located between what is now called Canville creek and Flat Rock creek. The mechanics allowed to the Osages under their late treaty with the United States were located on Flat Rock creek, and the principal establishment of the American Fur Company was on Canville creek. But as the agency was located for a considerable time not far from the mouth of Flat Rock, so our present town site was considered the most important settlement on the Neosho. . . .

NOTE 3.—About fifty-eight or sixty miles up the Verdigrise is situate the Osage village. This band, some four or five years since, were led by the chief Cashesegra to the waters of the Arkansaw, at the request of Pierre Chouteau, for the purpose of securing their trade. The exclusive trade of the Osage river having at that time been purchased from the Spanish governor by Manuel Lisa, of St. Louis; but though Cashesegra be the nominal leader, Clermont, or the Builder of Towns, is the greatest warrior and most influential man, and is now more firmly attached to the interests of the Americans than any other chief of the nation. He is the lawful sovereign of the Grand Osages, but his hereditary right was usurped by Pahuska, or White Hair, whilst Clermont was yet an infant. White Hair, in fact, is a chief of Chouteau's creating, as well as Cashesegra, and neither have the power or disposition to restrain their young men from the perpetration of an improper act, fearing lest they should render themselves unpopular.—Lieut. James B. Wilkinson's report of his passage down the Arkansaw, etc., New Orleans, April 6, 1807. Appendix to part II, p. 30, of Pike's Expeditions, 1810.

. . . . . .

"2d. *The Great Osages* of the Osage river.—They live in one village on the Osage river, seventy-eight miles (measured) due south of Fort Osage. They hunt over a very great extent of country, comprising the Osage, Gasconade and Neeozho rivers and their numerous branches. They also hunt on the heads of the St. Francis and White rivers and on the Arkansaw. I rate them at about 1200 souls, 350 of whom are warriors and hunters, fifty or sixty superannuated, and the rest women and children.

"3d. *The Great Osages* of the Neeozho.—About 130 or 140 miles southwest of Fort Osage; one village on the Neeozho river. They hunt pretty much in common with the tribe of the Osage river, from which they separated six or eight years ago. This village contains about 400 souls, of whom about 100 are warriors and hunters, some ten or fifteen aged persons, and the rest are women and children.

"4th. *The Little Osages.*—Three villages on the Neeozho river, from 120 to 140 miles southwest of this place. This tribe, comprising all three villages, and comprehending about twenty families of Missouries that are intermarried with them, I rate at about 1000 souls, about 300 of whom are hunters and warriors, twenty or thirty superannuated, and the rest are women and children. They hunt pretty much in common with the other tribes of Osages mentioned, and frequently on the head waters of the Kansas, some of the branches of which interlock with those of the Neeozho."—Letter from G. C. Sibley, factor at Fort Osage, to Thomas L. McKenney, October 1, 1820. Appendix to Morse's Report on Indian Affairs, 1822, p. 203.

"Father Charles Van Quickenborne having died in 1828,[4] the spiritual care of the Osages was transferred to the fathers of the St. Mary's mission among the Pottawatomie Indians, then located on the Big Sugar creek, in Linn county, where now rises the town of Paris. These fathers visited the Osages as regularly as they could from 1829 to 1847; when, the Osages having requested Right Reverend Peter R. Kendrick, bishop of St. Louis, for a Catholic school, Reverend Father John Schoenmakers was appointed as superior of this mission, and reached this place on the 29th day of April, 1847.

"Father Schoenmakers took possession of the two buildings, yet unfinished, which had just been put up for the use of this new mission by order of the Indian department. Meanwhile, while Father Schoenmakers was having these buildings completed, his companion, Father John Bax, went about visiting among the Osages, speaking to them with great zeal on the importance of becoming civilized and embracing Christianity. They were pleased, and having offered him several of their children that he might give them a Christian education, he promised he would return after them soon. On the 10th day of May, the houses being finished, he collected a small number of Osage children and brought them in—and so began, on that day, the Osage manual-labor school on the very spot on which it now stands. Of the two buildings, one was used for the Indian boys, and the other was kept for a female department.

"On the 5th day of October, 1847, several Sisters of Loretto having come from the state of Kentucky to devote themselves to the education of Indian girls, the present convent was opened, and has been flourishing to this day.

"In a short time these two houses became too small to accommodate the pupils who were brought in, and it became necessary to enlarge the buildings, and, next, to multiply them. So Father Schoenmakers went to work and, first building a nice church, he, by degrees, added other houses, which gave this institution the appearance of quite a town.

"The church was dedicated in honor of St. Francis of Jerome, and was soon looked upon as the terminus of a holy pilgrimage, which most of the Catholics living in a circuit of fifty to eighty miles would once a year perform to comply with their Christian duties.

"The fathers, who with Father John Schoenmakers, attended the mission, visited the adjacent tribes of such as the New York Indians, Miamis, Peorias, Sacs and Foxes, Quapaws, and others residing south of the old Santa Fe road, and established among them, as well as the white Catholic settlers scattered here and there over a wide extent of country some 200 miles in diameter, several missionary stations, which they visited from time to time. But this Osage mission was always considered the mother-house from which all the other stations were supplied. . . .

"Every year the time of paying annuities was a time of great merriment with our Indians. The nation would, on such an occasion, come here and build their camps around us; and nearly every season some other tribe would come to pay a visit to the Osages. Sometimes you would see the Sacs and Foxes, sometimes the Kaws or Otoes, at another the Kiowas and Comanches. The object of these visits was to renew their old friendships, which they did by smoking the calumet, playing war-dances, and running horse-races, to the great amusement of their white visitors, who used to be present in large numbers.

"The time of payment was likewise time of rendezvous for traders and travelers of every description. All would come to the mission, which really was an oasis in the desert, for no settlement then existed nearer than Fort Scott, forty miles away; and all who came stopped with us, either to rest their teams, to repair their wagons, or to supply themselves with provisions. So it is that Osage Mission came, with all truth, to be called the cradle of civilization in the Neosho valley."

During the first twenty years of Father Paul's life among the Osages

NOTE 4.—REV. CHARLES FELIX VAN QUICKENBORNE was born in Ghent in 1788, and died near St. Charles, Mo., August 17, 1837.—De Smet, 1905, vol. 1, p. 151.

they remained in southeastern Kansas. This was one of the brightest periods in their history. In a letter to W. W. Graves, editor of the St. Paul *Journal*, under date of August 28, 1899, the aged priest writes:

"In those days, which I might as well call preadamitic, the Osages were having their golden age. And why not? Their poor wigwams, scattered here and there around the mission log houses, were forming the largest settlement in southern Kansas. . . . The Osage nation, under the great chief, George White Hair, and the mission schools, under the management of Father John Schoenmakers, were the only points then considered of any importance by the Indian department, whose commissioners frequently visited us."

And these were golden days for Father Ponziglione. He was working out among those wild people, in what was then called the "Great American Desert," the ambition of his youth. From the time he was first met, many miles from the mission, by Indian couriers, sent to conduct him to his new home, to the day of his death, he was their loving father and counselor. He was the court of last resort for their individual and public grievances. He was their honored guest upon all occasions of feasting and merrymaking. He baptised their children, and was "a light unto their feet" in all the ways of education and righteousness. He united their young men and women in marriage. He ministered alike to their physical and spiritual needs. He watched by their death-beds and administered the last sacrament. There was no road too rough, no distance too great, no weather too hot or too cold, no vigil too long or lonely, when suffering humanity called Father Paul. Well might he have said:

"The deaths ye have died I have watched beside,
And the lives ye have lived were mine."

The particular scope of Father Ponziglione's mission work in Kansas extended from Cherokee county north to Miami county, thence to Fort Larned, Pawnee county, and on through the counties along the southern state line, back to the home mission. He was the first to spread the Gospel in thirty of the counties of the state included in the circuit just mentioned. He also penetrated the wild regions of the Indian Territory, and established missionary stations at the Indian agencies and military posts as far south as Fort Sill, near the Texas line. So this noble father and his self-sacrificing coworkers, starting from the mother church at Osage Mission, within forty years established 180 Catholic missions, eighty-seven of which were in southern Kansas and twenty-one in the Indian Territory.

The great reverence in which Father Paul was held by all Indians from his first acquaintance with them, and the extent of his reputation as their friend, is shown by the following incident:

In the early fifties he was overtaken by a band of wild Indians near where Fort Scott now stands. Not knowing him, the savages held a short council, and then prepared to burn him at the stake. When he had been firmly bound and all things were ready to carry out their purpose, an Indian woman came and gazed intently upon his face for a minute. A flash of recognition passed over her countenance, and she threw up her hands in dismay. Then turning to his captors she spoke a few quick words, and they as quickly released him from his bonds. Then they had nothing too great to offer him, and, in their uncouth way, made every demonstration of friendliness.

The father's deep interest in spiritual affairs was extended to all hu-

manity, and his watchful care over his people never waned. It is related by one of his old parishioners that in the early days, while traveling through the Flint Hills of Kansas, then sparsely settled, night overtook the parishioner far from any human habitation save one. This was a one-roomed house, occupied by mother and son. It was a time to try men's nerves, and every one looked upon a stranger with a degree of suspicion. The traveler was not favorably impressed with the surroundings, and retired for the night with some misgivings and a general feeling of uneasiness. A curtain separated his bed from the rest of the room. Soon there came to his ears the low voice of prayer—the mother and son telling the beads on their rosaries. With a feeling of peace and security he fell asleep. In the morning he asked his hostess how she kept her faith alive, so far from church and religious associations. "Oh," she replied, "Father Paul Ponziglione never fails to visit us at least once a year."

In 1870 the Osages withdrew forever from Kansas into the Indian Territory, but Father Paul never once relaxed his watchfulness over his red children. It was his unvarying custom to meet personally every member of the tribe once a year. His dun-colored ponies and white-canvas-topped spring wagon were a familiar sight to thousands of people. His usual course of travel from the home mission to the territory was by the notorious Bender place. On one of these trips, it became necessary for him to stop for the night with the Benders. The father's suspicions were aroused by seeing old man Bender place a large hammer behind the curtain near the supper-table, and afterwards engage in a low conversation with his daughter, Kate. Something seemed to say to him, "You must leave this place at once." Under the pretext of seeing to his ponies, which were restless and would not eat, he left the house and made good his escape. Father Ponziglione often expressed the belief that he owed his life to the timely heeding of the warning voice within him.[5]

That beautiful edifice in Osage Mission, widely known as St. Francis Church, and the most imposing structure of its kind in the state, with the exception of the Catholic cathedral at Leavenworth, is one of the many evidences of Father Paul's indefatigable energy and untiring devotion to the Catholic faith. Without accident, the sacred building will stand for centuries. The masonry of the building is unsurpassed by any in workmanship and solidity. The walls, which are of sandstone, two and one-half feet thick, rise thirty-two feet at the lowest point, and sixty-seven feet at the highest point, from the level of the floor. The belfry tower, twenty-four by twenty-

NOTE 5.—The Bender family, consisting of four persons, father, mother, son, and daughter, lived in Labette county, two miles south of Moorehead station, on the Southern Kansas branch of the Santa Fe, and ten miles from Thayer. There was no other house within three-fourths of a mile of it. For some time there had been repeated stories of missing people, but all without friends to push an investigation. Finally, in the spring of 1873, Dr. William York was missing. He left friends who made a determined investigation. They were led to examine the garden of the Bender family. The Benders fled hastily, and the neighbors made a thorough examination of the premises. A sunken place suggested a grave, and a sharp iron instrument was sunk into the ground without difficulty. Five feet below was found a human body distorted and partly decomposed and clothed in an undershirt. It was recognized as the body of William York. The next day seven more bodies were dug up, and all recognized save one: George W. Longcor and daughter, of Iowa; George Brown, of Howard county, Kansas; William McCrothy, of Howard county; H. T. McKenzie, of Indiana, and a Mr. Boyle. The throat of every victim was cut. There was a trap-door in the house large enough to admit a body, and, directly beneath, a pit six feet deep. The ground in this pit was covered with clotted blood. It is supposed that the victims stopped for a drink of water or something to eat. By the table at which guests were seated was stretched a canvas, and from behind this canvas the guests received their death blow from an iron hammer. The daughter was a clairvoyant who ruled the house through supernatural power. The Benders were pursued, and the truth of history compels us to say that neither the pursuers or the family have been heard from since.

four feet, is of stone, and it is seventy feet to the top of the masonry on on which the bell rests. All this is capped by thirty-two feet of wooden structure, making the complete height of the tower 102 feet. One hundred and twenty car-loads of sand and plaster material were used in the construction of the building. The foundation cost $7000; $23,440 were paid to mechanics for wages; the doors and windows were $5800; then came the great altar, the side altars, the heating apparatus, the immense pipe-organ, and other furnishings, making the entire cost of the building, as it now stands, $90,000.

Owing to the great liberality manifested by Catholics everywhere, even the full-blooded Osages, then residing in the Indian Territory, contributing, this magnificent church was absolutely free from debt when, on the 11th day of May, 1884, it was solemnly dedicated to St. Francis de Hieronymo, by the Right Reverend John Hogan, D. D., bishop of Kansas City, Mo.

On February 27, 1889, Father Ponziglione celebrated his golden jubilee at Osage Mission, the occasion being the fiftieth anniversary of his admission into the Jesuit society. Many thousands of people were present. Men of national reputation and high church connections came great distances to pay tribute to one of the most generally beloved characters in the American Catholic church.

The following lines are taken from the beautiful salutatory written for the occasion by Miss Maggie Barnes, a friend and parishioner of Father Paul's at Osage Mission:

"Full fifty stars that light the flood of time;
Full fifty hymns that rise in strains sublime
Out of the happy past; full fifty isles
All steeped in beauty's glow, and bathed in smiles
From kindly heaven; full fifty angels fair,
Crowned with soft lilies and sweet violets rare,
These are the symbols of thy rosary
Of years—the types of things that gild thy jubilee."

In the name of the deanery of Parsons, the Very Reverend E. Bononcini offered the following ode, written by Rev. T. A. Butler, of St. Louis:

"Life was fresh, like flow'rs awakening,
In thy bright Italian clime;
Fair as dawn of morning breaking
Seem'd the light of coming time;
Earth and sea and skies above you
Caught the rosy-tinted glow;
Kindred whispered, 'Paul, we love you,'
More than fifty years ago.

"But the Lord of all has spoken
Sweeter words than human tongue;
Ties of kindred must be broken—
Heav'n is pleased with hearts so young.
Paul is call'd, and soon we find him
Where Ignatius' soldiers grow—
Ah! he left the world behind him
Fully fifty years ago.

"Left the palace, left the college,
Left the sacred shrines of Rome.
Full of faith and zeal and knowledge,
Sent to seek a prairie home;

Sent across the rolling ocean,
Out where Kansas' rivers flow —
Ah! how strong that priest's devotion,
Nearly fifty years ago.

"Few the homes in days departed —
Prairie homes when Paul was young —
Then the Indian, lion-hearted,
On the plains his blanket flung.
Few the farmers on the prairies;
Indians wandered to and fro,
By St. Francis, by St. Marys,
Fifty, forty years ago.

"On the plains the father greets them,
In their wigwams preacheth peace;
Smiles with joy where'er he meets them,
Causes fiery feuds to cease;
Bends the proud to own a master,
Leads where heavenly graces flow,
At the feet of Christ, the pastor,
Happy forty years ago.

"Fair thou seemest, Osage Mission,
Born again to brighter days;
Standing now in strong position,
Tell through time thy soldier's praise;
But forget not through the ages,
While Neosho's waters flow,
Paul, apostle of Osages,
More than forty years ago."

In the spring of 1889, there was much trouble with the Crow tribe on their reservation in Montana. It was thought that Father Paul might be able to do more with them than any one else. So he was asked to go there and use his influence as a peacemaker, which he did with marked results. But his leaving the home mission cast a deep sadness over southern Kansas and the Indian Territory; for, owing to his advanced age, every one felt the improbability of his ever returning to Kansas.

Father Ponziglione left Montana to become historian of St. Ignatius's College, in Chicago, in 1891. It is remarkable that throughout his life as an Indian missionary he always maintained his high degree of scholarship, and to the day of his death was considered one of the finest Latin scholars in the Jesuit society. He was an able writer of both prose and poetry in Latin composition.

In connection with his work at St. Ignatius's College, he was assistant pastor at the Jesuit church. He heard confessions, visited the sick, and it is said that in the singing of high mass his rich tenor voice rang out clear and strong as in the days of his youth, though now an octogenarian.

But his great sympathetic soul always turned to the weak and helpless. Added to his other work in Chicago, he became chaplain of St. Joseph's Home for Deaf Mutes, and organized two sodalities among them, one for young men and the other for young women. He prepared sermons, psalms and prayers for them in the sign language. Outside of his own parish, he also did active work in the Visitation and Aid Society, and for nearly ten years he preached the Gospel to the inmates of the Bridewell, in Chicago.

On the 25th of March, A. D. 1898, Father Paul celebrated, in the city of Chicago, the fiftieth anniversary of his priesthood. It was a notable occasion for a notable man. A Jesuit priest's religious and educational training is so long and thorough that but few ever live to have a golden jubilee. The wonderful character of Father Ponziglione as count, priest, Indian missionary, historian and writer made the event extremely interesting, and it became one of national church importance.

Just two years later—two more full years of unceasing service for Christ and humanity—and the venerable father passed peacefully on to the higher realizations of spiritual truth. After a short sickness with bronchial pneumonia, Father Ponziglione died, at St. Ignatius's College, in Chicago, on Wednesday night, March 28, 1900, a little past his eighty-second year.

No great and good man belongs exclusively to any particular religious, social or political organization. Influences for good must extend to all humanity, and the noble character of Father Paul stands like "the shadow of a great rock in a weary land," offering peace and comfort to the heavy-laden and distressed. Whilst always he was a most ardent Roman Catholic, his soul was too great to be circumscribed, and he was the father, friend and priest to every one who knew him. This was Christlike—this was Ponziglione.

In considering the character of a state or nation, we are apt to look at the purely social and political, and to lose sight of the moral and religious factors. Who can estimate a strong man's influence for good? Who can measure the worth of Father Ponziglione in the formative period of this state? In one of his last letters to a friend he wrote:

"If, during a period of forty-nine years, the Osages, as a nation, did not take up arms against the United States government; if they did not make a wholesale slaughter of trains and caravans while crossing the plains; if they did not ransack the country along the border of both Missouri and Kansas; if, in a word, they did not turn hostile to the white people, this is due, in a great part, to the influence of the Catholic church, exerted over them through her missionaries."

While true in general of the church, it should be more particularly applied to Father Ponziglione himself; for his wonderful personality and Christlike character predominated at all times, in all places, and over all people, for the universal and perpetual betterment of social and political conditions.

His character so thoroughly impressed upon the thousands of students educated at St. Francis' College and St. Ann's Academy, in Osage Mission, stands also as an imperishable monument to his greatness.

So endeth this life's work of Father Paul M. Ponziglione, the last representative of the noble houses of Guerra and Ponziglione, who left friends, wealth and nobility in Italy to become an humble Jesuit priest and missionary among the western American Indians, and whose life was so pure, whose human sympathy was so great, that to know him was to feel the impulse of his righteousness.

The influences of his unpretentious life, coming through quiet channels, are so pure and simple, so great and lasting, as to make the name of Ponziglione worthy to be inscribed forever upon the pages of Kansas history.

"What is excellent, as God lives, is permanent."

THE VICTORY OF THE PLOW.

An address delivered by WILLIAM D. STREET [1] before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its twenty-ninth annual meeting, December 6, 1904.

LOOKING across the great Sappa valley one morning in the early autumn could be seen the beautiful squares of green alfalfa, the fields of golden-hued, ripening Indian corn, the hillsides covered with buffalo-grass, turning brown in the warmth of the fall sunshine. The leaves on the belt of timber that fringed the stream were taking on the varied hues of beauty, so admired by the artist and extolled by the poet, that come with the Indian summer. Lowing cattle were going to their pastures and the pigs in the alfalfa were calling loudly for their morning rations. What a beautiful pastoral picture! Turning toward the rising sun could be seen nestled in a cove in the valley the beautiful and enterprising little city of Oberlin, the county-seat of Decatur county, with her church spires, public schools, high school, banks, stores, mill, creameries, railroad depot, and all that goes to make up a commercial emporium.

What splendid pictures of civilization these scenes made! My thoughts traveled across the past thirty years to the time when the plow had not turned a furrow in the county, and called up the fact that last year—1903—the yield of wheat for the county was 2,032,200 bushels, worth $1,097,388, telling a wonderful story of the victory of the plow.

Back to the early days and early settlers; what privations, what suffering, what sorrows, those old-timers endured in their contest against wild men, wild beasts, unfavorable social, financial and climatic conditions; what fortitude, what heroism in every degree, those people displayed to win the victory of the plow! The story cannot be written. The eye-witness and, in many instances, an actor in the great drama cannot write it as it should be written. The story cannot be told as it should be told. The soldier suffers alone, while his deeds of valor are told in picture and story; but with the men who conquered the prairies came the women and little children, who suffered privations and dangers as heroically as the strongest men. What a victory they have won! Yet their praise has not been sung in song or told in prose. No monuments have been reared to tell of their glory; no eulogies have been pronounced for them; no niche in the temple of fame has been reserved for those who won the victory of the plow!

Less than a half-century ago not a mile of railroad was in operation in Kansas, while the white settlements were confined to the country adjacent to the turbulent Missouri and the eastern border; nearly half the state was

NOTE 1.—WILLIAM D. STREET was born near Zanesville, Ohio, in the year 1851. He moved from Ohio to Kansas in 1861, and became identified with northwestern Kansas in 1869, being a pioneer in that section. He was educated in the common schools of Kansas. He served as a soldier in company I, Nineteenth Kansas volunteers, and also in company D, Second battalion, Kansas state militia, in 1869, in a campaign against the Indians. He was a member of the legislatures of 1883, 1889, 1895, and 1897. In this last session he was elected speaker of the house. From 1893 to 1896 he served as a regent of the State Agricultural College. He is a prominent farmer in Decatur county, and has a large portion of his farm under irrigation. He has experimented with irrigation since 1889. He was a Republican until 1890, when he joined the People's Party. At the People's Party congressional convention, at Colby, in 1896, he was a candidate for Congress and came within four votes of a nomination. He is married and has five children.

unknown territory. What wonders have been wrought in less than the allotted span of life! The writer has seen the plow fight the battle and win the victory from the eastern border to the Colorado line.

In 1869 Waterville, the terminus of the Central Branch Union Pacific railroad, 100 miles west of Atchison, and one-fourth of the distance across the state, was the western end of railroad communication for these far-western settlements. Lake Sibley, a semicircular body of water, left on the north side of the Republican river when that stream, at some time antedating the earliest knowledge of the country, had cut across the bend and straightened its course by several miles, and named probably in honor of General Sibley, was the outpost of civilization. The post-office and town which bore the name have disappeared from the later maps. It was located almost north of Concordia, and at one time ambitiously aspired to become the county-seat of Cloud county. Westward a few miles, a fringe of settlers, more venturesome than others, had pressed out past the danger line. Beyond, the world was asleep, awakened only by the whoop of the Indian warrior, the tread of the mighty herds of buffalo, or a shot from the rifle of an occasional hunter who penetrated the solitude. This was the northwestern Kansas frontier at that time. The prairies and valleys further on were unknown to the white man, and the plow of the husbandman had not turned a furrow in all this vast region—an empire within itself. Of the development of this section the writer desires more particularly to speak. Not that there were no adventures and battles with the Indians and contention with wild animals. Of these we would rather talk; but the story of the plow on the northwestern frontier has never been told, while the story of the sword is everywhere. Every hill and vale in Kansas has been the scene of bloody conflict, and their history has been written.

In 1867 the writer crossed what was then called the plains, with an ox team, from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Dodge, *via* Fort Harker. Everywhere along the western end of the trail the new-made graves told of the daring or cunning of the Indian warrior. In the winter of 1868–'69 I was with Custer in the famous winter campaign against the redskins in the Indian Territory and Texas; in the state militia on the northwestern border in the summer of 1869; in 1870 captain of a company of home guards who built Fort Jewell, on the present town site of Jewell City; and I assisted in planting the first settlements in the country beyond. For nearly five years there was scarcely a moment when the writer did not have his trusty six-shooter within reaching distance, strapped to him by day, at his hand by night, except when on a few brief visits to civilization. This partially tells of the expectancy in those days, and, as the remark went, "one would not be surprised to wake up and find himself dead and scalped." But enough of this; it is of the other struggle I want to tell.

The trappers and the hunters were the first to penetrate the unsettled parts in search of game and fur-bearing animals. They were the outposts and advance-guards of civilization. When the first settlers came straggling in the Indian and buffalo had been pressed further west, but neither had entirely abandoned the struggle for the famous hunting-grounds and rich pastures. As the white-topped wagon of the immigrant with the tongue pointing ever westward became more numerous, the Indian tepees were moved away and the buffalo trails were overgrown with grass.

The invading settlers sought out their claims, and then drove to Junction City, away to the southeast 75 or 100 miles, to the United States land-office—then presided over by our present secretary, who was register of the same—there to make entry on the land selected. After securing this initial title to their claims they commenced in earnest the struggle against the elements and climatic conditions. Ignorant of the adaptability of the country, the struggle was doubly severe; so severe, indeed, that many brave men abandoned their claims, and at times it looked as if the victory of the plow was lost.

Men in many instances broke the prairie sod with their guns strapped to the plow, opening the land to cultivation that became the nucleus of a splendid farm later; several worked together, for better security of person and property. At times, when danger was imminent, one would act as sentinel while the others worked. They plowed in fear, planted in hope, reaped in sorrow. What a change comes over the scene![2] There are the echoes of civilization; the distant rumble of the wagon, the lowing of the herds, break the stillness of the centuries. Little log cabins or sod houses dot the prairies everywhere; little squares of earth turned upward by the plow, like squares on the checker-board, change the landscape from the living green of the luxuriant grasses, or the golden brown of the buffalo-grass, to the dull black of the rich prairie soil. The plow has come unheralded; no trumpets sound the charge; no bands with inspiring music cheer the plowman on his weary but hopeful march; no banners wave aloft to mark the lines of battle; but the battle is on; the plow, though silently, is surely moving to victory, with a wilderness to conquer.[3] No one can tell what it means to be a pioneer except him "who has been through the mill."

Railroad facilities were far away—75 to 100 miles for a box of matches or a plug of tobacco. A journey to the nearest station in winter meant danger and suffering. Streams without bridges, fords deep and treacherous, wagons stuck, loads to be carried out by the teamsters through icy waters that chilled to the marrow, and left for years the aches and pains of rheuma-

NOTE 2.—The wheat alone produced in the fourteen counties in the northern two tiers of counties west of and including Jewell, for the year 1903, was 20,872,373 bushels, worth $13,587,042.45.

NOTE 3.—The following figures for the year 1905, from the report of F. D. Coburn, secretary of the State Board of Agriculture, show the gain made by the plow amid all the discouragements so graphically set forth by the writer:

COUNTIES.	Population, 1905.	School population, 1905.	Assessed valuation, 1905.	Crop and live-stock values, 1905.
Cheyenne	2,844	987	$777,787	$1,671,714 05
Decatur	9,349	3,559	2,217,219	4,982,130 92
Graham	6,410	2,619	1,727,545	2,936,744 24
Jewell	17,382	6,071	4,308,148	9,075,119 05
Mitchell	12,671	4,444	3,790,460	5,934,739 88
Norton	10,655	4,017	2,517,292	5,031,384 53
Osborne	12,237	4,215	3,060,656	5,788,169 94
Phillips	14,162	5,126	3,000,189	6,713,744 18
Rawlins	5,042	2,214	1,486,283	2,736,649 53
Rooks	9,482	3,218	2,404,989	3,964,929 56
Sheridan	4,540	1,689	1,324,815	2,576,072 11
Sherman	3,576	1,184	1,288,018	1,504,822 02
Smith	15,567	5,351	3,489,259	7,414,377 59
Thomas	4,506	1,720	1,876,813	2,651,618 69
Totals	128,423	46,414	$33,269,473	$62,982,216 29

tism, sleeping in the drifting snow, far from any friendly cabin, were but few of the many dangers that beset the freighters on the dreary, long roads to the railroad stations.

At times the blizzard's frosty breath swept across the prairies, carrying in its wake death and destruction fearful to contemplate. It came unheralded and without premonition. A dark gray cloud like an icy wave would spread across the plains, and the snow would be swept into immense drifts. Woe betide the traveler who lost his way! In a country without well-traveled roads and fenced farms all landmarks were soon obliterated, and it is a wonder more people were not lost. In those early days cattle were known to freeze to death standing in their tracks in the great drifts, and would be left standing when the snow melted away in the spring, mute reminders of the terrific storms that had swept the plains with arctic fury during the winter. Now ample shelters are provided. The loss of stock is reduced to the minimum; no loss of human life has been reported for years.

The blizzard, under the mollifying influence of the plow, of late years has lost much of its severity; the snows do not have such wide sweeps; well-defined roads and many fenced farms are guides against becoming lost.

Generally speaking, only robust people came to the frontier. Their good health stood them well, and, becoming inured to the hardships, their strength carried them through many difficulties and dangers where the weak would have succumbed.

A want of capital was another serious drawback to many of the early settlers. Men without means, save their own strong arms, rushed out onto the border where there was but little employment, and no money even to pay for that. Many of this class soon found themselves in straitened circumstances, with no means with which to develop their lands and make them productive. With crop failures came discouragement. Excellent claims were abandoned or sold for a song. With the homesteader came the land-shark and the money-loaner. The latter, while supplying to a limited extent the capital necessary to hasten the work of building up a new country, proved in many instances more of a detriment than a benefit, as they exacted such usurious rates of interest on the money they loaned for themselves or as agents of Eastern capitalists as to make repayment of principal almost an impossibility. It was not unusual for the rates charged to be from two to ten per cent. per month on notes renewed every sixty or ninety days; charges for writing and recording the chattel mortgages, or a commission charged for securing the money, frequently made an annual interest charge of from 24 to 120 per cent. per annum. Many worthy men fell under this load. The chattel mortgages took everything they had except wife and babies. Instances were frequent where every horse, cow, hog and chicken on the place was mortgaged, and at these enormous rates of interest the chances were greatly against the borrower. Many a man who under more favorable conditions would have pulled through held his land and made a good home succumbed to the inevitable fate. A few struggled through. As the time for perfecting title to the land rolled around the money-loaner was on hand, and in a majority of cases a mortgage was plastered onto the newly acquired real estate. Sometimes it was to build better houses or make improvements; in other cases, to buy cattle on investment; and the struggle "to make ends meet" and pay the interest every

six months began. Some parties mortgaged their land for every dollar they could get, and considering it well sold bid farewell to the homestead, never paying a nickel of interest or principal; so that the "cutthroat game" was not entirely a one-sided affair after all.

Droughts of a disastrous nature were of frequent occurrence. The aid of friends and even of the state was invoked on several occasions to enable the pioneer settlers to maintain their homes. The state legislature, on three or more occasions, made appropriations to buy seed and feed to enable the western settler to plant another crop.[4] This was money well spent, and many of those who received the donations or loans are now among the most thrifty farmers of the northwest. As the land has been brought under civilization droughts are less frequent, not attributed so much to the greater precipitation as to the influence of the plow. The surface soil, in its natural state, sheds like a roof, but when stirred up and roughened by the plow it retains more of the moisture, eventually to give it back to the growing crops.

Grasshoppers swooped down and ate up every green thing on the claim, leaving nothing but the mortgage. The settler, becoming discouraged, abandoned the place, went "back to his wife's folks to winter," in many instances never to return again.

Bad men, of which so much is said in the novels and sensational stories, were not very numerous on the northwestern frontier. Save for a few horse thieves, who occasionally raided some poor settler's stable or pasture, taking the best and perhaps the only team he had, very little trouble was experienced from desperadoes. A few, it is true, made trouble in some localities, but their reign of terror was of short duration. The report of a double-barreled shotgun, or a rope with a man dangling at the noose end, told the tale.

NOTE 4.— The following sums were appropriated at times specified for seed grain:

The legislature of 1869, the sum of $15,000. Laws of 1869, chapter 134, page 262. John K. Wright, of Junction City, agent.

In 1871, $6000. Laws of 1871, chapter 127, page 290. Joseph Logan, agent.

In 1872, an appropriation of $3000 was made for general relief. Laws of 1872, chapter 47, page 76.

August 28, 1874, Gov. Thomas A. Osborn issued a call for a special session of the legislature, to meet September 15, 1874, because the "western and newly settled portion of the state has been invaded by an army of grasshoppers," that "the state has no power to afford the necessary relief in the absence of legislation," and that "the first duty of the state is a fostering care and protection for all her citizens." The special session met, and, in addition to a few general acts, passed two of a relief nature. One authorized counties to issue "special relief bonds" in a "sum not exceeding one-half of one per cent. on the assessed valuation," and the other provided for the issuance of $73,000 of state bonds. The amount realized on these state bonds was to be used in purchasing bonds of each county to a certain extent, after the people had voted such indebtedness. This fund was apportioned among certain counties in western Kansas. The counties covered by this paper were allowed sums as follows: Decatur, $1000; Jewell, $4000; Mitchell, $3000; Norton, $5000; Osborne, $5000; Phillips, $6000; Rooks, $3000. This put the burden upon the county itself. The state central relief committee, Hon. Elias S. Stover, chairman, distributed in Decatur 2 packages; Graham, 178 packages; Jewell, 21 car-loads and 2062 packages; Mitchell, 8 car-loads and 1238 packages; Norton, 2½ car-loads and 828 packages; Osborne, 4½ car-loads and 1780 packages; Phillips, 5½ car-loads and 558 packages; Rooks, 526 packages; Smith, 21 car-loads and 870 packages. Laws of Kansas, 1875, pages 255, 257; report of Kansas central relief committee, 1875, pages 5, 6, 7.

The legislature of 1881 appropriated $25,000 for general relief Laws of 1881, chapter 130, page 249.

In 1891, $60,000. Laws of 1891, chapter 129, page 218. The State Board of Railroad Commissioners disbursed it.

In 1895 $100,000 was appropriated. Laws of 1895, chapter 242, page 394.

The appropriation of 1891 required the county to issue warrants payable to the state on or before February 1, 1892, and the county took each applicant's obligation for cost of grain furnished him, payable on or before January 1, 1892, with interest at six per cent. per annum after maturity. The law of 1895 required the county to issue warrants payable on or before February 1, 1896, and the county took each applicant's obligation, payable on or before November 1, 1895, with interest at six per cent. per annum after maturity. According to the books of the state auditor, the loan created by the acts of 1891 and 1895, $160,000 in all, has been returned to the state treasury, excepting a balance of $2334.19.

The pioneers brought with them a desire for education and the hope of religion. Schoolhouses of rude pattern, built of logs or sod, sprang up everywhere. They were used for the dual purpose of education during the week and devotional exercises on Sunday. The log and sod schoolhouses have given place to new and modern houses of education, and nearly every county-seat has a county high school and graded schools of high character.[5] Many churches of commodious size and excellent design take the place of the former houses of worship. The building of the schoolhouse in any neighborhood was an event of more than passing interest. They were frequently built before a regular organized district was set apart and before any taxes were levied for schools or for school buildings.

In such cases work would be donated by some and funds by others. On occasions persons were asked to contribute enough to buy a joint of stovepipe or a board from which to manufacture a seat. The building of the sod schoolhouse was an event from which occurrences were reckoned, as happening before the schoolhouse was built or after. The site being decided upon, the neighborhood gathered with horses, plows, and wagons. A piece of virgin prairie sod would be selected, the sod-breaking plow would be started; the sharp share would cut the grass roots and slice out a long piece of the sod from two to four inches in thickness, by twelve to fourteen inches in width. After the sod had been turned and the place where the edifice of learning was to be reared had been cleaned of the buffalo-grass down to the bare soil, men with sharp spades would cut the long furrows of sod into convenient lengths to be handled. These bricks of sod would then be loaded into wagons and taken to the building site, the foundation laid, the door frames set in at once, and as the work progressed and the walls had reached the height of a foot or such a matter, the window frames were set in and the building continued to the required height. Great care would be taken to break joints with the sods and also to put in binders, soft mud or fine soil. The latter was used more frequently to stop up every crevice or vacuum in the walls until they would be almost air-tight. Then the roof, sometimes of lumber, but more frequently of dirt, would be put on. To put on a dirt roof, a large log, the length of the building, was selected, or two, if one long enough could not be secured from the native timber sparsely scattered along the streams. This log would be put on lengthwise—a ridge log, it was termed. Shorter and smaller poles were then cut and laid from the sides of the walls to the ridge log. Over these

NOTE 5.—In the fourteen counties previously named, according to the report of I. L. Dayhoff, superintendent of public instruction, we find the following statement of schoolhouses and their value:

	No. school buildings.	*Value school property.*
Cheyenne county	67	$4,000
Decatur county	103	73,400
Graham county	86	37,000
Jewell county	165	110,000
Mitchell county	116	158,175
Norton county	117	85,470
Osborne county	124	99,850
Phillips county	129	57,200
Rawlins county	89	54,550
Rooks county	111	70,000
Sheridan county	74	46,100
Sherman county	59	21,541
Smith county	142	93,420
Thomas county	85	52,000
Totals	1,467	$962,706

would be placed small willow brush; then sod would be carefully laid over the willows; later to receive a layer of fine dirt carefully smoothed over the entire roof, which completed the job. The floor, usually of dirt, was sprinkled with water to lay the dust, and as this process was continued the dirt floor became hard-packed and easily kept in order.

It is not too far-fetched to say, before parting with the "little, old sod schoolhouse on the prairie," that great men will rise up whose rudimentary education was secured in one of those humble places of learning—congressmen, governors and even a president may have studied there. The insignificant mound that now marks the place where the sod schoolhouse crumbled to earth may be pointed out as the place where some great scientist or other person, who has been of inestimable benefit to humanity, learned to read.

Turning from the schoolhouse, as the fields grew more extensive and the herds more numerous, the attention of the railroad builders was attracted to this locality, and ere long great lines of steel stretched out across the prairies, the whistle of the engines awakening the country to new life, and thrilling the merchant and husbandman with new hope and energy at the thought of having railroad communication at their doors. While, at times, freight rates were undoubtedly exorbitant and unreasonable, and the lines required to produce too great revenues on account of the overstocking and mortgaging of their property, they greatly advanced the progress of the country; and the work that was done within a year or two would have taken many years to accomplish without the advent of the railroad. The railroads really belong, with the exception of the Union Pacific, to a later date, as the pioneers had "blazed the trail" and fought their way to assured success before the railroads were built.

One of the causes of so many failures and so much trouble and suffering was the fact that the country in the northwest was settled with such an onrush of immigration as was never before known. From the Missouri river westward to the eastern border of Jewell county, the march of the white settler had been very slow and deliberate. The probable average advance of the isotherombrose line had not been to exceed six or eight miles per annum. This gradual advance had been such that the outposts were removed but a few miles from the productive wheat- and corn-fields and the potato patches.

The plow was slowly but surely subduing the wild lands, and the reserve forces of partial crops at least aided in steadying the line of immigration in its Western march. But in 1870 an onrush such as eclipsed all former immigration in the history of the state or any other country commenced, and by the end of the year 1873 Jewell, Smith, Phillips, Norton, Decatur, and the corresponding counties southward—150 miles of new country—had been settled. Within a year or two more the rush had reached the Colorado line; 225 miles of virgin prairie to be subdued and brought into cultivation. The plow was everywhere, but the task was too great; the line wavered, and then at times it appeared that the battle was lost. Droughts and disappointments, as described before, caused the tongues of the white-topped wagons to be turned toward the rising sun, ever moving eastward. The claims were abandoned, the plow was, literally speaking, left standing in the furrow. The abandonment of the country became a maddening flight, a complete rout.

The homesteader was vanquished; the country was a desolate ruin for miles and miles. Not a farmer was left, and the few settlers who remained engaged in the stock business, continually singing the song "This is not a farming country, it is only good for cattle." The plow was forgotten, and the young men who were left aped the style of the cowboy of bygone days. Then one day the tide turned slowly; very slowly the people began to come back to Kansas; the settlers increased, agriculture was taken up anew, and the plow was started again. As the land was brought into cultivation more and more, the country became fruitful and promising. The rainfall was conserved in the loosened soil to fructify the efforts of the husbandman, and the wonderful crops of recent years tell of success for those who have suffered and endured the privations on the border.

But all was not unmixed trials and pain, for there were many joys and pleasures in frontier life. To go twenty miles on horseback or in a rough-riding farm wagon to a neighborhood dance, to dance all night to the monotonous sawing of some squeaky old fiddle, and, just as the stars faded from the sky, to go home with the girls in the morning, was a popular amusement. Then there were "spellin' schools," that attracted people for miles and miles—such distances as were unthought of as the population became more dense. There was, besides, the literary society, of which the debate on some popular or obsolete question was an important feature, with declamations, essays, songs, etc., making up a program to interest the settler and pass an evening in meeting the neighbors.

It was a joy to meet your neighbor in friendly exchange of news. No rural route delivery daily brought you the latest paper from the commercial center—the news not much more than twelve hours old; the telephone wires were not stretched in every direction then. You could not step up to the box and ring your next neighbor and ask him if he had seen a stray cow, or inquire about some acquaintance who was sick a dozen miles away, to hear his cheerful voice saying he was all right. The news was carried by a slow process of a weekly mail (sometimes should be spelled *weakly*), carried on horseback; there were also mail routes styled the "triweekly lines"—came out one week and tried to get back the next. No wonder all were given the "glad hand," and when they met on the trail tarried to gossip by the hour. Around the camp-fires and within the humble but hospitable homes those who were returning from down East were plied with questions about the latest events in the settlements.

When there were but few settlers scattered along the streams, before the great rush, one of the pleasures of the pioneers was to join together for a buffalo hunt. Several men with teams and hunting outfits would set out in the early fall for the buffalo range, not many days' travel distant, to secure their winter's supply of meat. They seldom failed to return with an abundant supply, that greatly improved their bill of fare. Then there were antelope, jack-rabbits, wild turkey, and occasionally an elk or deer, to sandwich in, to make up, for the greater part of the year, a splended variety of meats. One method of curing the meat for summer use was by salting and drying thin slices in the sun, slightly smoking to prevent the flies from spoiling it. This was called "jerked" meat, was very hard and dry, and would keep indefinitely. It could be eaten in that state, or sliced and cooked by various methods.

Every community contained some adventuresome persons, usually the young men without familles, who, when the green began to fade from the leaves and autumn frosts caused the grass to turn brown, gazed longingly toward the country of the wild. Several of them would make up a party, gather their steel traps, examine their rifles, and, with a winter's supply of provisions and feed, start for some favorite trapping-grounds. They were the trappers of the frontier. Along the streams were found the haunts of the beaver and otter, the coon and wildcat; on the prairie adjacent were the wolves—the big gray or buffalo wolf and the little, sneaking coyote. The pelts of all these animals commanded a price. The more expert the trapper, the better his returns from the winter's expedition. They would make their camp in some grove along the stream; either pitch a tent or build a shanty partly of logs and the rest dug out of the bank for their winter quarters. Next they would string out their traps for several miles along the stream to catch the beaver and the otter, and scatter poisonous bait out on the hills for the wolves. Then began their exciting, busy days, skinning and caring for the furs and peltries, chasing the wild game. Their meals were not always regular, but always hearty, consisting of such delicious morsels as beaver-tail soup (the trapper's dish par excellence), roast wild turkey, roasted, boiled or fried venison, antelope or buffalo meat. These were dishes beyond the dream of an epicure. Half a buffalo's ribs, spitted before the bright embers of the camp fire, roasted to a turn, rich and juicy, ready to serve at any moment, when the hungry trapper should return, would frequently be seen. Thus the winter would pass, the trapper ever on the alert for the prowling Indian marauders, who would quickly rob them of their catch, together with all their camp supplies. If success crowned their efforts, when the first green grass appeared along the valleys the trappers would wend their way homeward with several hundred dollars' worth of furs to their credit, ready to take up, indifferently, the work of agriculture, always longing for the autumn and the haunts of the wild animals.

The trapping-grounds are no more; the trapper, too, has passed away or grown old and gray. When the fall of the year comes to those who are left, their eyes grow bright, they catch the spirit of the season; there is a longing for the land of the buffalo, the beaver, the otter. They look back to the days of long ago as the freest, happiest of their eventful lives, and they tell of them with delightful remembrance.

The cowboy who stood the brunt of the battle, and acted as a buffer between civilization and barbarism, was here in all his pristine glory. They, as a class, have been much abused. But few toughs were to be found among the genuine cowboys of the northwest. They were generally a genteel set of men, in many instances well educated, always generous, some possessing excellent business qualifications. There was, however, a class who hung out at the shipping points, who did not belong to the cowboys, but lived off of them. They generally created most of the disturbances, shot up the towns, did the fighting and killing. This class were the gamblers and saloon-keepers; most of them, it is true, "came up the trail," and when they went broke turned to the range to raise a stake as cowboys. This disreputable class caused the rows, and the cowboy was given the credit (or discredit) for the trouble, when in reality he usually had little or no part in the disturbance.

Several years without law, for the outposts were pushed ahead of legislation; settlers outran the lawmakers and were beyond the influences and restraint of law. Being in unattached territory, the laws of the state did not apply, and no one had authority to put the machinery of the law in operation. They had outran even the tax gatherer—not anarchists, but every man was a law unto himself. Later, the western unorganized territory was attached to the organized county east for judicial purposes.[6] The latch-string hung out at every cabin and ranch door. All men were welcome to enter the door and eat, whether the owner was at home or absent. It was the custom of the country that no one passed the door hungry. Pay was never expected and seldom offered. Property was perfectly safe. A wagon-load of provisions or any other property could be left standing by the roadside for days without fear of loss. The house could be left indefinitely, and nothing disturbed except such provisions as the passer might need for his immediate wants. The plunderer was not tolerated. If a man was known to be a thief, he either left the country or died. Swift and certain justice was meted out to all who violated the rights or property of his neighbor. With the laws came the lawless and disturbing elements that require the police power of the state to keep in restraint.[7]

Towns by the hundred—paper towns principally—sprang up everywhere. Each was expected to become a metropolis, the county-seat, or a great railroad center. The promoters were mostly doomed to disappointment, for their dreams of affluence vanished into thin air and their town sites turned into corn-fields.

The immensity of the buffalo herds in this region was beyond computation. The writer had seen them on the Arkansas river in the freighting days, in the great Southwest, in southwest Kansas, Indian Territory, the Panhandle of Texas, and the Llano Estacado. One day, south of the Arkansas, between Wichita and Camp Supply, they were so numerous that they crowded the marching columns of the Nineteenth Kansas so dangerously close that companies were detailed to wheel out in front and fire volleys into the charging masses. But it was not until I came to the northwestern frontier that I beheld the main herd. One night in June, 1869, company D, Second battalion, Kansas state militia, then out on a scouting expedition to protect the frontier settlements, camped on Buffalo creek, where Jewell

NOTE 6.—Jewell and Mitchell counties were organized in 1870; Osborne in 1871; Norton, Phillips, Rooks and Smith in 1872; Decatur, Graham and Sheridan in 1880; Rawlins in 1881; Thomas in 1885; and Cheyenne and Sherman in 1886.

NOTE 7.—In the department of archives are the following letters, received from the adjutant general's office:

SALINA, May 20, 1874.

Capt. C. A. Morris, Adjutant General State of Kansas: SIR—Upon receipt of instructions under date of the 4th inst., I proceeded to Stockton, in Rooks county, and thence to the more exposed counties of Norton, Decatur, and Graham. I made a thorough investigation concerning the reported "threatened Indian hostilities," and now submit the following report:

The population of Rooks and Norton has been so greatly increased this spring that in my opinion the people of these counties have nothing to fear from Indians. Decatur and Graham counties are much less thickly populated; hence the people there are uneasy and restive lest marauding bands may repeat the bloody scenes that were enacted upon the North Fork of the Solomon some year or two since. A majority of the people in Graham have recently gone there from Rooks and Norton for the purpose of grazing cattle. They are almost entirely unarmed, which fact, in view of the scarcity of buffalo, offers a strong incentive to molestation from Indians who are making their way from western Nebraska to southwestern Kansas. If a limited number of state arms were furnished to the militia company commanded by Capt. L. C. Smith, of Rooks county, I am convinced that they would be available in case of any emergency arising either in Graham or Decatur counties.

Incidentally, I would beg to refer to the many bold depredations that are constantly being committed in the extreme northwestern counties by a band of horse thieves, whose organization seems to be perfect and to extend beyond the state. The county in question is peculiarly adapted

City is now located. All night long the guards reported hearing the roar of the buffalo herd, and in the stillness of the bright morning it sounded more like distant thunder than anything else it could be compared with. It was the tramping of the mighty herd and the moaning of the bulls. Just west of Jewell City is a high point of bluff that projects south of the main range of hills between Buffalo and Brown creeks, now known, we believe, as Scarborough's Peak. When the camp was broken, the scouts were sent in advance to reconnoiter from the point of bluff, to ascertain, if possible, whether the column was in the proximity of any prowling Indians. They advanced with great care, scanning the country far and near. After a time they signaled the command to advance by way of the bluff, and awaited our approach. When we reached the top of the bluff what a bewildering scene awaited our anxious gaze.

To the northwest, toward the head of the Limestone, for about twelve or fifteen miles, west across that valley to Oak creek, about the same distance, away to the southwest to the forks of the Solomon, past where Cawker City now is located, about twenty-five miles south to the Solomon river, and southeast toward where Beloit is now situated, say fifteen or twenty miles, and away across the Solomon river as far as the field-glasses would carry the vision, toward the Blue Hills, there was a moving, black mass of buffalo, all traveling slowly to the northwest at a rate of about one or two miles an hour. The northeast side of the line was about one mile from us; all other sides, beginning and ending, were undefined. They were moving deliberately and undisturbed, which told us that no Indians were in the vicinity. We marched down and into them. A few shots were fired. The herd opened as we passed through and closed up behind us, while those to the windward ran away. That night we camped behind a sheltered bend and bluff of one of the branches of the Limestone. The advance had killed several fine animals, which were dressed and loaded into the wagons for our meat rations. All night the buffalo were passing, with a continual roar; guards were doubled and every precaution taken to prevent them from running over the camp.

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for the operations of this class of vandals, who are a constant terror to the people. Many of the horse thieves have their homes upon the tributaries of the Solomon and are well known, but the people dare not attempt their arrest, for fear that their own lives will be imperiled and their homes burned.

Thus far any attempt to apprehend these desperadoes has resulted in shedding of blood and the repulse of the officer of the law. Very respectfully, E. W. AYRES.

NORTON, September 20, 1878.

Hon. Geo. T. Anthony, Topeka, Kan.: DEAR SIR — Your letter of the 12th duly received and contents noted. In reply would say, J. Conarty presented your order to Mr. Green for state arms, and he refuses to turn them over. He says he has nothing to do with them. They have been removed to the house of Jim Campbell, and he will not give them up, because the order runs to Green instead of him. It is merely a subterfuge to keep the arms until after the examination of Gandy and Cummins. Last Tuesday the stacks of a harmless old man were burned and his house fired into. Two weeks ago O. M. Dannevik had over 900 bushels of wheat burned in stack by (as we suppose) our incipient "Molly McGuires." A Mr. Lambard, who is now attending a teachers' institute at this place, has just told me as a friend that I shall be killed before the district court sits, for I have been too busy hunting out cases against the law. They may kill me, governor, like they did Mr. Landis, but they cannot scare me. It is a terrible state of affairs, and unless something be done towards helping us to break up the nest not one of us who have been anyways instrumental in trying to bring the murderers of John Landis to justice are safe. If you can send some one in to help get evidence who is not known I do wish you would do so. It will help the officers of justice and put confidence in the law-abiding citizens of this place. If you do anything with a detective it will have to be done privately.

Hoping to hear from you soon, I remain your obedient servant,

THOS. BEAUMONT, *County Attorney.*

We heartily indorse the request of Mr. Beaumont, and believe it is highly necessary to grant the same and break up the gang of outlaws who are infesting our county.

M. J. FITZPATRICK, *County Clerk.*
JOHN CONARTY, *Sheriff.*
NAT L. BAKER, *Register of Deeds.*

The next morning we turned our course, marching north toward White Rock creek, and about noon passed out of the herd. Looking back from the high bluffs we gazed long at that black mass still moving northwest.

Many times has the question come to my mind, How many buffaloes were in that herd? And the answer, no one could tell. The herd was not less than twenty miles in width—we never saw the other side—at least sixty miles in length, may be much longer; two counties of buffaloes! There might have been 100,000, or 1,000,000, or 100,000,000. I don't know. In the cowboy days in western Kansas we saw 7000 head of cattle in one round-up. After gazing at them a few moments our thoughts turned to that buffalo herd. For a comparison, imagine a large pail of water; take from it or add to it a drop, and there you have it. Seven thousand head of cattle was not a drop in the bucket as compared with that herd of buffalo. Seeing them, a person would have said there would be plenty of buffalo a hundred years to come, or even longer. Just think, that ten years later there was scarcely a buffalo on the continent. That vast herd and the many other herds had been exterminated by the ruthless slaughter of the hide-hunters, who left the meat to rot on the plains as food for the coyotes and carrion crows, taking only the hides, which were hauled away in wagons to the Union Pacific railroad, and shipped in train-loads East.

In a few years the bleaching bones were gathered up by the bone-pickers, stacked in great ricks at the railroad stations, and later shipped East, to become a fertilizer for worn-out Eastern farms. Sold for a price of six to ten dollars per ton, bone-picking enabled many a homesteader to buy the provisions to take his family through the winter and until he could raise another crop. The hides sold from $1 to $4 each, with a probable average of $2.75. The robe hides, those killed late in the fall and early winter, being best, brought better prices—sometimes as high as five dollars each. Small fortunes were made by the hide-buyers and traders who furnished the supplies for the hunters. Usually the hunters had little to show for their labor, privations, and dangers. We have no word to say against the killers; we were one of them. The government should have passed laws to protect and restrict the killing of buffalo. The danger of extermination was not realized until too late; or, as the Indians would say in lamentation and sorrow, "Buffalo all gone."

The Indian gave way to the trapper and hunter, those nomads of the plains, they to the cowboy, and he to the plow-holder, until now all the world watches the crop reports from Kansas. If the ticker announces that Kansas has gone dry, or the wheat has Hessian fly, up goes the price; while if the word goes out that Kansas is to have a bumper big crop, down goes the market. So the influence of the plow on the northwest border is now felt around the world. The army of destruction may overrun for a time, but after all the army of production comes to the front again and again, and, with the plow as the weapon, conquers all at last.

Now we catch the gleam of a better and higher civilization; a new light is dawning. From these people, tried by hardships and privations, like the Pilgrims of old, will come a race of heroes who will revolutionize conditions and build better than those gone before; not heroes on bloody fields—but with the plow will march to greater and grander victories in the production of those things needed by humanity. Thus will come the complete victory of the plow.

SAMUEL A. KINGMAN.

An address delivered by JOSEPH G. WATERS before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its twenty-ninth annual meeting, December 6, 1904.

Before what judge and what assize
Shall this man make his plea;
When at the bar, what his replies,
And what the court's decree?
With lifted face and modest eyes,
No room for doubt or strife,
He mute shall stand and point where lies
The story of his life.

THE real justification of a good and useful life is that death does not end it. The sufficient apology for a conscience is that it is the signal bell that sounds our course through the fog and shoal and night here that we may safely head our way over the unknown seas. The one noble and high purpose of death is a subsequent existence. The reasonable plea for all the love that mankind has ever had or known is for a continued being. If there is no existence beyond this, then life, love, hope, faith and conscience are the only purposeless things in all the infinite variety of use in the created universe. Without it there would be no fundamental law of good or bad; the felon would be as worthy as the Christian, and hate as well as love would have the right to control human conduct. The world's philosophy would be at an end and hope become a useless burden-bearer. The love of a mother for her child, which, with the human race, stands within the shadow of a divine attribute, that love which flies into the very face of death, that love which imagines, through the long years of stilled pulses, that it feels the soft patter of a velvet hand upon the cheek, would be a satanic mockery of this highest human emotion and a travesty of all conceptions of a Creator.

The hope possesses the race that death is but a darkened vale in an onward pilgrimage, a bend in the road, or like the course of a ship we have seen leave harbor and pass, hull down and out of sight, hid by the breasting billows. It is a hope that no science has discomfited, that no dumbness of death has blanched. This hope becomes a part of human existence. It breeds sympathy, it commands friendships, it compels the humanities, and it blooms the dreariest Saharas of life with love's unfading flowers. It makes men plant trees for another's shade, and to live for the benefit of others, when "life and thought have gone away side by side." That death is to end all is a chimera that has in memory an inveterate foe, that love pillories, and which stands accursed in the human soul. If the sweetness of believing that somewhere the benign eyes of our dead still bend their gaze upon us were to be destroyed, if all the love the heart overflows to them is unknown to them, if all the prayers for their repose are rebuffed by their muffled ears, it is an infinite calamity piled on the insult of life.

We may be oppressed by doubts; the world has always had its doubts. They people palaces and haunt hovels. The eye opens and closes on one. Doubt is, however, in the order and character of proof. Expectancy and desire at best are half doubt. Judge McFarland[1] once said that "doubt

NOTE 1.—NOAH C. MCFARLAND was born in Washington county, Pennsylvania, April 2, 1822. He attended school and college at Washington, Pa., and was a classmate of James G.

becomes a necessity." A doubt clings to every hope and hugs it as the shadow does its familiar. A doubt resembles the magnetic needle, with its ceaseless tremble, yet forever pointing the polar star fixed and unmoving in the outlying depths of space. It is the common hope of us all that prompts this speech, and dare I believe that when Judge Kingman died his good soul and loving heart disappeared in the hushed waters of oblivion over which is hung the rayless night of eternity, I could not provoke my lips to utter that which is in my heart to say.

Once he delivered an address to the memory of his good friend, G. G. Gage,[2] late of this city, and aptly quoted these lines, and none are apter for himself:

> "Who that surveys this span of earth we press,
> This speck of life in time's vast wilderness,
> Would sully the bright spot to leave it bare,
> When he might build him a proud temple there,
> And leave a name to hallow all its space
> And be each purer soul's high resting-place."

It has never been my pleasure to take part in the transactions of this Society. It has been my lot to participate in many casual affairs, with their apparent burden, seeming importance, and passion of the time, yet nigh all of which have passed into the vortex of forgotten ephemera, dying with the doing, giving hardly a paragraph to the use of history.

In speaking of him I would like to be my better self—an ideal not closely pursued by me nor highly attained. I would much desire to say the thought within me, so that when this utterance shall take its place in the print of your proceedings it might be read with profit in all the after-years, and that, whenever the book was opened at the page, it might bring a glow of satisfaction to my vanished and forgotten face.

I have high occasion to sweeten the lives of those who are left behind. I find supreme opportunity to point to an honorable and useful life in sharp contrast to the Mammon of these days that endeavors to sink such lives out of sight and example.

He was born in Worthington, Mass., June 26, 1818. His parents, Isaiah and Lucy Kingman, lived to a green old age. Judge Kingman was educated in the common schools of his native town and at the more pretentious

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Blaine. Before he was twenty-one years old he stumped his county in the interest of Henry Clay for president. He studied law, and engaged in active practice at Hamilton, Ohio, from 1850 to 1859. While in Ohio he was appointed by Governor Todd as "chairman of the Butler county war committee," in which capacity he labored for the best interests of the Union cause. In 1865 he was elected to the Ohio state senate, and was made chairman of the senate judiciary committee. He was chairman of the Ohio delegation to the Republican national convention at Chicago, in 1868, which nominated Grant for president. He removed to Kansas in 1870, settling in Topeka. In 1873 and 1874 he represented Shawnee county in the state senate. In 1879 he was appointed a member of the Ute Indian commission to ratify a treaty between that tribe and the United States. In 1881 he was made commissioner of the United States land-office, at Washington, and reappointed by President Arthur. He wrote the prohibitory amendment which is now a part of the constitution of Kansas. He was twice married — to Sarah Milliken, of Washington county, Pennsylvania, and in 1864, to Annie J. Anthony, of Springfield, Ohio, who died in Topeka May 5, 1896. He died in Topeka April 26, 1897.

NOTE 2.—GUILFORD G. GAGE was born in Sheffield, Ashtabula county, Ohio, October 17, 1834. He was raised on his father's farm and his education was obtained in the schools of that county. He came West and settled in Topeka May 8, 1856, making this his future home. He worked in a brick-kiln after coming here, and two years later was engaged in the same business on his own account. He invested in much Topeka and Shawnee county real estate, and built many houses, and left an estate valued in the neighborhood of $200,000. He gave the city of Topeka an eighty-acre park adjoining the city. He was a member of the Second Kansas regiment in the civil war, and took part in the battle of the Blue. He had erected in Topeka cemetery a $10,000 monument to the Kansas soldiers participating in that fight, which was unveiled in 1896. He was married in 1867 to Miss Louisa Ives, of Alleghany county, New York. He was stricken with paralysis, and died in Topeka May 19, 1899.

Mountain Academy there; he began teaching in his seventeenth year, and when nineteen went to Kentucky, where he taught school and studied law. He began practicing at Carrollton, Ky.; then changed location to Smithland, Livingston county. He held the offices of county clerk and district attorney, and for three years was member of the legislature from that county.

He assisted in forming a new constitution for Kentucky. In the spring of 1856, with his family, he went to Knoxville, Marion county, Iowa, and in the spring of 1857 met his destiny face to face, and came to Kansas. He spent the first six months at Leavenworth and then went upon a claim in Brown county, near where Horton now stands. In the summer of 1858 he moved to Hiawatha and commenced to practice law again.[3] He was elected delegate from Brown county to the Wyandotte constitutional convention, which convened July 5, 1859, and on the organization of the state was elected associate justice of the supreme court. In 1864 he was nominated for associate justice on the Union Republican ticket, which was headed by Solon O. Thacher for governor, and was defeated by Jacob Safford on the Republican ticket, headed by Samuel J. Crawford for governor. In 1865 he moved to Atchison and went into partnership with John James Ingalls in the practice of the law. In 1866 he became a candidate for chief justice of the supreme court, was elected, and reelected in 1872, which office he resigned in 1876 on account of ill health. He was afterwards appointed state librarian; this office he held for a short time, and was compelled to quit for the same reason. He was temporary chairman of the constitutional convention, as well as chairman of the judiciary committee and a member of the committees on ordinance, public debt, and phraseology and arrangement of that body. He was the first president of the State Historical Society[4] and a director of it from then on; he has been president of the State Judges' Association and the State Bar Association. He was the president of the Ananias Club to the time of his death. He has lived with his family in Topeka since 1872. He had been a Whig, and, like most Whigs, he naturally gravitated to the Republican party.

His name has frequently been suggested for United States senator, and at one time he somewhat expected the appointment of United States judge. Just four days before his death the city papers announced that he and his wife intended to celebrate their sixtieth wedding anniversary. He was married on October 29, 1844, to Matilda Willets, daughter of Samuel and Susan Hartman, of Terre Haute, Ind. His venerable spouse survives him, and also two daughters, Mrs. Lillian Butterfield and Miss Lucy D. Kingman.

On the death of Judge Kingman, the Topeka Federation of Women's Clubs issued a memorial in his honor, as a mark of respect to his daughter, Miss Lucy, who is a member of that body. I have received several letters concerning him, and I hope they will be printed along with this. They are

NOTE 3.—Judge Kingman was one of the three commissioners provided for by the legislature of 1859 for the adjustment and payment of territorial claims. This commission reported to the Wyandotte constitutional convention, and a summary of their report was published in its proceedings, pages 293–318. The other commissioners were Edward Hoogland, appointed by the governor; Henry J. Adams, elected by the council; and Judge Kingman, by the house, on February 11, 1859.

NOTE 4.—Judge Kingman was twice before first president of historical organizations: In February, 1860, of the Scientific and Historical Society of Kansas, organized at Lawrence, and of the Kansas Historical Society, at Topeka, in March, 1867. *Kansas Newspaper World*, January, 1895, p. 31.

from great judges, prominent lawyers, and neighbors; and each one of them has sprinkled its salt through the lines of this address.

It is a proper preface to this address to say that up to the time of the passage of the organic act of Kansas and Nebraska slavery was a national evil. The slave trade had been abolished, but the constitution of the United States, as interpreted by the supreme court in the Dred Scott case, made slavery national by protecting it to such an extent that it was beyond the reach of human law to abolish, destroy or impair it as an institution. Upon the organization of Kansas into a territory, a new doctrine, devised by Senator Douglas in his political extremity, was injected into that act. The decision in that case declared, in substance, that the slave owner with his slaves had the same right and protection under the federal constitution in the territories that the Northerner had with his mules. Douglas proposed to avoid the effect of that decision by placing in the "belly of the Kansas-Nebraska bill," as was said at that time, the provision that it was not the object or purpose to vote slavery up or down in the territory, but to leave the people perfectly free to form their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the constitution of the United States.

This was popular sovereignty. It was the virtual repeal of the Missouri compromise, an act passed in 1821, which declared that slavery should not go north of the line of 36° 30'. Kansas became the struggle; blood was spilled and lives lost. It brought to the front many a sturdy hero in patched breeches, leaky shoes and coarse raiment whose descendants will 100 years from now be proud to claim as the origin of their blood. The Kansas pioneer was a strenuous man, a fighting man, battling for an end. If out of a settlement of convicts and ticket-of-leave men Cape Town and Botany Bay became such colonial dependencies as South Africa and Australia, what should this brave pioneer strain of blood do for Kansas; free men, fighting and dying for free homes, free speech, and free men? Under that act the antagonistic forces met. Four constitutions were voted on—the Lecompton constitution twice. As the ultimate of all such struggles shall finally be, freedom and liberty won. The Missourian was against the inexorable. The Bible, the spelling-book and Sharp's rifle were trained soldiers fighting the guerrillas of slavery, illiteracy, and the whisky jug.

A free state became possible. A constitutional convention was called to meet at Wyandotte on July 5, 1859. It passed a free-state constitution, which was ratified by the people. That instrument was the death-warrant of slavery. It legitimatized and incorporated the great underground railroad, and adopted the north star into the purposes and destiny of the state. I can understand the origin of our state motto. Defeated, exasperated and blinded by its frenzy, the South spurned Judge Douglas and set its own candidates in the field for the presidency, and fired the Southern heart for secession. Mr. Lincoln was elected, and the long foretold disruption came, that ended, after an unparalleled war, great havoc, and immense loss, with slavery banished forever from the face of the civilized globe.

It is of that Wyandotte convention that I desire to speak. In the deliberations of that body Judge Kingman was by far the foremost mind. The work he did there shows the trained jurist. He gave to it his best ponder. He came prepared for the task; even-tempered, far-seeing, with no sinister designs to accomplish and no great ambitions to glut. He was its genius.

It has been something of an object in the occasional addresses I have made in this state to speak in the highest terms of our constitution and laws. I would in some way like pleasantly to anger and enrage our teachers and citizens generally, until they would give them the persistent study that society clubs devote to the renaissance, ancient art, or Barneveldt.

I believe that they represent the highest plateau reached in the world's civilization, ancient or modern. We have put good, rich blood into the common law or killed it outright. We have placed woman on a pedestal and intelligence in the show window. The constitution was not motley or patchwork. It was consistent and harmonious. It had been studied out and licked into shape before the convention met. The convention was only twenty-four days in session. Were one to be called now it would take six months or a year. The common schools were provided for, which will grow in importance for all time. The bill of rights is all that a people want for their protection. Whether Judge Kingman and his fellows shall ever have set over them some tall shaft or column it is useless to conjecture, so long as a vestige of the constitution shall remain to ennoble and perpetuate their names. He was the one man of that convention that we hold responsible for its many magnificent provisions. The homestead exemption and the clause exempting $200 from taxation of heads of families are his especial handiwork. Other states had homestead exemptions, but they were meager, begrudging, and unsatisfactory. Some had limited them to $500, and the highest did not exceed $3000, and beyond that the creditor could take. One state gave the husband the right to relinquish it.

Our constitution gives 160 acres of land outside a town or city or one acre within such limits as a homestead. It can only be taken for unpaid purchase-money or for unpaid improvements made by its owner. It cannot be alienated except by the joint consent of the husband and wife. It makes no difference in whose name the title stands, the husband or wife, or both, or turn about, one year him and then one year her. It is inconsequential how valuable may be its acres, its buildings, or betterments. It inures to the use and enjoyment of the family. If the wife keeps her pen from the paper it is sacred to her and her brood. The husband can never take it for alimony. The eyes of the creditor need never be turned toward it—he cannot take it. It was the first step in the emancipation of the wife in her vassalage to her husband; she emerged from his shadow and cast one of her own. Following this provision, and as its necessary trend, the laws of Kansas for the first time in any state or nation declared her to be the heir of her husband, equal before the law in descents and distributions of property. Before that, her portion was a dower-right in his estate, an indefinable, intangible next-to-nothing, only valuable as illustrating the wife's poverty and dependence under the common law. It was expected that the homestead exemption would be a cover for the man's property to escape his creditors, but the many serious days since then of catastrophe, calamity or caterpillar have proven otherwise.

This was the noblest and proudest work of that convention. It recognized the family as the first thing to be cared for—the unit of all the varied things that go to constitute a state. Poverty may put out the fires on the hearth, but, unbidden, an army cannot kindle its embers. It draws the sacred circle of the law around the grandmother's rocker and the patriarch's

seat by the chimney-jamb. Its gates open only to friends. It must be the footfall of friend that is heard coming up the graveled path. Its threshold may be only worn by the feet we love. Its latch lifts only on approach of neighbor. Out of its curtained windows can be seen the deft fingers of spring weaving the tufted floors of vernal green that seem to the weary feet the velvets of paradise; they look out upon the waving corn, the changing fields, the great harvesters afield, the autumn's ripened stores, the huge stacks, the sleek herds, and when winter descends with its snows upon the roof, its blasts against the pane, there are comfort and happiness within. And when the great prairies turn into the abyss of night, its lamps gem and star the darkness and become to the belated traveler hospitality, cheer, slumber, and blessing. By the fiat of the constitution, the woodbine, Virginia creeper, honeysuckle, the rose climber, and morning-glory, when planted by the mittened hand of the wife, her dark hair and darker eyes hidden in the depths of a sunbonnet, remembered for sixty years, are vouched an inviolate and perpetual license to clamber and ramble at will over the lintels, under the eaves and around pillar, porch and chimney of all the homes of Kansas. The hollyhocks, marigolds, sweet peas, nasturtiums, violets, pinks, and prairie queens, planted in boyhood, there become the immortal amaranths of old age. There is no such word as "homeless" in the lexicon of Kansas. For all time the home is the one sure port behind the harbor bar, where the lights gleam, where the gales cease, and surge and billow are stayed; a state of homes, of roof-trees, of family shrines, where children, touched with the incense of home's altar fires, grow and broaden into a mightier race under the sun. We are too near to see its value. Things without perspective have little meaning. It requires comparison to develop proportion. Had we the ingrained knowledge of peasant life, of the human tribes and shambles, of crowded lands, of the houseless and homeless hewers of wood and drawers of water the wide world over, we would the more fully value a secure home; a homestead fortressed by the constitution, buttressed by law, and garrisoned by bright-eyed children. The homestead is Judge Kingman's monument.

Sol. Miller,[5] a veteran editor of Kansas, a philosopher, statesman, and poet, has panegyrized the homes of Kansas in a few sweet verses. He died

NOTE 5.—SOL. MILLER, the editor of the *Chief*, published by him at White Cloud, Doniphan county, from 1857 to 1872, and at Troy from 1872 to the day of his death, April 17, 1897, came to Kansas from Germantown, Ohio, in the spring of 1857. He was born at Lafayette, Ind., January 22, 1831, his parents being John and Dicey Miller, whose people appear to have been natives of Tennessee and the Carolinas. The family moved to Twin, Preble county, Ohio, soon after his birth, and he was raised in that town, securing his education in the common school. His father was a carpenter, and Sol. assisted him in this work, which he never liked, desiring to become a printer. January 28, 1848, he became indentured for board and clothes in the *Gazette* office at Germantown, Ohio, for a term of four years. At the close of his apprenticeship he purchased a half-interest in the *Gazette*, giving his note and a bill of sale on the office in payment. The paper supported Winfield Scott for president. During his experience as editor he became interested in the church at Germantown, and taught a class of seven boys. He was married May 17, 1854, to Miss Mary Kaucher, of Germantown.

The first number of the *Chief* is dated June 4, 1857, though he says he printed and circulated a bundle of papers among the crowd gathered at the sales of the Iowa trust lands, at Iowa Point, June 1. Although a slave boy was hired to run off the first number of the paper, Mr. Miller was a free-state man, and afterwards a staunch Republican. He was a member of the Kansas house of representatives in 1862, and elected to three terms in the state senate, serving in 1866, 1871, 1872, 1885, 1886, and 1887. He was a member of the State Board of Public Works in 1891; was grand master of the Grand Lodge of Odd Fellows of Kansas, 1871–'72, and was one of the five Kansas editors who organized the Kansas State Historical Society, in December, 1875. Noble L. Prentis speaks of him as "the best-known of Kansas editors," and "as good a printer as ever walked the sod." Two of his poems were thought of sufficient merit to be included in Professor Carruth's little volume of Kansas literature: "The Homes of Kansas," and "The Model Old Couple," the latter said to have been a tribute to his parents.

a few years ago. How the summers haste and the autumns scurry! But he haunts the prairies of Kansas yet with the music of his undying strain:

"The cabin homes of Kansas!
How modestly they stood
Along the sunny hillsides
Or nestled in the wood.
They sheltered men and women,
Brave-hearted pioneers;
Each one became a landmark
Of freedom's trial years.

"The sod-house homes of Kansas!
Though built of Mother Earth,
Within their walls so humble
Are souls of sterling worth.
Though poverty and struggle
May be the builder's lot,
The sod house is a castle,
Where failures enter not.

"The dugout homes of Kansas!
The lowliest of all,
They hold the homestead title
As firm as marble hall.
Those dwellers in the caverns,
Beneath the storms and snows,
Shall make the desert places
To blossom as the rose.

"The splendid homes of Kansas!
How proudly now they stand,
Amid the fields and orchards,
All o'er the smiling land.
They rose up where the cabins
Once marked the virgin soil,
And are the fitting emblems
Of patient years of toil.

"God bless the homes of Kansas!
From poorest to the best,
The cabin of the border,
The sod house of the West.
The dugout low and lonely,
The mansion grand and great:
The hands that laid the hearthstone
Have built a mighty state."

And if I now pay my own special tribute to this song, it is because of my own personal regard for the man and his measure:

How sweet the song that ages long
Compels the world to linger,
Halts trade and train to move again
The lips of this dead singer!

There is no sweeter word with which to link the name of Judge Kingman to remembrance than "home." And I cannot conclude what I have to say upon the homestead provision without adding this: On Kansas Day at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, an oration was delivered by a distinguished citizen of this state, of national reputation, a great lawyer, and as eloquent as great, which became a classic as soon as he uttered it.[6] There

NOTE 6. — DAVID OVERMYER, of Topeka. Mr. Overmyer was born in Pickaway county, Ohio, May 1, 1847. In 1849 his parents moved to Indiana. He was educated at Asbury Univer-

is no earthly use to send to Massachusetts for material for our school readers. Here is a part of what he said:

"This provision, at once wise, just, and humane, is the work, chiefly, of that Nestor of the early days of the state, the late Chief Justice Samuel A. Kingman. On the 9th day of the present month, at his home in Topeka, in his eighty-seventh year, he passed from a pure, serene and tranquil life into the mysterious silence. It is said that Solon instructed kings; and so it can be truly said of Judge Kingman, that he instructed men who are greater than kings—the builders of a sovereign state. The noble career, the stainless life and the blessed memory of this rare man should teach us what abiding consolation lies in duty well performed; that all must serve each other according to his estate and station, and that virtue is truly its own reward. Kingman and his compatriots aimed only at justice and mercy. They did not foresee that in time the homestead exemption might become a measure of saving policy for states and nations.

"We are told in ancient fable that Anteus was invincible while he remained in contact with his Mother Earth, and so nations are invincible as long as they rest firmly on the sustaining earth. No nation ever flourished where agriculture languished, and no nation ever languished where agriculture flourished. Cities bring opulence and culture. They lure the rustic youth from his father's fields with their dazzling splendors and their prodigious power. They expand the mind, sharpen the faculties and arouse the ambitions of men. They attract hordes of weak and defective beings, and generate hordes of perverts, who bask in the sensual excitements and float in the oceans of ooze which flow fathomless in all the great cities. Vast heaps of human compost send forth their poisonous exhalations year by year, detoning and degrading more and more the life of a city."

The other exemption of the constitution excluded $200 belonging to the head of a family from taxation. This was the work of Judge Kingman. In that convention there were no rich men—a man could not watch a Missourian and make money at the same time. This exemption was a protection to the poor. In the forty-five years we have been a state, $500,000,000 of property have escaped taxation by reason of that exemption.

These special exemptions will remain forever. The people will never consent to any amendment of them. A new constitution has been talked, but the fear of the people that these provisions might be impaired has prevented a serious consideration of another convention for that purpose. They are the birthright and heirloom of all future Kansas that still lies below the horizon. On July 25, 1884, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Wyandotte constitution was held at Wyandotte, on which occasion Judge Kingman delivered an address that has not been preserved. It was the only anniversary. The survivors of this convention are: E. G. Ross, afterwards a senator, who undeservedly met the ill will of Kansas by voting against the impeachment of President Johnson, is still living, in New Mexico; Judge John T. Burris, honored and respected, is still living at Olathe, and B. F. Simpson, who has honored and been honored by Kansas, is living at Paola; R. C. Foster, who is now living somewhere in Texas; S. D. Houston, now living at Salina, and who is also honored and esteemed; and C. B. McClellan, whom I have known for thirty years, after a successful mercantile career commenced and ended at Oskaloosa, is now enjoying the shade of his trees, the smell of his roses, the enjoyment of family and neighbors, beloved, honored and respected by

sity, and admitted to the bar in 1869. In February, 1883, he moved to Kansas, locating at Topeka. In 1885, and the special session of 1886, he represented Topeka in the house of representatives. In 1888 he was Democratic candidate for Congress in the Topeka district, and in 1894 the Democratic candidate for governor. He enjoys a great legal practice and is a prominent writer on political questions.

the entire community. These are the only survivors of that convention. As long as the actors speak, history is silent.

Judge Kingman was for thirteen and a half years on the supreme bench, over nine years of which he was chief justice. He is represented in the first seventeen reports. Great lawyers were in the habit of coming before his court — John Martin, Stinson, Gamble, McCahon, Brewer, Ingalls, A. L. Williams, Waggener, Shannon, Crozier, Foster, Glick, Ruggles, Plumb, Stillings, Fenlon, Wheat, Bertram, Burns, Usher, Simpson, Burris, Devenney, Otis, McClure, Humphrey, Peck, Thacher, Cobb, Webb, and others whose names on the least thought will readily be remembered.

From the first decision this court began to set the plastic mortar into precedent that should be the hard whinstone of the law. It consisted of three members, and it was a very rare occasion for any one of them to dissent, and still rarer to write a dissenting opinion. Judge Clifford's opinions while associate justice of the supreme court of the United States can be distinguished ten feet away by the peculiar way he paragraphed them. And Judge Kingman's opinions can be recognized that far off by their brevity and conciseness. He never wrestled with an adjective. He never plunged himself into the vortex of a philosophical disquisition just for the purpose of ascertaining who would be the master of the bout.

The lawyer in practice to-day uses and encounters the use in others of many apt, terse and sententious propositions of law which are constantly being asked and given as instructions, which are largely from his opinions. In his first opinion, *The State v. Horne* (1 Kan.), there occur several of these paragraphs. He wrote 226 opinions. They are models. The last opinion he wrote, *Yandle v. Kingsbury* (17 Kan.), was a replevin case. The jury allowed the owner $500 for the use of a horse, mare and colt valued at $185 for sixteen months and seven days. Ten per cent. interest on the $185 would have amounted to less than $30 for that time. The court sustained the verdict, holding that the owner had the right to prove and recover the usable value of the property, and was not restricted to interest. Judge Brewer took occasion to write a dissenting opinion. He thought it an outrage that the owner could recover three times the value of the property for the simple use of it for sixteen months, beside the property itself. That was the law then and now, and I have often wondered if that was the reason Judge Brewer left the state bench and went onto the federal one.

Judge Kingman resigned the bench in 1876. He survived two chief justices who came after him. I can think of no more agreeable companion on or off the bench than he was. He was always a modest, tender, courteous gentleman. There was no sting in his decisions or conversation. He ran his conscience into his decisions. He had as full faith in human nature as Abraham Lincoln had; the lapse or fall of one did not shake his faith in the mass.

In every relation of life he was a delightful man. He lived a simple, unostentatious life, loving his friends, and loved by them. When he died he was without an enemy, nor had he given cause for one. For a quarter of a century he waited the summons. He lived to a green old age, and died calmly, painlessly, serenely, "as flowers may close at set of sun." He was given high positions, and he gave back to the people his trusts honestly administered and stainless and pure, thank God! His desires were few, his habits simple. The city and county of Kingman were named after

him, and the honor weighted his modest soul. As the president of this Society, he gave it of his strength and goodness. He was a frequenter of the Ananias Club, where he habited to meet old cronies and lifelong friends down to the very last. A lover of good women, of little children, and young people. A heart big enough to house all mankind. A good and glorious thing to live life as he lived it. He loved the accustomed chair of his home; the pleasant, harmless tattle of neighbors; he loved his wife, his children, and grandchildren; no enemy ever supped at his table, nor any sinister thing ever opened the door to his heart. When he died we covered him with flowers. No crape on the door, nor grief nor tears, for in the fulfilled course of nature there are no tears. His friends and neighbors filled the rooms as the last services were held over that frail body on that lowering Sunday morning. The preacher read Whittier's "Eternal Goodness," wherein occurs this matchless verse of faith and hope:

"I know not where His islands lift
Their fronded palms in air,
I only know I cannot drift
Beyond His love and care."

And then the preacher, God bless him, read "The Aged Man's Funeral," of William Cullen Bryant:

"And I am glad that he has lived thus long,
And glad that he has gone to his reward;
Nor can I deem that nature did him wrong,
Softly to disengage the vital cord;
For when his hand grew palsied, and his eye
Dark with the mists of age, it was his time to die."

Usually Death approaches with felted feet. The call follows the blow, no warning, no premonition, no signal bell. It seems as if Death himself by Death's own suddenness may be taken unawares. How often does he make this address to his victim:

Pull off your hat and shoes; undress;
Turn over all that you possess—
Your income, leases, fief of lands,
The subtle thought, the cunning hands;
Renounce your splendid, matchless frame,
Your loves, your memories and name,
The throb of life, the buoyant breath.
Command I may, for I am Death.
The worm, an universal heir,
Shall take its portion, lot, and share.
Creep in your bed beneath the sod;
Leave hope and faith and all to God.
He nothing heard of all I said;
His heart is still, the man is dead!

Death came to him as an expected guest. It entered his door with the welcome of a friend. Death kindly whispered the word; the good-bys had been said over and over again the long years through, and arm in arm they went away. As the ripened and burnished apple falls in the latest autumn, so Judge Kingman died.

To all the young gentlemen of Kansas, as they man the generations yet to come, here was a life for your edification and example.

JUDGE SAMUEL A. KINGMAN.

An address before the State Bar Association, January 31, 1905, by HOWEL JONES, of Topeka, Kan.

IT may safely be taken for granted that all lawyers of the older generation in Kansas knew Judge Kingman. He had an unique personality, and he lived and worked at the time of the beginnings, when the home, the church, the school and the law were slowly emerging from the soil of a region that only yesterday had passed from the dominion of the Indian and the buffalo.

Judge Kingman died September 9, 1904, at the age of eighty-six years. His life had seen the passing of all the old and the coming of all the new. In his youth, in the Massachusetts town of Worthington, where he was born, the world had not yet heard of the telegraph, and all we have now—the strange things that are the indispensable conveniences of daily life—came to us after he had reached middle life. In his early manhood, and even after he began the practice of the law, men and women were still sold like cattle, while at the time of his death every man had long been free and at liberty to make of himself, for himself, whatever it was in him to be.

Judge Kingman came of the sturdiest New England stock. His early education was such as is given in the New England district school, and all he knew, and it was much, he learned later, and by and for himself. Ill health was his constant companion during all his long life, and he was forbidden a full participation in the physical energies that always accompany growth and change. Yet growth and change were part of his environment wherever he was after he had left his native town. He took part in all, but it was, of necessity, the part of one who sees clearly and advises wisely, rather than of him who rides far and watches long, and wrings his sustenance from unwilling nature at first hands. It was ill health that took him from his birthplace, and at the age of nineteen, without health, money, or friends, he was at Carrollton, on the Ohio river, in Kentucky. He taught school to live, and while teaching studied law. Later he removed to a town named Smithland, in the same state, and there began the practice of the law.

Some of his earliest experiences were in the field of politics, and for several terms he represented his county in the Kentucky legislature. It was during this period that Kentucky adopted a new constitution, and thus he acquired some of the practical experience that fitted him for his work as a member of the body that framed the present constitution of Kansas, at Wyandotte, in 1859—more than forty-five years ago. It was ill health that caused Judge Kingman's removal from Kentucky and placed him where his life-work was actually to be done—here in Kansas. He arrived in this state, then a territory, in 1857, a date that few living men can now recall. It was a time when everything was yet to be done, and the situation was rendered still more complicated by a strife such as never had occurred before, and certainly can never occur in the future; and that seems almost incredible to the school child of our time as a part of the history of his native state.

It was in 1859, about two years after Judge Kingman arrived, that he was sent as a delegate to the Wyandotte constitutional convention. There had been held three conventions for the same purpose—at Topeka in 1855, at Lecompton in 1857, at Leavenworth in 1858. These others had been held under the stress of what was in fact a mere modification of civil war, and when the minds of men were too excited and radically inclined to frame a fitting organic law for the Kansas that was to be. As time passed, and it became certain that the work was necessary, the people of the territory called still another convention, and sent to it as delegates a new type of men—men unhampered by the personal memories of the struggle whose echoes had died away, having in their minds, instead, a forecast of the future. They were for the greater part newer to the territory,[7] and their veins were full of the red wine of young manhood. There had, indeed, been extremes at other conventions. Slavery was excluded by all save one of the votes of the Wyandotte convention, though at the time of its writing no man dreamed of the great war that was so soon to come, and that, after years of struggle, was to result in the abolishment of slavery from every state.

Judge Kingman was perhaps the genius of the Wyandotte convention. He brought to his work there the equipped and disciplined mind of the student and thinker. He knew the salient events of history and was familiar with the laws and constitutions of the English-speaking world. In this convention at Wyandotte he served on three important committees—judiciary, ordinance and public debt, and phraseology and arrangement. How well his work was done is shown by the instrument as it stands to-day.

NOTE 7.—The following are the only ones who served in two constitutional conventions: James M. Arthur, in the Topeka and Wyandotte conventions; Caleb May, W. R. Griffith, William McCullough, John Ritchie, and James M. Winchell, in the Leavenworth and Wyandotte conventions. The Lecompton convention was not represented in the Wyandotte convention.

Judge Kingman had the rare gift of leading men while seeming merely to follow them. He was from Massachusetts and known to be opposed to slavery, yet he was elected a member of the legislature and county attorney in a slave state, and at a period when slavery was becoming more and more a burning question. This unusual gift was shown, as an instance, in the consideration of the petition to the constitutional convention of the citizens of Douglas and Shawnee counties protesting against the constitutional differences that were proposed to be established between the sexes. The petitioners desired to be heard by the entire convention, and, had they been, endless discussion would have resulted. A majority favored this general hearing, but Judge Kingman had the petitions referred to the committees on elective franchise and judiciary. The following, written by Kingman, is the unanimous report of the two committees:

"The committee on the judiciary, to whom, in connection with the committee on elective franchise, was referred the petition of sundry citizens of Kansas 'protesting against any constitutional distinctions based on difference of sex,' have had the same under consideration, and beg leave to make the following report: Your committee concede the point in the petition upon which the right is claimed 'that the women of the state have, individually, an evident common interest with its men in the protection of life, liberty, property, and intelligent culture'; and are not disposed to deny that sex 'involves them in greater and more complicated responsibilities.' But the committee are compelled to dissent from the conclusion of petitioners. They think the rights of women are safe in present hands—the proof that they are so is found in the growing disposition on the part of different legislatures to extend and protect the rights of property, and in the enlightened, progressive spirit of the age, which acts quietly but efficiently upon the legislatures of the day. Such rights as are natural are now enjoyed as fully by women as men. From such rights and duties as are merely political in their character they should be relieved, that they may have more time to attend to those 'greater and more complicated responsibilities' which, petitioners claim, and your committee admit, devolve upon women.

"The theological view of this question your committee will not consider.

"All of which is respectfully submitted."

His wonderful insight into the motives and impulses that control human nature was shown when the bill of rights was under consideration.

The first section, as reported, was as follows:

"SECTION 1. All men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inalienable rights, among which are those of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties, acquiring, possessing and protecting property, and of seeking and obtaining happiness and safety; and the right of all men to the control of their persons exists prior to law and is inalienable."

The discussion on this section took wide range and nearly every member in the convention took part. When it had practically ended, Kingman arose and said:

"MR. PRESIDENT: I do not propose to argue this question. I would be willing to vote for the section as it stands, but I prefer the language of the substitute just offered. But I hold in my hand a section which I prefer to both of them. I do not propose at this time to offer it. But I hold that this use of the word 'inalienable' is misunderstood and misinterpreted in this house. A man's right to his life is inalienable in law under all circumstances. He has no right to sell or give it away; no right to dispose of it at all. But the word 'inalienable' has a fixed meaning in law. And when in the common use of the word we say that a man cannot alienate his property, none would suppose we mean to say he cannot forfeit his property. We intend, at the proper time, to propose in this constitution that there shall be a homestead set apart to each settler in the state, which shall be inalienable, but we do not propose to ordain that it shall not be forfeited for debts due to the state, and so on. I do not like to see this doctrine infringed. I do not like to depart from old, established usage. Therefore, I hope the section which I hold in my hand will be adopted. By the leave of the convention I will read it:

"'All men are possessed of equal and inalienable natural rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'

"These terms, Mr. President, are fixed in the minds of the American people. They have become traditional, and I offer to strike out and insert this, that the American feeling may appear in this section. We all cling to old truths, and I love the very forms of expression in which old truths have been presented. I dislike to change any old truth from the forms of language to which I have been accustomed. I dislike to see them taken from the habiliments in which I have so often seen them clothed and put into new and doubtful phraseology, and our national declaration of independence is of this class of truth. That declaration of rights forms a part of our political creed, from which no man can extricate himself, and I do not wish to change the clothing of these ideas. It is this feeling that makes a man who had long read one book, as the Bible or Blackstone, value it a hundredfold above its intrinsic value. This makes a man like to read the sentiments he cherishes in their original style of expression—makes him like to dwell on the very words that cover the principles he holds closest to his heart. And we should express these sentiments in few words, sufficient to cover their views and carry their original force, and whatever goes beyond that is injurious to the sense. I say again, sir, I love these old forms. They are, it seems to me, as the political Bible of every citizen of the United States. If you change their language, you mar their beauties—carry the mind away from the sense, and send it off into reflections on the phraseology and meaning of these new terms. I think the amendment I have read, in these old terms, is broad enough. It will show no man's prejudices, and it is broad enough for all to stand upon."

This substitute, as you all know, is the first section of our present bill of rights.

Matchless as was his great work in the judiciary, public debt, and phraseology and arrangement committees, before the convention adjourned his crowning glory became the shaping and passing of the homestead provision. At common law the home could not be sold, but the emble-

ments thereof could be seized, with the result of keeping the debtor always impoverished. Writers interested in humanity have deplored this condition, but Senator Benton, in 1828, as far as the writer hereof knows, was the first forcibly to picture that a tenant has no home, no hearth, no altar, and no household gods. In 1836 the Texas revolutionists favored a homestead. No provision that came before the convention elicited so much feeling and discussion as this. Many were in favor of giving it a money value. Kingman's observing mind, extensive reading and sympathy showed him that the big-hearted and generous pioneers were unable to cope with the money-getter and trader. He remembered that so long as Rome drew its soldiers from the small farmers and England from its yeomen their armies were invincible. He, too, saw with his prophetic eye the approaching industrialism, the growth of the urban population, and the weakening of home and family ties. Therefore, he, perhaps, was the best qualified man in the convention to give the homestead provision the comprehensiveness and scope that were needed. He had given it more thought and consideration than any other delegate, and he was more deeply interested in it than in any other question before the convention. He said:

"MR. CHAIRMAN: I have an argument against this. The gentlemen do not seem to make the distinction between a homestead and an exemption law. The object of a homestead law is very unlike that of an exemption law. And I think the amendment proposed is calculated to defeat the homestead principle. I think that is its object. It is within the recollection of many when it was the settled policy of many of the states that the land should not be subject to sale for the payment of debts. But the commercial interests of the country, by their power and skill, produced a change which has subjected the farms and homes of the people to be sold under execution, and so nearly converted our people into a class of nomads. I want, if possible, to restore the old policy — to change back again, so that every man or woman, if he plants a tree or she cultivates a rose, that both may beautify and adorn their homes as they may choose, and have the benefit of the protection of the law. But if we put it in the power of the husband or the fortunes of trade to convey by lien or mortgage, the grasping creditor will take away the homestead. I want to separate this subject from anything like the consideration of an exemption law. I approach this as a great measure which arises above all considerations of the rights of debtor and creditor. I abhor an exemption law. This is not of the same nature. This is to go forth, the promulgation of a great principle that shall encourage the cultivation of the soil. The case was well illustrated by the gentleman from Riley [Mr. Houston]; and though it would be impossible for me to emulate the flights of his fancy and the boldness and strength of his doctrine, I am not, therefore, restricted as to my full share of feeling and anxiety for the success of this most important measure."

. . . . . .

"MR. PRESIDENT: I do not feel well—physically as well as mentally. I am totally unfitted now to discuss this question of a homestead law, and I do not attempt it. But in our action here I wish to insist on the clear distinction between the homestead and an exemption law. And I can see in the substitute proposed by the gentleman from Douglas [Mr. Thacher] nothing but an exemption law. It looks to me that every essential feature — every requisite of a homestead law, as I have advocated it, is abandoned in this substitute, and if adopted here I shall abandon all hope of a homestead in our legislation. To limit the value of the homestead to $2000 is to say to the owner: 'So long as your land remains unimproved, so long as it shall remain poor and sterile, it is yours; but the moment you put your labor upon it, the moment you improve and adorn it, and make it inhabitable and beautiful, it shall be taken away from you for the payment of your debts.' This amendment tells him that his labor shall be in vain — tells him to keep away the hand of improvement — for if he advance its value beyond our limit his homestead — his reliance for the support of his family — is gone. Sir, any limitation on the value of the homestead is wrong. One hundred thousand dollars is as disgusting to me as one thousand. I would not give a straw for the difference, in this provision, between these two sums. In either case it is opposed to the principle that a home is a home — good or bad — valuable or valueless — it is simply the home — the hearthstone — the fireside around which a man may gather his family, with the certainty of assurance that neither the hand of the law nor any, nor all of the uncertainties of life can eject them from the possession of it. Without this characteristic, a homestead law, to my mind, is most distasteful. But a true homestead law has always lain very near my heart, and I regret that both physical and mental infirmity prevent an exposition of my views at this time. If the value of a man's home stand up to $500,000 — if his labor and a wise location made it, let him have the benefit of it — let him have and enjoy his home and the society of his friends. It cannot hurt his creditors; but it would give him credit and heart if, by a solemn act in this constitution, he were to be assured that no impious hand can disturb his possession — that no unfeeling creditor can touch it. I am willing, sir, that the original article shall be so amended as to have no application to debts heretofore contracted. I think it has that extent as it now stands. But I am not willing to give up this homestead entirely, and take in the place of it this bastard child of an exemption law."

The homestead provision of the Kansas constitution was, it is believed, the pioneer enactment of its kind, and it was born in the brain and heart of Judge Kingman, and placed there through his efforts. It has never been changed or amended, or even successfully assailed. It has harmed no man, and has been the shield and guaranty of the Kansas home-maker for nearly fifty years. It is based upon the idea expressed in his own words in the convention — "Simply the home — the hearthstone — the fireside round which a man may gather his family, with the certainty of assurance that neither the hand of the law nor any, nor all of the uncertainties of life can eject them from the possession of it. . . . I am not willing to give up this homestead entirely, and take in the place of it this bastard child of an exemption law."

This was Kingman's great work in the convention that framed our constitution. He never

dreamed of greatness as we conceive the term. He worked blindly and in the dark, as all men did in those early times when they planned for the future of a state that was planted on the rim of a desert, whose hopelessness far outweighed any promise of greatness. It would be enough of fame, as he conceived fame, if there were carved upon his monument the words

"Father of the Kansas Homestead Law.
Wyandotte, July, 1859."

Great as was Judge Kingman's work in this convention, a greater and much more difficult work was still before him. In 1861 he became associate justice of the supreme court, and was twice thereafter elected chief justice. It was a most fortunate thing that Kansas had in its judiciary beginnings a man of Kingman's temperament on the supreme bench. He carried with him to the court probity, a high sense of honor, and a remarkably clear power of analysis. He brought to that work still other high qualities, among them a moral courage that was unassailable, and a trained and disciplined mind accustomed to weigh and fully consider complicated propositions. His opinions remain to us models of judicial literature. Among his early judicial work he established for all time the standard for judges to follow in jury trials. His opinions on constitutional questions are familiar to you all, and because of them he has many times been alluded to as the "John Marshall of Kansas." In all his works there is manifest the principle that was constantly in his mind — no man can be above the law and no man beneath it.

An instance occurred in the case of *Albert Wiley v. Keokuk* [6 Kan. 94]. Wiley was agent for the Sac and Fox Indians, and Keokuk was a chief. The acting commissioner of Indian affairs, Mr. Mix, had directed that no delegation of Indians should visit Washington because no appropriation had been made for that purpose. Keokuk had money of his own, and started to Washington. Wiley followed him and had him arrested at Lawrence. Later Keokuk brought suit against him for assault and battery and false imprisonment, and recovered $1000 as damages. Wiley brought the case to the supreme court, and the opinion was delivered by Chief Justice Kingman. Among other things he said:

"Nor does it make any difference that the party injured is an Indian, whether he be regarded as 'a ward of the government,' or as belonging to a 'domestic dependent nation,' or 'a distinct independent political community, retaining their original natural rights' — to each of which classes they have at times been assigned by the language of the supreme court of the United States. In any view, while keeping the peace, and disobeying no law, human or divine, he cannot be the subject of arrest or imprisonment by any one, except at the peril of the offender. His rights are regulated by law, and when he appeals to the law for redress, it is not in the power of any tribunal to say, 'You are an Indian, and your rights rest on the arbitrary decrees of executive officers, and not in the law.'"

This was Judge Kingman's inherent and natural view of the rights of man. He reduced a vague and much-used phrase to practical fact, and gave it a literal meaning in daily life. The terms in which he chose to embody this principle cannot be misunderstood. No man can easily forget the words in which he ridicules the position: "You are an Indian, and your rights rest on the arbitrary decrees of executive officers, and not in the law."

When it is remembered that Judge Kingman was a sick man during his entire life, it seems remarkable that he was able to render such comprehensive and vigorous decisions, clothed in language that is a model of style; and it may be well that in some happier epoch, when our University shall have taken its rightful place among the great educational institutions of the world, his decisions will there be taught as classics.

During the years 1875 and 1876 his health declined and his bodily strength became very much impaired, and it was only by heroic effort that he was able to perform his judicial labors. His associates, with great consideration and loving tenderness, offered repeatedly to relieve him of his arduous tasks, made heavier by his ill health. But his high sense of honor would not permit him to increase their labors or accept a salary that he believed he did not earn. At the end of December, 1876, he resigned his judicial work. While he lived nearly thirty years longer, he never again took an active part in the work of a lawyer, although repeatedly urged to become the head of law firms.

He was the best of the old generation of lawyers. His conception of the duties of a lawyer — one that placed his personal honor above all things else — could not be made to conform to the standards of modern commercialism. In the earlier years of his retirement he took an active part in the State Historical Society and our association. During this period also he gladdened the lives of his associates in what was known as the "Ananias Club." He had an incomparably sweet and sunshiny disposition all his life, with a keen intellect and brilliant wit. At this club, which he frequented daily for many years, he did not entertain his associates like Polonius, but by a far nobler delineation of character and nature. He ridiculed kindly, if at all. He did not preach. He saw the humor that is the strongest admixture in all human affairs. He believed in men as men, and honored women, and loved little children. He never quarreled, and rarely

even argued. He respected opinions not his own, yet clung to his own views on great subjects with a tenacity that could not be shaken. A deeply religious man, yet he was the partizan of no creed, the member of no organized church, the adherent of no prescribed form of worship. In his views he lived and died content, and with an understanding sufficient for all his needs.

Children were Judge Kingman's most devoted and admiring friends. The long and sleepless nights, made longer by pain, were occupied in weaving and coloring the stories he told them by day, when they clustered around him as their best and wisest friend.

Completely out of the ordinary, conceded always to be a remarkable man whether or not he was always understood or appreciated, there were times when Judge Kingman was more than a man — he was an age, as it were. Long before his death, he had exercised functions that were unusual. He had fulfilled a mission. He had been chosen to do a work ordained by the Supreme Will, which manifests itself as visibly in the laws of human destiny as in those commoner laws of nature that all may study and understand.

In the final analysis his life was one of devotion, prayer, and love for the Master whom he worshiped in his heart. His devotions were in secret, and prayer was the essence of them; that conscious and voluntary relation that is entered into by the distressed and uncertain soul with the Power on which it feels itself to depend, and which guides its fate regardless of all the world may offer or contain.

All I have said is but an inadequate review of the life and work of a remarkable man. It is a difficult task to describe Judge Kingman as he was. He was indifferent to all the allurements of wealth and fame. There was never a moment in which he was influenced by the hope of applause. Ambition, in the usual meaning of the term, was not included as an ingredient of his inner life. He cared nothing for wealth, and an honest livelihood, and nothing more, was all he ever attempted to win from a reluctant world. His highest motive was the satisfaction of all the demands of that self-respect that makes the gentleman. He was a humanitarian in the highest sense; a just man, a wise and far-seeing legislator, an impartial judge. Whatever the emergency, he never forgot to be a man, walking in God's image. Honor is but another name for conscience, and his sense of responsibility to that and to his fellow man Judge Kingman never forgot to the latest hour of a life of pain, that was yet prolonged some sixteen years beyond the limit set by him who wrote: "The days of our years are threescore years and ten." He lived and did his work in eventful days, and he survived to see the fruition of all his hopes in the great commonwealth whose foundation stones he helped to lay. It was to him enough.

HIAWATHA, KAN., November 16, 1904.

Hon. Joseph G. Waters, Topeka, Kan.: MY DEAR FRIEND—You request me to send you a letter about Judge Kingman, to be read by you as a part of your address before the State Historical Society, and I very gladly comply with your wishes. The field will be covered by you. My story will be brief; a few rambling remarks upon a great man whom I long knew and loved. Of all the public men in Kansas whom I have known during a period covering more than forty years, this man, Samuel A. Kingman, is the most entitled to honor and affection. No apologies have to be made for him; no unworthy acts concealed. His life was an open book, with no blots on any page. His years of a retirement enforced by frail health were spent with his family in a perfect home, with devoted friends who were members of a whist club, in the rooms of the state library, of which he was long a trustee and then the librarian, and in the quarters of the Historical Society, of which he was the first president and always a director, until he resigned in favor of his daughter, Miss Lucy D. Kingman.

Home, friends, books — these are the sufficient joys of our philosopher. His only political disappointment came from the broken promise to him of a United States judgeship, a fact known to only three or four persons. The treachery did not freeze the genial current of his soul. Had the promise been kept, his physical weakness would have soon caused a voluntary retirement.

The last time I met him at his home, the fingers of his left hand kept the leaves of "Evelyn's Diary" partly open. Now, you know, the stranger may know hereafter, the catholicity of Kingman's literary taste. The books that held him, that kept him fresh, witty, warm-hearted, up to the last day of a long life, are the books that live forever.

Of the pain in head and body that so long stayed with him none of us ever heard a complaint. We only knew that through many a dreary year the happy man was too feeble to work. A diary from his pen, covering the years when he lived on a claim in Brown county, while he practiced law, while he was on the bench, and since he retired, would have a higher historic value than the written record of any other Kansas man. He knew the people and the questions before them, and his breadth of vision, his iron integrity, his freedom from partizan bias, his

wit and humor, his sweetness and light, made him the first broad and liberal man in Kansas during its first half-century.

A man born thirty miles from the birthplace of Kingman's American ancestors, the son of a tallow chandler, became, by the voice of mankind, the greatest man that the eighteenth century produced. The nearer any man in his make-up approaches the temper and spirit of Franklin, his common sense, his wisdom, the nearer he approaches, at even a great distance, that small band of Americans which includes Franklin and Lincoln, who are the highest types of American manhood. The temper and spirit of our own Kingman, modest, diffident, enamored with silence, come back to us and live again in the few lines from Franklin copied below. They are taken from a ten-minute speech made in 1787, when Franklin was eighty-one years old, in the convention that formed the constitution of the United States.

"The older I grow the more apt I am to doubt my own judgment of others. Most men, indeed, as well as most sects in religion, think themselves in possession of all truth, and that whenever others differ from them it is so far error. Steele, a Protestant, in a dedication, tells the pope that the only difference between our two churches in their opinions of the certainty of their doctrine is, that the Romish church is infallible, and the church of England is never in the wrong. But, though many private persons think almost as highly of their own infallibility as of that of their sect, few express it so naturally as a certain French lady, who, in a little dispute with her sister, said: 'But I meet with nobody but myself that is always in the right.' In these sentiments, sir, I agree to this constitution, with all its faults."

Your friend, D. W. Wilder.

Hon. J. G. Waters: My Dear Sir — I am much gratified to learn that you have been chosen to deliver an address before the Kansas State Historical Society upon the life and public services of Judge Samuel A. Kingman. Surely this is a theme that is full of inspiration. To do it substantial justice will task your great power of analysis and your fine gift of description to the utmost. The result should be a valuable contribution to the literature of the Historical Society and a splendid testimonial to the name and achievements of one of the state's most distinguished citizens.

In response to your request for a letter to be read in connection with your address, permit me briefly to say that Samuel A. Kingman had the distinction of being one of the builders and pioneers of this great commonwealth of ours. He assisted in the work of establishing the state government of Kansas. He helped to fashion and write its constitution, to make and interpret its laws. The constitution, the statute-books and the reports of the supreme court are tablets upon which are graven his worth and deeds, and in these may be traced the commanding intellect which claimed men's admiration and the kindly heart that won their confidence and affection.

It will not be necessary for me to do more than to indicate these facts and observations, as they will be amply elaborated in your address and form a part of the permanent files of the historical library. I may be pardoned the suggestion that in a large measure we are indebted to Judge Kingman for the judicial system under which the state is now operating, and which has endured almost without change for nearly half a century of time. Judge Kingman was not only a leader in the constitutional debates in the Wyandotte convention of 1859, but was chairman of its judiciary committee, and one of the most prominent factors in all the proceedings of that remarkable assemblage. The homestead-exemption provision is credited to him by his colleagues, and in one of the debates he justified its adoption in these words:

"It is simply the home, the hearthstone, the fireside around which a man may gather his family with the certainty of assurance that neither the hand of the law nor any, nor all the uncertainties of life may eject them from it."

Aside from his work in the formative period of the state government, his most illustrious service was performed as a member of the highest judicial tribunal of Kansas. His intellectual grasp was broad, his reasoning strong and clear, his judgment sound and just, and his opinions are regarded by the lawyers of the state as models of judicial expression.

I well remember my first appearance before the judges of the supreme court, when it was composed of Chief Justice Kingman and Associate Justices Valentine and Brewer — a notable trio of Western jurists. As I now recall the circumstance, the matter I had to present at chambers was not of vast or vital consequence, although it might have seemed to me at that time to be of very deep concern. The judges then occupied and worked in a single room in the basement of the east wing of the capitol. When I entered the room and indicated the purpose of my call, the attitude of the judges impressed me in a way I shall never forget. Justice Valentine was dignified, serious, and attentive; Justice Brewer courteous and good-natured, but at first inclined to ask questions in a somewhat mischievous manner. In the case of Chief Justice Kingman, there was a desire to be immediately helpful, and this was so apparent that my embarrassment gradually departed. His voluntary suggestions indicated the proper course for me to

pursue, and his associates readily concurred therein, as they were no doubt perfectly willing to do from the beginning.

This small incident of personal experience serves to illustrate one of the dominant traits of Judge Kingman's character: his kindly interest in the welfare of others, and his generous consideration for the young attorneys with whom he was brought into daily contact. The lesson of his life may be studied with advantage by both old and young. His good nature was unfailing, his big-heartedness inexhaustible. He made no enemies, cherished no resentments. The pleasures he most enjoyed were those he could share with his family and friends. The triumphs he won were not noisy ones, and they left no sting. His life was extended beyond the measure of human existence, and it was meant to be so. The world was better and happier because of his allotment in it. A better epitaph no man can have.

Glancing at the list of representative men who have figured conspicuously in the history of Kansas and passed beyond its glory and strife, I can think of no words more appropriate to express in remembrance of Judge Kingman than the pithy sentence employed by Edward Everett, in summing up his estimate of the character of Washington: "He was the greatest of good men, and the best of great men." Very respectfully, W. A. JOHNSTON.[8]

WASHINGTON, D. C., November 25, 1904.

Hon. Joseph G. Waters: MY DEAR WATERS — Some time since I received a letter from you in reference to an address that you are to deliver before the Historical Society on Judge Kingman, and asking for a letter to be used on that occasion.

You must excuse my delay in answering, but the first leisure moment has come during this, our Thanksgiving recess.

My acquaintance with Judge Kingman commenced immediately after the admission of the state. That acquaintance ripened into a very strong friendship. I was intimately associated with him for some years, both while we were on the bench together and subsequently when he was acting as librarian.

He was a capital *raconteur* and an inveterate joker. Few ever got the better of him in repartee. Nothing pleased him better than to have lawyers from the state gather around him in the court-room or the library while he told stories and cracked jokes. Very likely many of those who listened did not realize the serious, earnest character of the man who, for the time being, was amusing them as well as himself. Once he told me what led him into this habit. He came to Kansas partly on account of his health. He was not very strong, and was fearful that his lungs were affected. Hon. Samuel A. Stinson, afterwards attorney-general of the state, became quite intimate with him, and, recognizing his capacity as a story-teller, told him that if he wanted good health, and to live long, he must make that a habit. Evidently Mr. Stinson's advice was good. Judge Kingman did form the habit and he lived to a good old age. I fancy, however, he commenced telling stories long before he met Mr. Stinson.

I recall two instances—and only two—in which Judge Kingman was decidedly worsted. One was this: An oil painting of the judge was presented to the court and placed over the clerk's desk in the court-room. James F. Legate, coming in one day, said it looked like John Brown, who also had a long, flowing white beard. So we not infrequently called it our picture of John Brown. One day Doctor Wyman came into the court-room, where Judge Kingman sat smoking his clay pipe. After a little the judge turned to the doctor and said, "Doctor, what do you think of our picture of John Brown?" The doctor, who was old and near-sighted, put on his spectacles and went close to the picture. He recognized it at once, but stood a minute gazing at it, and then turned and said very deliberately: "If John Brown looked like that I don't blame Governor Wise for hanging him." Amid the roar that followed Kingman could only say that he wished he could think of some mean thing to say about the medical profession. The other instance was this: One summer Judge Kingman, Mr. Hammatt, the clerk of the supreme court, and I spent several weeks in Colorado. At Denver we hired a wagon, team, and driver, and went camping in the mountains. For the trip we purchased suitable clothing and left our ordinary wearing apparel in valises in Denver. On our return to that city we had just enough time

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NOTE 8.—WILLIAM AGNEW JOHNSTON was born at Oxford, Ontario, Canada, July 24, 1848. He was educated in the common schools and academy. He came to the United States at the age of sixteen. He settled in Minneapolis, Kan., in 1872. He was a member of the house of representatives in 1876, and was state senator in 1877 and 1879. In 1880 he served as assistant United States district attorney, and as attorney-general of Kansas in 1881–'84. He was associate justice of the supreme court, 1884–1903, and by seniority he became chief justice January 10, 1903, which position he still holds. In 1875 he was married to Miss Lucy Brown, of Camden, Ohio. Mrs. Johnston served three terms as a member of the board of education of Minneapolis, and of the Ottawa county teachers' examining board for six years. She was president of the Kansas State Federation of Clubs, 1901–'02, and originator of the Kansas Traveling Library Commission.

to take the valises and jump on board the train for Topeka. There was but one train a day, and if we had stopped to clean up and change our clothes we should have been delayed an entire day. We were brown as Indians, and looked like miners or farmers, On the cars we had a most agreeable evening with Rev. Dr. John Hall, the famous Presbyterian preacher, of New York city. In the course of the conversation the East and the West came into delightful collision, Doctor Hall making fun of the Grangers, and we in like manner of the bondholders and Wall street. The jokes flew fast and thick. At one time Judge Kingman stretched out his hands and said, "Look at the hands of an honest Granger from Kansas." It so happened that the judge had not cleaned his nails, and Doctor Hall, leaning forward, said in an inimitable way: "It seems to me the hands of justice in Kansas are not clean."

It must not be thought from all this that life to him was only a joke, and that he lived for nothing else but to laugh and make merry. On the contrary, fun was to him simply on the surface. His was a most earnest and serious nature. He believed most strenuously in the realities of life and duty. He had high ideals of what one ought to be and do. At the same time he was very charitable to human weaknesses. Although more than once disappointed at the neglect or forgetfulness (to use no harsher terms) of supposed friends, I never heard him denounce them or speak harshly of their conduct. He would talk of the facts, but in a dispassionate way, as though he were simply expressing a judicial opinion.

While tenacious in his opinions, he avoided any discussion of them which he thought might lead to unpleasant controversy, and sometimes very clearly put the matter in such shape as to prevent any discussion. I remember calling on him in the summer of 1896. After the usual questions about health and family and matters of that kind, we sat down for one of our comfortable chats, and about the first thing he said in that was: "Now, Brewer, I might as well state at the outset that I am going to vote for Bryan. I don't think it is necessary to go into the whys and wherefores, but I think it is better that you should know the fact." Of course, I took it as a suggestion that it was better not to enter into a political discussion, and none was entered into.

Of his ability as a judge the early volumes of Kansas Reports will remain an enduring witness. They who were with him in conference know how wise were his counsels, how clear his views, and how discriminating and correct his analyses of difficult and confused cases.

He was one of the rare men of whom the poet truthfully says:

"None knew him but to love him,
Nor named him but to praise."

Very truly yours, DAVID J. BREWER.[9]

Hon. J. G. Waters: DEAR SIR—I became acquainted with Judge Samuel A. Kingman in the early part of 1861. Afterwards we were members of the supreme court of Kansas together for eight years, from January, 1869, to January, 1877, he as chief justice and I as associate justice, and we have been intimately acquainted with each other ever since. During that whole period of time I found him to be one of the most noble and honorable men whom I have ever met. He was just, honest and honorable in all his dealings and in all his judicial opinions. Indeed, his judicial opinions have been regarded and quoted by both the bench and the bar in the very highest of terms.

His greatest misfortune was his lack of vigorous health. On December 31, 1876, he resigned as chief justice because of his lack of health. He was afterwards appointed state librarian for the state of Kansas, but again, after serving for a time in that position, he had to resign on account of his ill health. But in all cases he was honest, honorable, and just.

Yours truly, D. M. VALENTINE.[10]

NOTE 9.—DAVID JOSIAH BREWER was born in Smyrna, Asia Minor, June 20, 1837, son of the Rev. Josiah and Emilia Field. He is a nephew of the late Justice Stephen J. Field. He graduated at Yale and the Albany Law School. Married, October 3, 1861, Louise R. Landon, of Burlington, Vt., who died April 3, 1898, and, June 5, 1901, married Emma Minor Mott, of Washington. He settled at Leavenworth, Kan., in June, 1859. In 1861-'62 he was United States commissioner; judge of the probate and criminal courts of Leavenworth county, 1863-'65; judge of the district court, 1865-'69; county attorney, 1869-'70; justice supreme court of Kansas, 1870-'84; judge circuit court of the United States, 1884-'89. December 18, 1889, he was commissioned associate justice of the United States supreme court. In 1896 he was appointed a member of the Venezuelan boundary commission, and in 1899 a member of the British-Venezuela arbitration tribunal. He is the author of several books. He lives in Washington, D. C.

NOTE 10.—DANIEL M. VALENTINE was born in Shelby county, Ohio, June 18, 1830. He is a descendant of Richard Valentine, who came from England to Hempstead, Long Island, in 1644. His mother was Rebecca Kinkennon, a native of Tennessee. He was brought up on a farm and educated in the common schools. He started in life as a school-teacher and surveyor. His family moved in 1836 to Tippecanoe county, Indiana. In 1854 Judge Valentine moved to Iowa, and in 1859 to Kansas, first settling in Leavenworth, where he made his home for about a year, when he

ERIE, NEOSHO COUNTY, KANSAS, November 30, 1904.

Capt. Joseph G. Waters, Topeka: DEAR CAPTAIN—I received some weeks ago your letter of the 12th ult., in which you informed me that you had promised to deliver an address before the State Historical Society on the 6th prox. on the life and public services of the late Samuel A. Kingman, formerly chief justice of the Kansas supreme court. In your note you requested me to write you a letter stating something of my recollections of our deceased friend, to be read by you in connection with your address.

I have been holding court continuously in this county since the 18th of last month up to and including the 26th of the present month, and have had no time nor opportunity to comply with your request until now; and I am afraid that what I may undertake to say will fall far short of the standard I would like to attain in discussing the merits of our deceased friend; but I have concluded to try to write you something, and, in doing so, I shall confine myself to some incidents connected with Judge Kingman which occurred in my early practice before the supreme court in the old days—

"Those happy days of long ago,
When I was Lee and you were Joe."

The first time I saw Judge Kingman was in February, 1870, when he was chief justice of the supreme court. I had located in Kansas nearly two years previously, at the place where I now reside, but I was, comparatively speaking, only a boy, and a fearfully green one at that. Hence, my law practice, up to the time I met the judge, had not reached that court which the late Chief Justice Crozier styled "tri-pedal pier" of the state constitution. (*Searle v. Adams*, 3 Kan. 519.)

But we had a chronic county-seat war in Neosho county that evoked, among other things, legal battles of the most unrelenting and acrimonious type. So it came about that, in February, 1870, I went as the attorney of my town to Topeka for the purpose of applying to the supreme court, then in session, for an alternative writ of mandamus against the board of county commissioners of the county of Neosho, to compel them to move their records and keep their office at the town of Erie, the alleged county-seat of said county.

I realize now that when I walked into the supreme-court room on that cold winter morning, now nearly thirty-five years ago, my appearance must have been decidedly against me. We had no railroads in my locality then, and I had "staged" it, by day and night, to the nearest railroad station on the old Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston railroad, which then was either Garnett or Ottawa (I don't now remember which). So, when I entered the court-room, I was tired and sleepy, and, moreover, greatly awed by my surroundings. My *tout ensemble* (if that is the correct expression) was not calculated to inspire confidence by any means. At that time Erie had no sidewalks—we simply had to stalk through the mud—and my footgear was of a nature adapted to local conditions. I remember that I was wearing a pair of old-fashioned cavalry boots, with the ends of my trousers tucked therein. Said boots were of a pronounced foxy hue, and well spattered with mud; and, as regards appearance and condition, the balance of my garb was in hearty accord and profound sympathy with the aforesaid cavalry boots.

Well, I removed my old slouch hat and overcoat on entering the court-room, piled them on the floor in a corner, and seated myself in the most-retired part of the room I could find. The court at the time consisted of Chief Justice Kingman and Associate Justices Jacob Safford and D. M. Valentine (the latter being now the only survivor).

There were several "big lawyers" with "store clothes" on, who were occupying the attention of the court when I arrived, and I waited patiently for everybody else to get through. In the meantime I caught the eye of the venerable chief justice glancing once or twice over his spectacles in my direction, with a look in which curiosity and friendly sympathy seemed queerly blended. At last the big lawyers were all done and there came a lull. Judge Kingman removed his glasses and looked directly at me, as if to intimate that my turn had come. I thereupon arose and walked forward, and, addressing the court in the customary manner, stated that I desired to present an application for an alternative writ of mandamus against the board of county commissioners of Neosho county, and inquired if the court was at leisure to hear me. I was answered in the affirmative. Thereupon, taking the verified application for the writ from an inside pocket of my "fatigue coat," I proceeded to read it to the court. I remember that just about this stage of the proceedings, one of the "big lawyers," a rather large, fine-looking man, who was seated a little in my front and to the left, turned sharply in his chair to the right, and clapped on his nose a pair of gold-bowed and rimmed pinch-nose glasses, and proceeded to gaze upon me with looks indicative, to say the least, of contemptuous astonishment. I have always

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located in Franklin county. He was county surveyor of Adair county, Iowa, 1855–'57, and county attorney of the same county in 1858. He was a member of the Kansas house of representatives in 1862 from Franklin county, and represented the same county in the state senate in 1863 and 1864. In 1864 he was elected judge of the seventh judicial district, until 1869, when he was elected to the supreme bench, where he served until January, 1893—twenty-two years. He was married June 25, 1855, to Miss Martha Root. They reside in Topeka.

thought that he was some Eastern bond lawyer, but I am not sure. His actions, however, came very near extinguishing the last atom of presence of mind that I possessed; but I managed to struggle through the reading of my paper, and by that time had somewhat regained my composure. Then, in the briefest possible manner (knowing beforehand every word I intended to say), I indicated to the court as best I could that, on the facts presented and the law applicable thereto, I thought my client had made a *prima facie* showing entitling him to the relief demanded, and took my seat.

Judge Kingman then announced from the bench that the court would consider the matter, and inform me of their conclusion presently. The judges then retired from the bench and repaired to their consultation room, and after only a brief absence returned and resumed their seats. Judge Kingman announced that the court had concluded to grant the writ, and then said to me: "I suppose, Mr. Stillwell, you know that it is not the duty of the clerk to prepare the writ, but that you must attend to that matter." I answered that I so understood it. He kept looking at me in a sort of hesitating way and pitying manner, and finally said in a very grave, portentous tone: "You are aware, I presume, Mr. Stillwell, that you prepare the writ at *your peril?*" I made him a little, alleged backwoods bow, and in my meekest manner responded that I had been so advised. The fact is the writ had been prepared days beforehand, and was in my pocket then, but I had some sort of a shadowy notion that it would n't do to say so to the court; it might cause them to sit down on me as altogether too fresh.

Well, the writ was finally issued in due and legal form, and at the July term of the court that year the case came on for trial before the supreme court. The title of the case was *The State of Kansas, on the relation of Joseph A. Wells, v. Solon E. Marston and others, as the Board of County Commissioners of Neosho County.* (See 6 Kan. 524.)

A mass of testimony had been taken by deposition, and in addition a number of witnesses were examined orally before the court. An incident occurred on the trial I have since frequently seen in print, but never correctly; so I will now state it here according to my best recollection.

H. C. McComas, of Fort Scott, and myself, were the attorneys for the plaintiff, and Ross Burns, of Topeka, and the inimitable John O'Grady, of Osage Mission, represented the defendants. (All these lawyers are now dead except the writer.) McComas and Burns did the heavy work, while O'Grady and I were allowed to "limber to the front" only when the situation was such that neither of us was capable of doing much harm. We were both young, impulsive, and exceedingly technical. McComas generally kept a hand on my coat tail, and held me down when he saw that I was about to make an ass of myself, but O'Grady frequently escaped from his keeper. While the oral examination of the witnesses was in progress, he made numerous and persistent objections to various questions, and when his objections were overruled, as they almost invariably were, he took a most emphatic exception. This went on for some time. Finally Judge Kingman looked down at O'Grady over his glasses, and slowly and impressively said:

"Mr. O'Grady, the court notes your numerous exceptions to its rulings, which is your right; but will you kindly inform the court as to what tribunal you intend to carry this case in the event of a decision adverse to your clients?"

My recollection is that O'Grady did n't answer the question. Poor boy; his face turned a fiery red; he made one furiously quick spit through his closed teeth in that well-known way of his, and there were no more exceptions taken during the trial.

But he laughs best who laughs last. In the end O'Grady gained the case, and my people were beaten. It is perhaps in order to say, though, that a subsequent county-seat election resulted in the success of Erie. Some more years of heart-breaking litigation then ensued on the irrepressible county-seat question, finally terminating in favor of that town. And lastly, about three weeks ago, the county officials moved into and took possession of a new $45,000 court-house recently erected on the public square in Erie; so it is reasonable to assume that the county-seat troubles of the good people of Neosho county are ended forever.

But the events of these latter days we could n't foresee in 1870, and my heart then was especially wrapped up in the case of *The State, ex rel. Wells, v. Marston et al.* At the close of the trial the court took the case under advisement, and so held it for some months. At last I learned in some way that the court would probably decide the case at its December sitting that year; so, during that session, I went to Topeka in order to obtain the earliest possible intelligence as to the nature of the expected decision. The morning after my arrival I went to the court-room, and on making inquiry of the clerk I ascertained that the court had handed down an opinion in the case the day before, and that it was against my client. Any lawyer who in his youthful days has lost a similar case will know how I felt. We had lost the county-seat, and I had to go home to that little town on the Neosho river and tell my people that their temporal sun had set; that the game was up, and the last ditch reached.

I was sitting in one corner of the court-room, reading and rereading that fatal opinion, looking, I imagine, like the very incarnation of mental anguish and utter wretchedness, when Judge

Kingman came in to get some papers from the clerk. He spied me sitting in my corner, in my loneliness and woe, and at once came and shook hands with me in the kindest and most fatherly manner. After a brief conversation he invited me to go with him to his room and visit a while. I tried to beg off, saying that his time was important, he was doubtless busy, etc., but the good old man silenced all my objections at once. He said the court had adjourned for that term and he had nothing to do; and, taking me by the arm, he escorted me to his room; we went in and sat down. He lit his old corn-cob pipe, put his feet, encased in coarse- white-yarn socks and old carpet slippers, on the seat of an adjacent chair, and then proceeded to chat with me and tell stories, some comical, some pathetic, and all interesting, of incidents in his early days in Kansas territory and elsewhere. It soon cropped out in the conversation that the judge in his youthful days had practiced law for some years in the town of Hickman, Ky. It so happened that as a soldier boy in the Union army I had also been around and about Hickman to some extent; so a topic was struck where we both were on common ground, and the judge's anecdotes of his career there, and his reminiscences in general, touching the bench, bar and clientage of his time in that locality, were simply delicious.

But all the time neither of us alluded to my ill-starred "lost cause." Of course, I wouldn't; and the old man on his part knew that some griefs are inconsolable, and, with consummate tact, he skilfully avoided the subject. But I have always been of the opinion that if I had gained the case I should have lost this delightful interview. I think when he saw me in the court-room he realized and perfectly well understood my intense disappointment at the result of my case, and thereupon the kind-hearted old man resorted to what he conceived was the best attainable way to cheer me up and get me in a more hopeful and pleasant frame of mind; and when I recall the fact that I was only a young and exceedingly obscure country lawyer, utterly destitute of any political influence, or otherwise, living away out on what was then one of the frontiers of Kansas, while, on the contrary, he was a man of mature years, of profound legal ability, and the chief justice of the supreme court of the state, his cordial and unaffected kindness to me in my hour of sadness and gloom shows all the brighter and stronger the generous nature and kindly heart of the grand old man.

From this on, until Judge Kingman retired from the bench by resignation, at the close of the year 1876, it was my lot frequently to appear before the supreme court in the discharge of the duties appertaining to my calling. And during all these years I was the recipient at his hands of the very kindest and most fatherly treatment and consideration, which I shall gratefully remember as long as I live. My acquaintance with him continued, after his retirement from the bench, until he passed away. There are numerous other recollections of a personal nature connected with his career on the bench, or as state librarian, that I would like to speak of, but this letter is too long now. Take him all in all, I consider him one of the purest-minded and most upright and conscientious men I ever knew. As a judge he was thoroughly grounded in the knowledge of the law, and had an intuitive perception and love of justice, and an abhorrence of fraud and iniquity in all their varied forms and guises. As the ordinary man, moving among his fellows, he possessed a heart overflowing with kindness and good feeling, and he was absolutely incapable of harboring thoughts of rancor or malignity. As was said of another, "his presence was a blessing, his friendship a truth," and his noble and lovable qualities of mind and heart can never be forgotten. Truly your friend, LEANDER STILLWELL.[11]

TOPEKA, October 24, 1904.

Mr. J. G. Waters: DEAR SIR — You request me to make a statement as to how we neighbors of the late Judge Samuel A. Kingman looked upon him as a citizen. I am not a little surprised to think that you would ask of me such a task. I have been a near neighbor of his since 1877, and can now imagine that I see the judge, with his old corn-cob pipe in his mouth, his cane in hand, and his snow-white beard, standing beside my garden fence, and arguing with my dear departed wife about some beans that were just coming up, the roots lifting the beans above the surface. He said they were planted wrong and must be reversed, the other end up, and any one that did

NOTE 11.—LEANDER STILLWELL was born in Jersey county, Illinois, September 16, 1843. He received a common-school education. He enlisted as a private in company D, Sixty-first Illinois infantry, January 6, 1862, and reenlisted as a veteran on February 1, 1864. He served to the end of the war, and was mustered out as second lieutenant September 8, 1865. He attended the Albany Law School, and was admitted to the bar in New York December 5, 1867. He came to Kansas in April, 1868, and located in Neosho county. He was elected to the house of representatives as a Republican for the session of 1877. He was elected in 1883 judge of the district court for the seventh judicial district, a position he still holds. In May, 1872, he married Miss Anna L. Stauber, of Erie. During his military service he participated in the battle of Shiloh and the siege of Vicksburg, and in competition with several others he won a prize of $100 offered by the New York *Tribune* for the best account of the battle of Shiloh.

not know that by looking at them was very foolish. He was a great hand to joke, but in all these long years that I have known him I have never heard an unkind word or expression regarding him from any one that knew him. To do justice to that noble, kind-hearted and respected neighbor requires a far abler pen than mine. Often have I seen him at his home, on Seventh street and Monroe, with a half-dozen or more little children gathered around him. All was happiness and sunshine, because little children loved Judge Kingman. And those on the other side of that great chasm, who in this life knew the judge—I am sure he will be as welcomed by them there as he was respected here. The loss to this neighborhood can never be replenished. May his eternal pathway be strewn with flowers of the brightest hue is my most earnest desire.

Most respectfully yours, CALVIN BREWER.

REMINISCENCES OF DODGE.

Address by the president, ROBERT M. WRIGHT,[1] before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its thirtieth annual meeting, December 5, 1905.

I PROMISED our secretary and others that I would write a story on the great Indian fight at the adobe walls, where all the men engaged were Kansans, and I expected to do so up to a very short time since, when I found it impossible to get hold of a few facts and data. I could not complete the story without them. So I give you instead a description of the mirage, and a few stories about Dodge in the early days.

Mirage Webster describes as an "optical illusion, arising from an unequal refraction in the lower strata of the atmosphere, and causing remote objects to be seen double, as if reflected in a mirror, or to appear as if suspended in the air. It is frequently seen in deserts, presenting the appearance of water."

If I were gifted with descriptive powers, what wonderful scenes could I relate of the mirage on the plains of Kansas. What grand cities towering to the skies have I seen, with their palaces and cathedrals, and domed churches, with tall towers and spires reaching almost up to the clouds, with the rising sun glistening upon them until they looked like cities of gold, their streets paved with sapphire and emeralds, and all surrounded by magnificent walls, soldiers marching, with burnished spears and armor! There would arise at times over all a faint ethereal golden mist, as if from a smooth sea, shining upon the towers and palaces with a brilliancy so great as to dazzle the eyes—a more gorgeous picture than could be painted by any artist of the present, or by any of the old masters. The picture as has presented itself to me I still retain in good recollection, in its indescribable magnificence. At other times the scenes would change entirely, and, instead of great cities, there would be mountains, rivers, seas, lakes, and ships, or soldiers and armies, engaged in actual conflict. So real have such sights appeared to me on the plains that I could not help but believe they were scenes from real life, being enacted in some other part of the world, and caught up by the rays of the sun and reflected to my neighborhood, or perhaps that some electrical power had reproduced the exact picture for me.

How many poor creatures has the mirage deceived by its images of water. At times one unacquainted with its varied whims would be persuaded that it really was water, and would leave the well-beaten track to follow this optical illusion, only to wander farther from water and succor, until he dropped down from thirst and exhaustion, never to rise again, never again

NOTE 1.—For sketch of ROBERT M. WRIGHT, see Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 7, p. 47.

to be heard of by his friends, his bleaching bones to be picked by the coyote, unburied and forgotten. On other occasions you would see immense towering forests, with every variety of trees and shrubbery. In some places it would be so dark and lowering, even in the daylight, as to appear dangerous, though one could not help admiring its gloomy grandeur. Then there would be fair spots of picturesque beauty, with grottoes and moonlit avenues, inviting you to promenade, where one seemed to hear the stroke of the barge's oars on lake and river, and the play of the fountains, and the twitter of the birds.

With the trail of the plow, followed by immigration and civilization, the wonderful mirage is a thing of the past. It is only now and then that one gets a glimpse of its beauties; its scenes of magnificence, far beyond any powers of description, I will never see again.

Now I want to tell you something of the great officers who came to Fort Dodge in the early days.

Gen. Phil. Sheridan first came to Fort Dodge in the summer of 1868. He pitched his camp on the hill north of the fort and next to my house. I saw a good deal of him while fitting out his command against the Indians, and he dined with me several times, together with the officers of the post. On one of these occasions, about noon, on the hills to the southwest, we saw with strong field-glasses what seemed to be a body of horsemen or a bunch of buffalo. But they moved so straight and uniformly that we finally came to the conclusion that they must be Indians. As the apparition came nearer we discovered that it was but one ambulance with a long pole lashed to it, with a wagon-sheet attached to the pole for a flag of truce. It was the largest flag of truce ever used for such purpose. The driver proved to be Little Raven, chief of the Arapahoes, who had come in to have a peace talk with General Sheridan. As a result of the long talk, Little Raven badly outgeneraled Sheridan. He said all the time he wanted was two sleeps to bring in the whole Arapahoe tribe. General Sheridan said to take a week and see that all came in. The old chief insisted that he only wanted two sleeps. He started out the next morning loaded down with bacon, beans, flour, sugar, and coffee. Little Raven told me afterwards it was a great ruse to avoid the soldiers until they could get the women and children out of danger. When Little Raven set out for Dodge, the women and children had started south, to get into the broken and rough country that they knew so well, and with which our soldiers were so little acquainted at that day. It was really laughable to hear his description of how he disposed of his ambulance after getting back to the tribe. He said the soldiers followed the tracks of the ambulance for days, so his rear-guard would report at night. The other Indians were for burning it or abandoning it; but Little Raven said he prized it so highly that he did not want to lose it. So they took off the wheels, and hung them in some very high trees, and concealed the body in a big drift in the river, covering it with driftwood.

The last visit General Sheridan made at Dodge was in 1872. He brought his whole staff with him. General Forsyth was his aide-de-camp, I think, and his brother Mike was along. I had known Mike for some time before this, when he was captain in the Seventh cavalry. I was also well acquainted with the other brother, who held a clerkship at Camp Supply—a most excellent gentleman. During his stay General Sheridan and his staff, with the officers of the post, were dining at my house. They had all been drinking

freely before dinner of whisky, brandy, and punch, except Mike Sheridan. These liquors were all left in the parlor when we went in to dinner, and there was an abundance of light wine on the dinner-table. When dinner was nearly over an important dispatch came. The general read it and handed it to General Forsyth, requesting him to answer it. With that Captain Sheridan jumped up and said to General Forsyth: "You are not half through your dinner yet, and I am; so let me answer, and submit to you for review." He then requested me to get paper and pen and go with him to the parlor. As soon as we reached the parlor the captain grabbed me by the arm, and said, "For God's sake, Wright, get me some of that good brandy, and say not a word about it." I replied, "There it is. Help yourself." He took two generous glasses, and then wrote the dispatch.

The last time I had the pleasure of seeing General Sheridan was at Newton. I was on my way to Kansas City, and stopped there to get supper. I was told that General Sheridan was in his private car. I called on him as soon as I got my supper. He knew me in a minute and received me most graciously. Not so with the brother, Captain Mike, whom I had taken care of many times and seen that he was properly put to bed. He pretended not to know me. "Why," said the general, "you ought to know Mr. Wright. He was the sutler at Fort Dodge, and so often entertained us at his home." I responded to the general that I was surprised that he knew me so quickly. "I knew you as soon as I saw you," he replied, and then began to inquire about all the old scouts and mule drivers, and wanted to know what they were doing and where they had drifted, including many men whom I had forgotten, until he mentioned their names. He said that he had been sent down by President Cleveland to inquire into the Indian leases entered into by the cattlemen. We talked about old times and old faces way into midnight, and even then he did not want me to go.

In the first years of Dodge City a merchant in the town had a government hay contract. He was also sutler at the fort. There was also a saloon-keeper who kept the best billiard-hall in the town, an Irishman, and a clever fellow, whom the officers preferred to patronize, by the name of Moses Waters. Now, this Waters was full of jokes, and a fighter from away back. The officers made his saloon their headquarters when they came to Dodge, but, as a general thing, upon their arrival, they sent for the sutler and had him go the rounds with them—a chaperone they deemed essential, lest they might get into difficulties, and the sutler was as eager to have their company as they were to have him along. One evening about dark the post sutler came into Dodge from his hay camp to purchase a suit of clothes suitable for camp service. Waters, in passing along Front street, saw the sutler trying on the suit, and an idea struck him. He went immediately to his saloon, wrote a note to the sutler, as he had often seen the officers do, presenting his compliments, and requesting his presence at once at his saloon. The buildings on Front street were all low, frame shanties with porches. On the corners of the porch roofs were placed barrels of water in case of fire, and the sutler had to pass under these porches to get to Waters's saloon. As soon as he was properly rigged out in his new outfit, he hurried to Waters's saloon to meet his officer friends, as he supposed, not suspecting any danger, of course. But no sooner had he passed under one of these porches on the corner, than a barrel of water was dashed over him, nearly knocking him down, wetting him to the skin, and nearly drowning him. He

knew as soon as he had recovered his breath, and as he heard the parties running over the roof to the rear of the building and jumping to the ground, what had happened and what was up.

When he reached Waters's saloon there was a crowd, looking as innocent as could be, and saying, "Come in and wet your new clothes," which was a common custom. "Yes," the sutler said, "I will wet them. Barkeep, set up the drinks. It is all right, and I am going to get even." There were, of course, no officers in sight.

Some time previous to this, Waters, who had a lot of horses, and some fine ones by the way, had built him a large barn and painted it blood red. He took great pride in this barn, more on account of its color than anything else. He had cut out in front of each stall a place large enough for a horse to get his head through, to give the horse air and light. Waters had an Englishman, a very fine hostler, to attend his horses. One day, soon after the incident mentioned above, a tall, finely built young Missourian came to the sutler, as was frequently the case, and asked for work. The sutler said, "Yes, I can give you work. Can you whitewash?" He said, "I can beat the man who invented whitewashing." The sutler got two old-fashioned cedar buckets, holding about three gallons each, and two whitewashing brushes, a short- and a long-handled one. "Now," said the sutler, "I want you to mix these buckets full and thick, and go down to that red stable (showing him the stable), and plaster it thick with whitewash. I painted it red, but every one seems to dislike the color, and I want it changed. But, say, there is a crazy Irishman, by the name of Waters, who imagines he owns the stable. He may come around and try to give you some trouble. If he does, don't give him any gentle treatment. Use him as rough as you can. Smash him with your whitewash brush, and if you can put a whitewash bucket over his head and nearly drown him, I will pay you two dollars extra. Try and do this anyway, and I will pay you more for it than for doing the job of whitewashing."

Soon after the talk off went the big Missourian with his whitewash buckets and brushes. There was a strong west wind blowing, so he commenced on the east side of the barn. He went at it like he was mauling rails, and was doing a fine job. The Englishman was shut up inside, giving the horses their morning scrubbing. At last he was attracted by the continual knocking of the brush against the stable. In the meantime quite a crowd had gathered, looking on at the curious spectacle of the big Missourian whitewashing the stable. At last the Englishman poked out his head, demanding of the Missourian: "What the bloody 'ell are you doing, anyway?" Down comes the Missourian's brush on the face and head of the Englishman, while at the same time he said that the man who gave him the job told him that an ignorant Irishman would try to stop him. This was too much for the Englishman, who went across the street to Waters's room, dripping all over with whitewash.

Waters being a saloon-keeper and compelled to be up late at night, slept late in the morning, and was still in bed. Waters could hardly believe the Englishman's story, that any one would dare whitewash his beautiful red barn. But he put on his pants, slippers, and hat, and went over to see. Waters was a fighter—in fact, he was something of a prize-fighter, and was a powerful and heavy-set man, and did not think he could be whipped. The reason the Missourian got such an advantage of him, Waters told me after-

wards, was because he was trying to get up to him as close as possible so that he could give him a knock-out blow. But the Missourian was too quick for him. Waters approached the Missourian very slowly and deliberately, talking to him all the while in a very mild and persuasive way, but when he was almost within striking distance the Missourian put the bucket of whitewash over his head. It almost strangled Waters, and he had to buck and back and squirm to shake the bucket off. When he did, and had shaken the whitewash out of his eyes, nose, and mouth, what a fight began. The young Missourian was a giant, but Waters was more skilled by training. Still they had it, rough and tumble, for a long time, first Waters on top and then the Missourian. Finally, the Missourian found that Waters was getting the best of it, and, with a desperate effort, threw Waters to one side, tore loose, and made for the government reservation, only a few hundred yards distant, followed closely by Waters, amid great cheering by the crowd. It was indeed laughable, the Missourian in the lead, beating the ground with his big feet and long legs, with all the vim and energy he possessed, and as if his life depended on the race (and perhaps it did), followed by the low, squatty figure of Waters in his shirt sleeves and slippers, minus hat and coat, with the whitewash dripping from him at every point, and tearing down with equal energy, as if his life, too, depended upon the race. The race of the two men presented a most laughable scene, too ludicrous for anything. They both seemed determined on the issue, but the long legs of the Missourian were evidently too much for Waters's short ones, and he finally abandoned the chase.

There is nothing further to the story, except that the sutler had to hide out for a few days, until mutual friends could bring in a white flag and agree upon terms of peace.

Among the other great men who came to Dodge City was "Uncle Billy Sherman," as he introduced himself. He came with President Hayes and party in September, 1879. The president did not get out of his car, and would not respond to the call of the cowboys, who felt that they deserved some recognition. It was a long time even before "Old Tecumseh" could be induced to strike the pace and lead off. But the cheerfulness, the hilarity and the endless jokes of the half drunken cowboys, who had been hallooing for the president until they had become disgusted because of his lack of interest in them, induced the general to appear. Then they called for Sherman in a manner indicating that they considered him their equal and an old comrade. Although half of those cowboys had been soldiers in the Confederate army, this seemed to make no difference in their regard for the old war-horse. They had an intuitive feeling that, no matter how they scandalized him, Sherman would be fair and treat them justly. I was astonished that their surmise was right, for when General Sherman appeared he handed them bouquet for bouquet. No matter on what topic they touched, or what questions they asked, he gave them back as good as they sent, answering them in the same generous humor. Before the close of the general's talk some of the crowd were getting pretty drunk, and I looked to see a display of bad feeling spring up, but nothing of the kind occurred, for the general was equal to the occasion and handled the crowd most beautifully. Indeed, it was laughable at times, when the general rose way above his surroundings and sat down on their coarse, drunken jokes so fitly and admirably, that one could not help but cheer him. He had the crowd with him all the

while and enlisted their better feeling, notwithstanding more than half of them were Southern sympathizers.

President Hayes paid but little attention to the crowd the whole day, nor the crowd to him, but General Sherman kept it in good humor, and the presidential party at last left Dodge City amid strong cheers for "Uncle Billy," a long life and a happy one.

In the fall of 1868 Gen. Alfred Sully took command of Fort Dodge and fitted out an expedition for a winter campaign against the plains Indians. He was one of the grand old style of army officers, kind-hearted and true, a lover of justice and fair play. Though an able officer and a thorough gentleman at all times, he was a little too much addicted to the drink habit. When General Sully had gotten the preparations for the expedition well under way, and his army ready to march, General Custer was placed in command by virtue of his brevet rank, and the old man was sent home. This action, as I am told, broke General Sully's heart, and he was never again any good to the service.

General Custer carried out the winter campaign, persistently following the Indians through the cold and snow into their winter fastnesses, where never white man had trod before, not even the trusted trader, until he surprised them in their winter camp on the Washita, south of the Canadian. There was a deep snow on the ground at the time. The scouts had come in soon after midnight with the report of a big camp. "Boots and saddles" was sounded, and soon all were on the march. The command reached the vicinity of the Indian camp some time before daylight, but waited until the first streak of day, which was the signal for the charge. Then the whole force went into the fight, the regimental band playing "Garry Owen." They charged through the camp and back, capturing or killing every warrior in sight. But the camp was the first of a series of Indian camps extending down the narrow valley of the Washita for perhaps ten miles, and Custer had only struck the upper end of it.

I have been told by good authority that early in the attack Major Elliott's horse ran away with him, taking him down the creek. Elliott was followed by some twenty of his men, they thinking, of course, that he was charging the Indians. It was but a few moments until he was entirely cut off, and urged on further from General Custer's main force. Custer remained in the Indian camp, destroying the tents and baggage of the Indians, until in the afternoon, and finally, after the Indian women captives had selected the ponies they chose to ride, destroyed the balance of the herd, about 800 ponies in all. He then left the camp, following the stream down to the next village, which he found deserted. It was then dusk. When night had fallen he retraced his way with all speed to the first village, and out by the way he had come in the morning, towards Camp Supply. He continued his march until he came up with his pack-train, which, having been under the protection of only eighty men, he had feared would be captured by the Indians, had he allowed it to have come on alone.

Now, I do not want to judge Custer too harshly, for I know him to have been a brave and dashing soldier, and he stood high in my estimation as such, but I have often heard his officers say that it was a cowardly deed to have gone off and left Elliott in the way he did. Many officers claim that Custer realized that he was surrounded and outnumbered by the Indians, and this was the reason he left Elliott as he did. The facts are that he

should never have attacked the village until he had more thoroughly investigated the situation and knew what he was running into. Some of his own officers have condemned and censured him, talking about him scandalously for thus leaving Elliott.[2] I cannot, however, see how he could have been badly whipped when he brought away with him about fifty-seven prisoners, besides having captured and killed so large a number of ponies.

This is the story of Major Elliott as told to me by Little Raven, chief of the Arapahoes, but who was not present at the time. He was my friend, and I always found him truthful and fair. He said that, when Major Elliott's horse ran away with him, followed by about twenty of his men, Elliott was soon cut off, and surrounded by hundreds of Indians, who drove him some three to five miles from Custer's main body at the village, bravely fighting at every step. After getting him well away from Custer, the Indians approached him with a flag of truce, telling him that Custer was surrounded and unable to give him any help, and that, if he and his men would surrender, they would be treated as prisoners of war. Elliott told them he would never give up. He would cut his way back to Custer, or that Custer would send a detachment to his relief sooner or later. As soon as this announcement was made the young men who had gotten closer, without further warning, and before Elliott could properly protect himself, poured in volley after volley, mowing down most of Elliott's horses. He then commanded his men to take to the rocks afoot, and to keep together as close as possible, until they could find some suitable protection where they could make a stand. They did this and stood the Indians off for nearly two days, without food or water, and almost without sleep or ammunition. They were then again approached with a flag of truce. This time they told Elliott it was impossible for him to get away, which he fully realized. They said that Custer had been gone for two days in full retreat to Supply, and that he had taken with him fifty of their women and children, whom he would hold as hostages, and that if he and his men would lay down their arms they would be treated fairly, and held as hostages for the good treatment and safety of their women and children. They repeated that Custer would be afraid to be harsh or cruel or unkind to their women and children because he knew that, if he was, Major Elliott and his soldiers would be subject to the same treatment. Elliott explained the whole thing to his men, and reasoned with them that under these circumstances the Indians could not help but be fair. The consequence was that Elliott and his men accepted the terms and laid down their arms. No sooner had they done so than the Indians rushed in and killed the last one of them. The older Indians claimed that they could not restrain their young men. I have no doubt that this is the true story, and that thus perished one of the bravest officers with a squad of the bravest men in our whole army. The only other officer killed in the fight was Captain Hamilton, when the first charge was made. He was a bright fellow, full of life and fun.[3]

NOTE 2.—General Custer's account of the killing of Maj. Joel H. Elliott and his men is given in his "Wild Life on the Plains," c. 1874, pp. 231, 253.

NOTE 3.—The recollections of George Bent, son of Col. William Bent and Owl Woman, of the southern Cheyennes, are being published in a Colorado Springs monthly, *The Frontier*, under the title of "Forty Years with the Cheyennes." Young Bent left school to join the Confederate army under Price, was captured, paroled, and turned over to his father by the Union authorities. He then joined his mother's people, with whom he remained during the war. He shows how

THE WYANDOT INDIANS.

An address delivered by RAY E. MERWIN,* of Galena, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its thirtieth annual meeting, December 5, 1905.

WHEN the first European explorers visited the new world they found the whole country in the possession of numerous aboriginal tribes; some large and powerful, holding dominion over a vast region; others small in numbers, restricted to a single village, possessing only a very limited territory. At first it seemed that each of these tribes had its own language, distinct and entirely different from the others; and the variety of languages and dialects seemed to be almost infinite; but after careful study by eminent philologists it has been discovered that these languages and dialects are reduceable to a few primary stocks.

The most northern group comprised the tribes of the Eskimoan stock. They occupied a narrow strip of territory—seldom more than twenty miles wide—along the coast of British Columbia, Greenland, and Alaska.

The tribes comprising the Algonquin stock possessed a territory triangular in shape, extending on the north from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains, but gradually narrowing southward until it dwindled to a mere coast strip in Virginia and North Carolina, and finally ended about the mouth of the Neuse river.

The next group, known as the Iroquoian family, occupied a territory which either lay within or bordered on the territory possessed by the Algonquin stock. Around Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, and stretching to a considerable distance inland on either side, were the Iroquois proper, and several other closely connected tribes; on the lower Susquehanna were the Conestoga or Susquehanna; and in Virginia, on the rivers bearing their names, were the Nottaway and Meherrin tribes. On the lower Neuse, in North Carolina, were the Tuscarora, while on the southwest, in the wildernesses of the southern Alleghanies, were the Cherokees, whose territory extended far into the Gulf states.

The country southwest of the Savannah river was held chiefly by tribes of the Muskhogean stock, occupying the greater portion of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and parts of Tennessee and Florida.

West of all these tribes was the territory of that great group known as

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faith was broken with his people through the atrocities of the massacre at Sand creek, by the Colorado troops under Colonel Chivington, and gives the Indian version of the several engagements of the Eleventh Kansas in Wyoming, under Col. Thomas Moonlight, on Powder river and at Platte bridge, of General Hancock's Indian expedition of 1867 in western Kansas, the battles of the Arickaree and the Beaver, in the fall of 1868, and Custer's fight on the Washita, in the Indian Territory, in November of that year. The story is well told, and without passion.

the Siouan or Dakotan stock, extending in general from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, and from the Saskatchewan to the Arkansas.

During the colonial period, the tribes belonging to the Algonquin and Iroquoian families occupied a very prominent position; for, as native proprietors of an immense territory claimed by the two great rival European powers—France and England—their friendship was a matter of prime importance, and each nation made strenuous efforts to secure their alliance against the other.

During this struggle the Algonquin tribes were allied with the French; while the Iroquois, with the exception of a single tribe, were either friends or active allies of the English.

The Iroquoian tribe which did not join the English was the Wyandot. Their country was in the center of the scene of conflict, and as they were a tribe noted for fighting ability, their assistance was looked upon by both nations as of the utmost importance. But the French, by means of missionaries, and aided by the fact that the Wyandots were enemies of certain Iroquoian tribes, succeeded in making an alliance with them.

From that time the Wyandot tribe exerted a more or less important influence on the development of the colonies, and later on the development of the United States, playing a very important part in the early history of the two states, Ohio and Kansas.

The Indians known as the Wyandots have during their history been called by a number of different names. Lalemant, the Jesuit missionary, writes that their true name is Ouendat, while other writers have called them by the following names: Tionontates, Etionontates, Tuinontatek, Dionondaddies, Khionontaterrhonons. The early French explorers, who were the first Europeans to visit these people, gave them the nickname Hurons, or "Shock-heads," on account of the lines of bristly hair which adorned their half-shaven crowns. Another name often applied to them was Nation du Petun (tobacco nation). They were called this because of the superior quality of tobacco which they raised, and from the very significant fact that they produced it in such large quantities as to create a somewhat extensive commerce in its barter and exchange with other tribes. But to other people of the same race they were known as Wandat or Wendat, a word meaning simply "of one speech." This name was corrupted by the English to Wyandotte or Wyandot. To-day these people call themselves Wehn-duht or Wehn-dooht.

Their history since the time that they were first visited by the early French explorers in the beginning of the seventeenth century is well known; but before that time it must be traced by means of their myths and traditions.

The ancient home of the Wyandots, and the place where they were created, is located by their traditions in the region between St. James bay and the coast of Labrador, north of the St. Lawrence river. Migrating southward, they came to the island on which Montreal now stands; and taking possession of the country along the north bank of the St. Lawrence from the Ottawa river to a large river and lake (probably Coon lake), far below Quebec, they called it Cu-none-tot-tia, which means "the country of rushing waters" or "the rivers rushing by."[1]

At that time the Senecas lived on the south side of the St. Lawrence and

NOTE 1.—Folk-lore of the Wyandots.—Connelley. Twentieth Century Classics, vol. 1, p. 18.

claimed the island where Montreal is now located. They were on very friendly terms with the Wyandots; and as the two tribes had been neighbors from time immemorial, and as their languages are very similar, they must have been closely related. East of the Wyandots were the Delawares, and west of them was the territory of the Ottawas.[2]

When this migration took place and how long the Wyandots occupied the territory along the north bank of the St. Lawrence is not known; but they must have been living there about the beginning of the sixteenth century, since their traditions assert that they were among those who met Cartier at Hochelaga in 1535.

According to the Wyandot legend, a deadly war originated between the Wyandots and their neighbors, the Senecas, because of murders committed by a Wyandot warrior. This man wanted a certain woman for his wife, but was refused because he was no warrior, for he had never gone out with a war party and had never taken the scalp of an enemy slain in battle. So, in order to fulfil the requirements and obtain the woman as his wife, the man raised a small war party, fell upon a band of Seneca hunters, and killed and scalped a number of them. This deed immediately caused war between the Senecas and Wyandots, which lasted for more than a century. Frequently treaties of peace were made by the two tribes, but at every opportunity, when one of the tribes would see an advantage over the other, the deadly struggle would begin again.[3]

Seeing that they were in danger of becoming exterminated, the Wyandots decided to leave their territory. They traveled westward along the St. Lawrence, and, crossing it, followed along the south shore of Lake Ontario until they came to Niagara Falls. Here they remained for many years; but on account of pressure from the Senecas, who were moving into the territory now New York state, they were forced to move farther westward.

Their next home was near the present site of Toronto, Canada. To this

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NOTE 2.—Folk-lore of the Wyandots.—Connelley. Twentieth Century Classics, vol. 1, p. 18.

NOTE 3.—The history of the long conflict between the Wyandots and the Senecas is found in a letter from Rev. Joseph Badger to John Frazier, of Cincinnati, dated Plainwood county, Ohio, August 25, 1845:

"Having been a resident missionary with the Wyandot Indians before the late war, and obtained the confidence of their chiefs in a familiar conversation with them, and having a good interpreter, I requested them to give me a history of their ancestors as far back as they could. They began by giving a particular account of the country formerly owned by their ancestors. It was the north side of the St. Lawrence river, down to Coon lake, and from thence up the Utiwas. Their name for it was Cu-none-tot-tia. . . . The Senecas owned the opposite side of the river and the island on which Montreal now stands. They were both large tribes, consisting of many thousands. They were blood relations, and I found at this time they claimed each other as cousins.

"A war originated between the two tribes in this way: A man of the Wyandots wanted a certain woman for his wife; but she objected, and said he was no warrior; he had never taken any scalps. To accomplish his object, he raised a small war party, and in their scout fell upon a party of Seneca hunters, killed and scalped a number of them. This procedure began a war between the two nations, which lasted more than a century, which they supposed was fully a hundred winters before the French came to Quebec. They (the Wyandots) owned they were the first instigators in the war, and were generally beaten in the contest. Both tribes were greatly wasted in the war. They often made peace, but the first opportunity the Senecas could get an advantage against them they would destroy all they could, men, women, and children. The Wyandots, finding they were in danger of becoming exterminated, concluded to leave their country and go far to the west. With their canoes the whole nation made their escape to the upper lakes, and settled in the vicinity of Green Bay, in several villages; but, after a few years, the Senecas made up a war party and followed them to their new settlements, fell on one of their villages, killed a number, and returned. Through this long period they had no instruments but bows, arrows, and the war-club.

"Soon after this the French came to Quebec and began trading with the Indians, and supplied them with firearms and utensils of various kinds. The Senecas, having got supplied with guns and learned the use of them, made out a second war party against the Wyandots, came upon them in the night, fired into their huts, and scared them exceedingly; they thought at first it was thunder and lightning. They did not succeed as well as they intended. After a few years they made out a third party, and fell upon one of the Wyandot villages, and took them nearly all;

country they gave a name which means "a land of plenty," because food was so plentiful.[4] But the Senecas forced the Wyandots to abandon their new home in this land of plenty. Moving northward, they entered the territory of the Hurons, who tried to drive the invaders away, but were unsuccessful. And when the Jesuits visited the Indians of this region, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, they found the Wyandots not only living in the Huron territory, but were even a part of the great Huron confederacy.

The Hurons at this time dwelt in several large villages in a narrow district on the high land between Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay of Lake Huron. To the southwest of them, in a territory coinciding closely with the present township of Nottawasaga, Simcoe county, on the rising spurs along the eastern side of the Blue mountains, were the friends and allies of the Hurons, the Wyandots.[5] At this time the Jesuits estimated the total population of the tribes of the Huron confederacy at 10,000.[6]

The Wyandots occupied a very prominent position in this confederacy, and the Jesuits write that "they were deemed oldest in lineage and highest in civil rank. Their chief surpassed all other chiefs in pomp and dignity."

In 1615 Champlain went among the nations of the Huron confederacy and persuaded them to go on a number of expeditions against the Iroquois. Usually these expeditions were unsuccessful, and the tribes of the confederacy returned home baffled and humiliated.

In 1649 the Huron confederacy had been destroyed by the Iroquois and their territory laid waste. Of the inhabitants who remained, some joined their conquerers and were adopted among them, but were allowed to live

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but it so happened at this time that nearly all the young men of the village had gone to war with the Fox tribe, living on the Mississippi.

"Those few that escaped the massacre by the Senecas agreed to give up and go back with them and become one people, but requested of the Senecas to have two days to collect what they had and make ready their canoes and join them on the morning of the third day at a certain point, where they had gone to wait for them, and hold a great dance through the night. The Wyandots sent directly to the other two villages which the Senecas had not disturbed and got all their old men and women, and such as could fight, to consult on what measure to take. They came to the conclusion to equip themselves in the best manner they could, and go down in perfect stillness so near the enemy as to hear them. They found them engaged in a dance, and feasting on two Wyandot men they had killed and roasted, as they said, for their beef; and as they danced they shouted their victory and told how good their Wyandot beef was. They continued their dance until the latter part of the night, and, being tired, they all laid down and soon fell into a sound sleep.

"A little before day the Wyandot party fell on them and cut them all off; not one was left to carry back the tidings. This ended the war for a great number of years. Soon after this the Wyandots got guns from the French and began to grow formidable. The Indians who owned the country where they had resided for a long time proposed to them to go back to their own country. They agreed to return, and, having prepared themselves as a war party, they returned — came back to where Detroit now stands, and agreed to settle in two villages — one at the place above mentioned, and the other where the British fort, Malden, now stands.

"But previously to making any settlement they sent out in canoes the best war party they could, to go down the lake some distance, to see if there was an enemy on that side of the water. They went down to Long Point, landed, and sent three men across to see if they could make any discovery. They found a party of Senecas bending their course around the point, and returned with the intelligence to their party. The head chief ordered his men in each canoe to strike fire, and offer some of their tobacco to the Great Spirit, and prepare for action. The chief had his son, a small boy, with him. He covered the boy in the bottom of the canoe. He determined to fight his enemy on the water. They put out into the open lake; the Senecas came on. Both parties took the best advantage they could, and fought with the determination to conquer or sink in the lake. At length the Wyandots saw the last man fall in the Seneca party; but they had lost a great proportion of their own men, and were so wounded and cut to pieces that they could take no advantage of the victory, but only to gain the shore as soon as possible, and leave the enemy's canoes to float or sink among the waves. This ended the long war between the two tribes from that day to this. (Howe's Historical Collections of Ohio, vol. 3, pp. 594, 595.)

NOTE 4.—The Wyandot name for Toronto is Toh-roohn-toh, meaning *plenty; abundance.*

NOTE 5.—Jesuit Relations, vol. 1, pp. 21, 22.

NOTE 6.—Id., vol. 5, p. 279.

together, separate from their old foes; others fled to Quebec and placed themselves under the protection of their French allies. Only one group kept its tribal organization.

The Wyandots (then called the "tobacco nation"), because of their location in the wilds of the Blue mountains, at first were successful in repulsing the fierce attacks of the Iroquois; but finally, their population becoming so reduced by both war and disease, they, too, were compelled to seek safety in flight, together with some stragglers from the tribes of their former allies, the Hurons.

Fleeing northward, the depleted band of Wyandots and their allies finally settled upon the island of Michilimackinac. Here they were joined by wandering bands of Ottawas and other Algonquin tribes, who had been driven from their territory by the Iroquois. But these fugitives had been at this place only a short time when the Iroquois again attacked them, and, after fighting a number of years, they were compelled to flee towards the southwest, settling on the islands near Green Bay, on Lake Michigan.

But even here, in this isolated retreat, their old enemy again made war upon them, and the Wyandots and their allies were forced to move. They migrated in a southwesterly direction until they came to the territory of Illinois, at that time a very large tribe. In the Jesuit Relation of 1659-'60 is to be found the following reference to the Wyandots:

"Among other things they saw, six days' journey to beyond the lake (Superior), towards the southwest, a tribe composed of the remnants of the Hurons of the 'tobacco nation' (Wyandots), who had been compelled by the Iroquois to forsake their native land and bury themselves so deep in the forests that they cannot be found by their enemies. These poor people, fleeing and pushing their way over mountains and rocks, through these vast, unknown forests, fortunately encountered a beautiful river, large, wide, deep, and worthy of comparison with our great river, St. Lawrence. On its banks they found the great nation of the Alimiwec (probably the Illinois), which gave them a very kind reception."[7]

But the Wyandots and their allies did not remain long with the Illinois Indians, but pushed their way to the west, until they reached the Mississippi river, within the territory of the Sioux. It was not long until the Sioux forced the fugitives to leave their territory, and the Wyandots retreated to the southwestern extremity of Lake Superior, where they settled on Point Saint Esprit, or Shagwamigon point, near the islands of the Twelve Apostles.

While they occupied this territory a mission was established among them by the Jesuits. In 1669 James Marquette was sent to take charge of the mission. Of one group of these people, he says that they lived in clearings divided into five villages. "The Hurons (Wyandots) to the number of 400 or 500 souls are nearly all baptized, and still preserve a little Christianity."[8]

They remained at this place for a short time, but in 1671 they were compelled to leave because of the fierce attacks of the Sioux. They returned to Michilimackinac and settled, not on the island, but on the neighboring Point St. Ignace, now Graham's point, on the north side of the strait.

At this time, one writer says: "The Hurons (Wyandots) and Ottawas are thorough savages, although the Hurons still retain the forms of Roman Catholic Christianity." "These people," writes Cadillac, "are reduced to

NOTE 7.—Jesuit Relations, vol. 45, p. 235.

NOTE 8.—Id., vol. 20, pp. 292, 293.

a very small number, and it is well for us that they are, for they are ill-disposed and mischievous, with a turn for intrigue and a capacity for large undertakings. Luckily their power is not great; but, as they cannot play the lion, they play the fox, and do their best to make trouble between us and our allies."

In 1679 Father Louis Hennepin visited the Wyandots, and writes the following account of them:

"We went the next day to pay a visit to the Hurons, who inhabit a rising ground on a neck of land over against Missilimakinak. Their villages are fortified with pallisados of twenty-five feet high, and always situated upon eminences and hills. They received us with more respect than the Outtaouatz (Ottawas), for they made a triple discharge of all the small guns they had, having learned from some Europeans that it is the greatest civility amongst us. However, they took such a jealousy to our ship that we understood since they endeavored to make our expedition odious to all the nations about them. The Hurons and Outtaouatz are in confederacy together against the Iroquoise, their common enemy."[9]

Afterwards the Wyandots moved southward along the shores of Lake Huron, crossing the river and the lake, St. Clair, until they reached the present site of Detroit, Mich.

This removal from Michilimackinac to Detroit is told in one of the Wyandot legends, which runs as follows:

"In very ancient times the Hurons (or Wyandots) had a great king or head chief named Sastaretsi, or Sastareche. They were then living in the far east, near Quebec, where their forefathers first came out of the ground. The king told them that they must go to the west, in a certain direction, which he pointed out. He warned them, moreover, that this would not be the end of their wanderings. He instructed them that when he died they should make an oaken image resembling him; should clothe it in his attire, and place it upright at the head of his grave, looking towards the sunrise. When the sunlight should fall upon it, they would see the image turn and look in the direction in which they were to go. King Sastaretsi went with his people in their westward journey as far as Lake Huron and died there. But he had time before his death to draw on a strip of birch bark an outline of the course which they were to pursue to reach the country in which they were finally to dwell. They were to pass southward, down Lake Huron, and were to continue on until they came to a place where the water narrowed to a river, and this river then turned and entered another great lake. When he died they fulfilled his commands. They made an oaken image, exactly resembling their dead king, clothed it in his dress of deer skin, adorned the head with plumes, and painted the face like the face of a chief. They set up this image at the head of the grave, planting it firmly between two strong pieces of timber, its face turned to the east. All the people stood silently around it in the early dawn. When the rays of the rising sun shone upon it, they saw the image turn with such power that the strong timbers between which it was planted, groaned and trembled as it moved. It stayed at length with its face looking to the south, in the precise direction in which the chief had instructed them to go. Thus his word was fulfilled, and any hesitation which the people felt about following his injunctions was removed. A chosen party, comprising about a dozen of their best warriors, was first sent out in canoes, with the birch-bark map, to follow its tracings and examine the country. They pushed their course down Lake Huron, and through the river and Lake St. Clair, till they came to where the stream narrowed, at what is now Detroit; then advancing farther they came, after a brief course, to the broad expanse of Lake Erie. Returning to the narrow stream at Detroit, they said: 'This is the place which King Sastaretsi meant to be the home of our nation!' Then they went back to their people,

NOTE 9.—Hennepin's A New Discovery—Thwaites, vol. 1, p. 116.

who, hearing their report, all embarked together in their canoes and passed southward down the lake, and finally took up their abode in the country about Detroit, which they were to possess as long as they were a nation. The image of King Sastaretsi was left standing by his grave in the far north, and perhaps it is there to this day."[10]

To-day this movement is thought to have been greatly influenced by the cunningness of the French, who it is thought manipulated the details of the turning of the image. The French had already established forts in Ohio and Michigan, and it is very natural that they should wish their Wyandot allies to be near these forts, so as to defend them from the Iroquois and the English. This would necessitate the removal of the Wyandots from their home in the north to the perilous vicinity of their powerful foes. So, by appealing to the reverence with which these people held the memory of their deceased king, the French erected an image of the great chief, and provided with great care that its face should be pointing towards the south by sunrise.

In connection with the removal from Michilimackinac to Detroit, there occurred the death of Suts-tau-ra-tse, probably a grandson of Sastaretsi; and it is thought that he was also the last of the ancient line of head chiefs, or kings, of pure Wyandot blood.

In this new home the Wyandots, although reduced to two villages, with a total population of not more than 1500 people, and only about 300 warriors, resumed their ascendency over the surrounding tribes of Indians. Charlevoix, in 1721, writes that "they are still the soul of the councils of these different tribes, and still assuming the right of sovereignty over the country between the great lakes and the Ohio, as far west as the Miami river." They encouraged the Shawnees and the Delawares to remove to the Ohio, by granting to them the possession, though not the right to the soil, of the territory west of the Alleghany river, bordering principally upon Lake Erie, the Muskingum and the Scioto rivers.

Throughout the long struggle between France and England for the possession of the new world, the Wyandots were always the allies of the French. Many writers, in speaking of Indian allies during this great conflict, regard the Wyandots as the bravest and most powerful friends that the French had.

In 1755 the Wyandots, Chippewas, Ottawas and Pottawatomies were the principal tribes that were the cause of the defeat of Braddock's army; and in 1758 these tribes attacked and captured Fort Duquesne.[11]

In 1762 the Wyandots, all of the Algonquin tribes except a few minor ones, the Senecas and several tribes of the lower Mississippi were banded together under Pontiac. In that fierce struggle, known in history as Pontiac's war, the Wyandots played a very important part, especially showing great valor and bravery in the battle of Bloody Bridge, in 1763.

In 1764 Colonel Bradstreet with a small army proceeded along the southern coast of Lake Erie, for the purpose, it is said, of concluding peace with such tribes as solicited it, and to chastise all those who continued in arms. He received a deputation from the Wyandots of Sandusky and other tribes, who expressed an earnest desire for peace, and promised fidelity for the future. Nevertheless these tribes were very active in fighting Colonel Brad-

NOTE 10.—Magazine of American History, vol. 10, pp. 479, 480.

NOTE 11.—"During my negotiations with the Wyandots, in 1841 and 1842, I ascertained a fact which had previously escaped my notice—that they had no horses previous to 1755. The year of Braddock's defeat, the first owned by Wyandots were captured in that disastrous campaign."—Col. John Johnston, in Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, vol. 2, p. 269.

street soon after. Later a treaty of peace was signed by the Wyandots and other tribes who had been at war. The number of Wyandots present when this treaty was signed (in 1764) is estimated by Colonel Bradstreet as 200 warriors.[12]

During the revolutionary war, the Wyandots, although small in number (having a total population of 900, and only about 180 warriors), were very prominent and active allies of the English.

At the close of this war the Wyandots, Delawares, Chippewas, and Ottawas, tired of fighting and weakened by disease and war, united in a treaty with the United States government, at Fort McIntosh, on the Ohio, January 21, 1785. This treaty was important in many respects. It inaugurated a system of dealing with the Indian tribes by written contract; also, showing the friendly disposition of the government, and at the same time demonstrating that the government possessed the means of enforcing its mandates. Boundaries were established between the Wyandots and the Delawares, designating the Cuyahoga and the Tuscarawas rivers as the division line.[13]

But even after signing this treaty these tribes could not be relied upon for living up to their promises; for, in 1791, they are to be seen taking a very active part in those battles which had such a disastrous effect upon St. Clair's army; and, in 1794, the Wyandots are again to to be found in the Indian army which was opposing the forces of Anthony Wayne and which was so hopelessly defeated by his troops.

At the close of this war with Wayne, the Wyandots, together with other tribes, again signed a treaty of peace, at Greenville, Ohio, in 1796. By this treaty the Wyandots ceded to the government a few tracts of their territory, and in return received the sum of $1000.[14]

A short time before this, in 1795, Col. John Johnston, then an agent of the United States over the Indians of the west, took a census of the Wyandot tribe, and found the total population to amount to 2300 people.[15]

In the war of 1812 that portion of the Wyandots that lived in Ohio remained friendly to the United States; but those living in Michigan allied themselves with the English. Tarhe, the eldest chief of the Wyandots, was summoned by the United States agent from Sandusky to exert his influence with his people. Together with his work and the earnest efforts of Col. John Johnston, the Indian commissioner, a large part of the Wyandots were persuaded to remain friendly to the United States. On the 25th of July, 1812, a small party of Menomini warriors routed a company of Ohio militia near Sandwich, and immediately a sudden change of sentiment became apparent among the Wyandots living in Michigan, which ended in a determination to join the British. "On the 2d instant," said Colonel Proctor (British), writing to General Brock, "the Wyandots having at last decided on joining the other nations, of whom they are the bravest and eldest, against the Americans, a considerable body of Indians accompanied the chief, Tecumseth (the prophet's brother), to the village of the Wyandots (Browntown). . . . I sent a detachment of 100 men under Captain Muir to enable the Wyandots to bring off their families, cattle, and effects. This was effected much

NOTE 12.—Schoolcraft, pp, 254, 255.

NOTE 13.—Id., p. 327.

NOTE 14.—Revised Indian Treaties, pp, 184-190.

NOTE 15.—Howe's Historical Collections of Ohio, vol. 3, p, 278.

to the disappointment of Mr. Hull (American general), who has given them a considerable sum of money in the hope of retaining them in the American interest." [16]

At the close of this war, that portion of the Wyandots which had adhered to Great Britian settled permanently in Canada; while those who had espoused the cause of the United States remained about the western end of Lake Erie, in what is now Ohio and Michigan; their Ohio lands being located in that part of the state which is now known as Wyandot county.

In a treaty proclaimed in 1819, the Wyandots ceded to the United States a large tract of their territory, for which the government agreed to pay them the sum of $4000 annually forever. Certain sections of the land were given to prominent members of the tribe. The United States also agreed to appoint an agent to live with the tribe, to aid them in the protection of their persons and property and to manage their intercourse with the government and the citizens of the United States. The government was also to erect a sawmill and a grist-mill upon the Wyandot reservation, and to provide and maintain a blacksmith establishment for the Wyandots and the Senecas. The Wyandots were also paid for damages done their property in the war of 1812. [17]

In the formation of the northwestern confederacy of Indian tribes, the Wyandots were most important workers, and were given the high position of keepers of the council-fire. This confederacy fiercely opposed the settlement of the territory northwest of the Ohio river by the American colonists; but finally it was subdued and the settlers were unmolested.

Methodism [18] was first introduced among the Wyandots in 1816, by John Stewart, a mulatto, who, although not an ordained minister of the Methodist church, went among them of his own accord, and gained much influence

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NOTE 16.—Annual Report American Historical Association, 1895, pp. 329, 330.

NOTE 17.—Revised Indian Treaties, pp. 197-209.

NOTE 18.—"Before the revolutionary war a large portion of the Wyandots had embraced Christianity in the communion of the Roman Catholic church. In the early part of my agency the Presbyterians had a mission among them at Lower Sandusky, under the care of Rev. Joseph Badger. The war of 1812 broke up this benevolent enterprise. When peace was restored the Methodists became the spiritual instructors of these Indians, and continued in charge of them until their final removal westward of Missouri river, two years ago."—Col. John Johnston, in Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, vol. 2, page 249.

Among the manuscripts received by the State Historical Society from the Anderson family, at Manhattan, is the following, copied (only in part) from the Rev. John Anderson, D. D., to his wife, Rebecca. Doctor Anderson was the father of Col. John B. Anderson, and the grandfather of ex-Congressman John A. Anderson. There are other missionary letters to and from Doctor Anderson concerning missions as far west as Franklin, Mo.:

"LOWER SANDUSKY, Saturday, August 17, 1805.—I reached this place last evening at sunsetting in good health. All the way I experienced an uninterrupted series of mercies, for which the greatest gratitude is due. My spirits never sunk for one minute. My health is much better than it has been at any time since the spring. I have not felt the least symptom of my common complaint in my stomach nor a pain in my head since I left you. My horse holds out very well. Not any cross accident has befallen me in any matter. I was kindly received by Mrs. Whitaker. The entertainment is as good here as any house in Washington can afford, and a hearty welcome is given.

"Mr. Badger arrived this morning from Upper Sandusky, where he has been preaching and treating with the chiefs about opening a school here for the education of the children. There is a constantly increasing attention to the means; they have quit drinking spirits, liquors, entirely at the Sandusky towns, and resolved to call a minister. The chiefs informed Mr. Badger that in years past they were afraid to have a minister less the people would use him ill when they got drunk. This difficulty being now removed, they appear much in earnest about getting a minister and a schoolmaster. The whole of this business is already finished, written, and signed, so that I have nothing to do but preach to them while I stay; and it is not likely I will be sent here again on a mission, as a resident missionary will be placed here soon.

"Monday, August 19, 1805.—Yesterday the Indians met at Mrs. Whitaker's. Mr. Badger preached to them in the morning and I attempted it in the evening. They listened carefully to the sermons. Perhaps you did not see more attention paid to the word at home, by those who

over this tribe. He was forced to leave them in 1817,[19] but the work was taken up by Rev. James B. Finley in 1819. In 1821 he built a small log mission and schoolhouse. Here the Indian girls and boys were instructed in the various trades of civilization. This was the first industrial school on the continent. From the beginning this mission was very successful, and soon a larger and better church was erected by the general government.[20]

The Wyandots were the last tribe of Indians in Ohio to leave their territory and seek a new home in the West. By a treaty[21] made at Upper Sandusky, Ohio, on March 17, 1842, they ceded all their lands in Ohio and Michigan to the United States. In return, the government agreed to set apart as a reservation for them 148,000 acres west of the Mississippi, and pay them a perpetual annuity of $17,000; also $500 per annum for the support of the school. The government agreed to pay for all improvements made by the Wyandots on their lands, and also to assume all debts which had been contracted by the tribe in favor of citizens of the United States. A blacksmith and an assistant, furnished with a shop and proper tools and material, were to be provided and maintained by the general government for the Wyandots. The tribe was to be given $10,000 for removal expenses; $5000 when the first detachment of people set out for the West, and the remainder when all had arrived at their new reservation. A few of the most important members of the tribe were each given a section of land west of the Mississippi.[22]

Col. John Johnston, who was, as commissioner of the United States,

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can understand it without an interpreter. If those who have the Bible in their own language, and an honest minister whom they understand, could be made to understand the greatness of their privileges in this one thing, they surely would fall down to adore the riches of souvereign grace which has cast their pleasant lot for them. And they would weep over the poor tribes who are destitute of a Bible and the knowledge of letters.

"That man or society of men who does most to establish a Gospel ministry and schools among the Indians deserves the approbation and assistance of every Christian on earth and the thanks of the whole heathen world. I am not the man who can do much in this glorious work, but I hope that both disposition and talent are given to Mr. Badger to undertake and succeed in it. The Indians have agreed to receive him as their minister, if he is willing to come to them. Oh, that divine providence may lead him to accept their earnest invitation, and make him the instrument of their salvation. Mr. Badger has gained the confidence of the Indians by giving them medicine, which has in every instance cured their disorders, as well as by instructing them in religion. Their eyes are opening by slow degrees to see their best interests. But pagan influence is exerting to keep them in the way to destruction. An impostor, who is called the 'Prophet of the Six Nations,' is much talked of by the ignorant. He will endeavor to revive and uphold their old heathenism in opposition to Christianity. But the King of Zion reigns and will do all His pleasure.

"To-morrow I am to preach at the lower town. I find it difficult to speak through an interpreter, but hope to be enabled to set the plain truth before them for their edification. Mr. Badger designs to leave us on Wednesday. He has enjoyed good health all the time of his mission, and will leave us filled with the hope that salvation is coming to the Wyandots. He has furnished me with all necessary medicine, in case I should take sick, and with instructions respecting my mission. I may be accommodated with lodging among friendly and decent white people at every place but one that I have to visit, and there I am to be but two days."

NOTE 19.—Among the relics in the Kansas Historical Society collection is a log from the house owned by Rev. John Stewart, a negro, who introduced the Christian religion among the Wyandots. The house was built on the sixty-acre farm adjoining the Wyandot reservation, near Upper Sandusky, Ohio, secured for him by Bishop McKendree, in 1821. Stewart lived in this house until his death, in 1823. Log sent to William E. Connelley by Emil Schulp, of Lovell, Wyandotte county, Ohio, August 22, 1900.

NOTE 20.— Howe's Historical Collections of Ohio, vol. 3, pp. 599, 600.

NOTE 21.— Revised Indian Treaties, pp. 1017-1021.

NOTE 22.— These sections of land, thirty-five in number, could be located anywhere west of the Mississippi on Indian land not already occupied. They were known as Wyandot "floats," and were very convenient for town sites, because they were not held by the usual occupancy title, but could be acquired without the trouble and expense of complying with the ordinary preemption laws. A number of Kansas cities, such as Topeka, Manhattan, Emporia, were located on these "floats." The greatest part of Lawrence was located on the Robert Robertaile float, and West Lawrence was located on the Joel Walker float.

negotiating this treaty of cession and emigration with the Wyandots, took a census of the tribe, and found the total population was only 800.[23]

Although by this treaty of 1842 the Wyandots were promised 148,000 acres west of the Mississippi, yet such a large tract of unoccupied government land could not be found. The Wyandots then realized that they must purchase a home from some of the tribes that had already been moved to the West. So, while in Ohio, they made a treaty with the Shawnees, whose reservation was then located in Kansas. One of the provisions of this treaty was that a strip of the Shawnees' territory adjoining the state of Missouri, and running south from the mouth of the Kansas river, should be given to the Wyandots. But the Shawnees repudiated this treaty. The Wyandots complained that, when the Shawnees were homeless, the Wyandots "had spread a deerskin for them to sit down upon, and given them a large tract of land; and now, when the Wyandots are without a home, the Shawnees would not even sell them one."[24] Many years before the Wyandots had given a portion of their territory in Ohio to the Shawnees and Delawares.

Notwithstanding the fact that they had no reservation, practically the whole tribe of Wyandots, numbering about 700 people, set out for Kansas, reaching there in the summer and fall of 1843. They immediately purchased from their old friends, the Delawares, who had come to Kansas in 1829, a tract of land of thirty-six sections, in the fork of the Kansas and Missouri rivers, all of which was located in what is now Wyandotte county, Kansas. For this reservation they paid $46,080, and, in addition, the Delawares gave them three sections—making a total of thirty-nine sections.[25]

The Wyandots at this time were civilized, only about 100 being pagans; and for pride of race, courage, capability of vast organization, enterprise

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NOTE 23.—Howe's Historical Collections of Ohio, vol. 3, pp. 278, 279.

NOTE 24.— The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory.— Connelley, p. 2.

NOTE 25.— Agreement in writing between the Delaware and Wyandot nations, on the 14th of December, 1843, for the purchase of certain lands by the latter of the former; confirmed by the senate July 25, 1848;

"WHEREAS, From a long and intimate acquaintance, and the ardent friendship which has for a great many years existed between the Delawares and the Wyandots, and from a mutual desire that the same feeling shall continue and be more strengthened by becoming near neighbors to each other: therefore, the said parties, the Delawares on one side, the Wyandots on the other, in full council assembled, have agreed, and do agree, to the following stipulations, to wit:

"ARTICLE 1. The Delaware nation of Indians, residing between the Missouri and Kansas rivers, being very anxious to have their uncles, the Wyandots, to settle and reside near them, do hereby donate, grant, and quitclaim forever, to the Wyandot nation, three sections of land, containing 640 acres each, lying and being situated on the point of the junction of the Missouri and Kansas rivers.

"ART. 2. The Delaware chiefs, for themselves and by the unanimous consent of their people, do hereby cede, grant, quitclaim, to the Wyandot nation, and their heirs, forever, thirty-six sections of land, each containing 640 acres, situated between the aforesaid Missouri and Kansas rivers, and adjoining on the west the aforesaid three donated sections, making in all thirty-nine sections of land, bounded as follows, viz.: Commencing at the point at the junction of the aforesaid Missouri and Kansas rivers, running west along the Kansas river sufficiently far to include the aforesaid thirty-nine sections; thence running north to the Missouri river; thence down the said river with the meanders to the place of beginning; to be surveyed in as near a square form as the rivers and territory ceded will admit of.

"ART. 3. In consideration of the foregoing donation and cession of land, the Wyandot chiefs bind themselves, successors in office, and their people, to pay to the Delaware nation of Indians $46,080, as follows, viz., $6080 to be paid the year 1844, and $4000 annually thereafter for ten years.

"ART. 4. It is hereby distinctly understood between the contracting parties that the aforesaid agreement shall not be binding or obligatory until the president of the United States shall have approved the same, and caused it to be recorded in the War Department."— Land Laws of the United States of a Local and Temporary Character, vol. 2, p. 849.

In 1848 this treaty was confirmed by the senate, and in a treaty of the same year (1848) the Wyandots relinquished all claim to the 148,000 acres which was to have been given to them by the United States according to the provisions of the treaty of 1842; and in consideration of this the government agreed to pay them the sum of $185,000.—Revised Indian Treaties, pp. 1021, 1022

The attorney who drew up this treaty compelled the Wyandots to pay him $40,000 as his fee The tribe was very much dissatisfied, but the attorney was permitted to keep his ill-gotten gains

and ambition, they were far superior to the other tribes of this region. They brought with them from Ohio a Methodist church, with a membership of over 250, and a lodge of Free Masons, with a small membership. They also had an "organized civil government, modeled to some extent after that of an American state, especially in their manner of procedure and practice before their council, which was their court," and "a code of laws which provided for an elective council of chiefs, the punishment of crime, and maintenance of public order."[26]

Shortly after the Wyandots came to Kansas, efforts were made in Congress to organize the Nebraska territory, which embraced in its limits the present states of Kansas and Nebraska. Stephen A. Douglas introduced bills for this purpose at different times; but they were referred to the committee on territories, without further action being taken.

These different movements aroused great interest among the Indian tribes whose lands were within the boundaries of the proposed territory; for it was evident to them that they must surrender their lands very soon if the territory was established, although the government in the treaties with them had promised that the land should be theirs forever, and should never be a part of any territory or state. So, realizing the great importance of such an organization, the leading men of the different tribes called a convention for the purpose of discussing the matter. This congress met at or near Fort Leavenworth in October, 1848,[27] with the following tribes represented, which had belonged to the ancient northwestern confederacy of Indian tribes: Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa, Ottawa, Pottawatomie, Shawnee, and Miami. Two other tribes were admitted to the confederacy at this time—the Kickapoo and the Kansas. The Sac and Fox were represented, but, as they were ancient enemies of the Wyandots and peace had not been declared between them, they were frightened by a speech made by one of the Wyandot representatives and fled from the convention.[28]

This convention continued in session for several days, and the old confederacy was reorganized, and the Wyandots were reappointed as its head and made keepers of the council-fire.[29]

When it became apparent to the Indians that they would sooner or later be compelled to sell their lands back to the government and seek new homes, they were then very desirous of having their territory organized and a territorial government set up. They saw that if they must sell their reservations, the white man must be allowed to settle in their vicinity in order that the land might be sold for a good price. Another reason why they de-

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NOTE 26.— Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 6, p. 98.

NOTE 27.— Nebraska Historical Collections, second series, vol. 3, p. 265.

NOTE 28.— "Such was the awe in which they (Sacs and Foxes) stood of the Wyandots that when Governor Walker arose and displayed the wampum belts — the archives and records of the confederacy — the chiefs of these tribes kept their eyes fixed upon him. Governor Walker was an eloquent man. He was familiar with the language of the tribes of the league. These belts had not been explained nor shown in council for a quarter of a century. Many a young warrior saw them here for the first time and heard from the official oracle what his father had often repeated to him about the ancient compact. Grizzled warriors looked upon them and thought of the glory of long-gone battle-fields, where they had met the enemy and gathered many a bloody trophy. At length Governor Walker took up a long belt, upon which was worked a blood-red tomahawk, indicating the declaration of war upon the Sacs and Foxes by the confederacy at the instigation of the Wyandots. At sight of this belt the chiefs of these tribes sprang to their feet, uttered a whoop of warning, and fled in terror, followed by their warriors. Messengers were sent after them, but they could not be induced to return to the congress." (The First Provisional Constitution of Kansas.— Connelley. In Kansas Historical Collection, vol. 6, pp. 99, 100.)

NOTE 29.— Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 6, p. 100.

sired a territorial organization was the wish to have the proposed line of railroad between the Pacific ocean and the Missouri river run through their territory.

So the Wyandots, as head of the northwestern confederacy of Indian tribes, and the recognized leaders among all these tribes, determined to call a convention to be held on the day of the ancient anniversary of the green-corn feast, which was then on August 9, 1853. All the tribes within the proposed territory were invited to send delegates; and all the white men then residents of the territory were asked to come and participate in the proceedings of this convention.

But before that time, on July 26, 1853, a convention was called in the interest of the Missouri (or central) route of the proposed railroad, and it was decided to hasten the matter and organize a territorial government. The resolutions adopted by the convention served as a constitution for the provisional government of the territory, and under its provisions a provisional governor was elected. The man elected to fill this significant position was William Walker. Governor Walker was a member of the Wyandot tribe, his mother belonging to the Big Turtle gens. He had two Indian names—Hah-shah-rehs, meaning the "stream overfull," and Sehs-tah-roh, meaning "bright." Mr. Walker was a gentleman of education, refinement, and great strength of character, and one of Kansas' most influential men during its territorial days.[30]

The importance of this action of the delegates in this territorial convention may be best stated in the words of William E. Connelley:

"Abelard Guthrie declared that Kansas was the arbiter of the destinies of the republic. At the time of the adoption of our constitution slavery was not molested, but was suffered to remain one of the institutions of a government set up for the liberty and perfect freedom of mankind. But even at that time the principles and theories of the Puritan and the Cavalier were antagonistic on this point. Who could have conceived that the spark to ignite the fires destined to burn away this foul barrier to perfect freedom was to be struck out by a people who were, at the time of the formation of our government, pagan savages; and that this should transpire in a land which was at the same time no part of our common country? Yet, such is the potency of our institutions, that in less than three-quarters of a century this remote possibility became a remarkable fact.

"He would be rash, indeed, who declared that this movement was the cause of the rebellion; but that the organization of the provisional government for Nebraska territory was the immediate cause, the precipitating event, of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, the repeal of the Missouri compromise, the proslavery and free-state conflict in Kansas, and, finally, the war of the rebellion, I believe capable of demonstration beyond doubt or question.

"The Wyandots, as head of the northwestern confederacy of Indian tribes, moved for this provisional government for the Nebraska territory. This antagonized the plans of the slave power for that country. This pre-

NOTE 30.—WILLIAM WALKER was born at Gibraltar, Mich., March 5, 1799, and died February 13, 1874, in Kansas City, Mo. Governor Walker received a thorough education at Worthington, Ohio, under the immediate instruction of the venerable Bishop Chase. After acquiring his education, William Walker entered almost at once an active life in behalf of the North American Indians in general, and of the Wyandot nation in particular, among whom he became leader and counselor, devoting the best years of his life to their interests. As early as 1831, he visited the Platte purchase as agent of the Wyandot nation, with a view to purchasing a new location for it. He was at the treaty of St. Marys, and rendered efficient services to all contracting parties. He was for some years the private secretary and friend of General Lewis Cass, his secretaryship beginning after the close of the war of 1812, and the friendship continuing until the death of the general. In 1843 he came to Kansas with his tribe, where he has remained ever since, except when he was called away on business or for his health. . . . He acquired his title of governor in 1853, when he was appointed provisional governor of Kansas territory.—Wyandot *Herald* of February 19, 1874.

monitory movement, inaugurated at the mouth of the Kansas river, gathered strength. It raised its head in Washington, and its voice was heard in the halls of Congress. It became formidable through the circumstances enumerated herein. It forced the conflict. The slave power mustered every resource for the final struggle, which it foresaw must be a desperate one, for its existence. But it foresaw, also, that if it retained an existence it could thenceforth dominate the nation. Its first aggressive act in opposition to this movement was the introduction of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. The second was the repeal of the Missouri compromise. At this stage the conflict became national; and the little band at the mouth of the Kansas, whose action precipitated the struggle, had nothing to say in its settlement until it came to open blows and become a question of the life of the nation."[31]

In the war with Mexico, and also during the civil war, some of the Wyandots were enlisted in the Union armies, and they did not fail to sustain the enviable record which their ancestors had made during the colonial wars.[32]

In the early part of March, 1855, the Wyandots signed a treaty, by the provisions of which the tribe was given the right of claiming citizenship under the laws of the United States. They ceded their reservation of thirty-nine sections, which they had bought of the Delawares in 1843, to the general government. The land, with the exception of a few small tracts, was then given back to them in severalty, under a new and better title; *i. e.*, declared open to allotment on a fee-simple patent. Those portions not reconveyed were the ground then used as a public burial-place,[33] two acres apiece to the two Methodist churches, and four acres adjoining the Wyandot ferry. The tribe was also to surrender all claims which they might hold under previous treaties; and in consideration of this release, the general government agreed to pay to the individual members of the tribe the sum of $380,000. The Wyandots were to receive in severalty the sum of $100,000, which had been invested according to the provisions of the treaty of 1850.[34]

A slight revival of the old promise found in so many of the old Indian treaties, that the reservation should always remain outside the limits of a state or territory, is to be found in the following:

"None of the lands to be thus assigned and patented to the Wyandots shall be subject to taxation for a period of five years from and after the organization of a state government over the territory where they reside; and those of the incompetent classes shall not be aliened or released for a longer period than two years, and shall be exempt from levy, sale, or forfeiture, until otherwise provided by state legislation, with the assent of Congress."[35]

NOTE 31.—Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 6, p. 110.

NOTE 32.—Nebraska Historical Collections, second series, vol. 3, pp. 107, 108.

NOTE 33.—This burial-ground, known as Huron cemetery, was set apart for this purpose soon after the tribe came to Kansas, when there was much sickness and many deaths in the Wyandot nation, in consequence of protracted rains and great floods in May and June in 1844. There were probably 400 burials in this place between 1844 and 1855. This was their only burial-ground until a short time before the civil war. Before this war a division in the Methodist church, with which a majority of the Wyandots were affiliated, caused some of them to select a different cemetery. Aunt Lucy B. Armstrong, who adhered to the north Methodist church, built a church at Quindaro, and a cemetery was laid out at this place.

For many years the people of Kansas City, Kan., have tried to persuade the Wyandots to consent to the sale of the old cemetery, and recently the tribe has agreed to sell it; but before they can dispose of the land a bill will have to pass both houses of Congress, giving a commission power to negotiate the sale. As the land is located in the very heart of Kansas City, Kan., it is very valuable, the price asked for it being $50,000. If it is sold, about $10,000 will be expended in the removal of the bodies interred there, and the remaining sum will be divided among the members of the tribe.

NOTE 34.—Revised Indian Treaties, pp. 1022–1028.

NOTE 35.—Id., p. 1026.

The most peculiar provision of this treaty was the division of the members of the tribe into two classes, the competents and the incompetents, according to whether they were "sufficiently intelligent, competent and prudent to control and manage their affairs and interests." Patents containing an absolute and unconditional grant in fee simple were to be given to the competents; but the patents given to the incompetents showed that the lands were not to be sold or alienated for a period of five years, and not then without the consent of the president of the United States. The patents could also be withheld from the incompetents by the commissioner of Indian affairs as long as he thought best.

As a result of the division of the tribe into these two classes there was great dissatisfaction, for it seemed that the competents had a most decided advantage over the incompetents. It was thought that this was only a "smooth way" for the leaders and the most influential men to get possession of all the property belonging to the tribe.[36]

So in 1868 the Wyandots, tired of the conditions imposed upon them by the treaty of 1855, again negotiated a treaty with the government. By this treaty,[37] all the Wyandots who desired to do so, and all incompetents described in the treaty of 1855, could again become members of the Wyandot tribe and be placed on a reservation. This reservation selected for them was a tract of land which had been ceded to the general government by the Senecas and was a part of their reservation. According to the treaty between the Senecas and the government, the land ceded was "to be bounded on the east by the state of Missouri, on the north by the north line of the reservation, on the west by the Neosho river, and running south for the necessary distance to contain 20,000 acres.[38]

Immediately after this reservation was set apart for them over 200 of the Wyandots moved to their new home, but many of those who had become citizens remained in Wyandotte county, where they or their descendants are still living. The majority of those who first occupied the reservation belonged to the class designated in the treaty of 1855 as the incompetents, and for a time they were in very poor circumstances. The United States agent for them writes, in 1872:

"They (Wyandots) are poor, and having no annuities and but little force of character are making slight progress in industry and civilization. They have been lately joined by members of the tribe who, under the treaty, accepted citizenship. These, desiring to resume their relations with their people, have been again adopted into the tribe. Inasmuch as the newcomers are decidedly superior in point of industrial attainments, education, and energy of character, it is hoped that the condition of the tribe may be improved by their accession."[39]

It was not long until many of those who had accepted citizenship became tired of their responsible positions and joined their tribe in the Indian Ter-

NOTE 36.—Tauroomee, chief of the Wyandots, was bitterly opposed to this treaty, for he knew that many of his tribe were not prepared to shoulder the responsibilities of citizenship. But as a majority of his people voted in favor of the new arrangement, Tauroomee, with reluctance, signed the treaty. It was not long until the foresight of the chief was evident, for many of the people soon squandered their lands and were without homes, and were even suffering for the necessaries of life. Tauroomee then began to look for a new home for them, and, after many discouragements, finally obtained the present reservation in the Indian Territory.

NOTE 37.— Revised Indian Treaties, pp. 844, 845.

NOTE 38.— Id., pp. 840, 841.

NOTE 39.—Report of the Indian Commissioner, 1872, p. 39.

ritory. From that time the condition of the tribe gradually improved, and to-day it is one of the most advanced and progressive tribes in the territory.

They are becoming more and more progressive; building houses, barns, fences, and all kinds of improvements, and acquiring stock of all kinds; using the prairie land for stock-raising principally, and the land along the streams for agricultural purposes. The men are good business men and traders, but are not so industrious as the women, some of whom are good housekeepers, neat and tidy, dress well, and present a very respectable appearance. All of them wear citizens' clothes. Over 250 are able to read, and about 300 are able to use enough English for ordinary conversation. In 1902 the number of Wyandots living on the reservation was 354—159 males and 195 females. There were ninety-seven children of school age.[40]

They hold their land in severalty; 20,695 acres are allotted and only 535 acres are unallotted or tribal land. When the lands were allotted, the heads of families received 160 acres; single persons, 80 acres; the children under twenty-one years of age, 40 acres. By the Indian appropriation act, approved June 10, 1896, it was provided that certain portions of the reservation might be sold by the adult allottees. Since then 455.50 acres have been sold, at a valuation of $9552.[41] A great deal of the land has been leased; about forty per cent. of the income of the tribe being from this source.[42]

The Seneca boarding-school is located on the Wyandot reservation, and is attended by all the tribes of this agency. Here the children are taught the common industries: housekeeping, sewing and fancy work to the girls, and all kinds of farm industries to the boys.

There are now three churches on their reservation; one has recently burned down. Three missionaries conduct services in these churches and take great interest in the spiritual welfare of the people. The religion of the Wyandots who have been converted to Christianity is about equally divided between the Methodists and the Society of Friends.

To-day the Wyandots have entirely lost the greater part of their old traditions and legends. Some of them speak a kind of dialect of the pure Wyandot language, but most of them speak English. They have a chief whom they elect annually, but his power is nominal. Polygamy has been abandoned for many years, and the marriage relation is strictly adhered to.

At the present time the Wyandot tribe is more white than Indian. There is not so much as a half-blood member of the tribe living. The last full-blood Wyandot died in Canada in 1820. His name was Yah-nyah-meh-deh.[43]

NOTE 40.— Annual Report United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1902, p. 632.

NOTE 41.— Id., pp. 68, 69.

NOTE 42.— Id., p. 633.

NOTE 43.— Folk-lore of the Wyandots.—Connelley. Twentieth Century Classics, vol. 1, p. 8.

BUILDING THE SEDAN COURT-HOUSE.

An address delivered by H. B. KELLY [1] before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its thirtieth annual meeting, December 5, 1905.

ABOUT the first of August, 1875, the county officers of the new county of Chautauqua moved to the town site of Sedan, and for offices occupied an old frame structure, the only building on the town site, and which had been unoccupied for some time.

In January of that year the legislature had obliterated [2] Howard county and erected from the territory thereof the two counties, Elk and Chautauqua. Ed. Jaquins,[3] the member from Howard, introduced and passed the bill creating the two new counties, the bill designating Howard City county-seat of Elk and the town site of Sedan county-seat of Chautauqua.

Immediately upon the passage of the bill the validity of the law was contested in the courts, and when sustained by the supreme court, in July, the new counties organized and became successors to Howard county, Elk having been named after the river running through the county, and Chautauqua for Ed. Jaquins's home county in New York.

The division of Howard county and its obliteration was the result of county-seat elections and contests that had extended over a period of five years, to the great detriment of the county, resulting in an indebtedness of about $50,000, with nothing to show for it.

With the removal of the county officers to the designated county-seat of the new county of Chautauqua, the writer and his partner removed their printing-office, from which they were issuing the Elk Falls *Journal*, to Sedan, where they commenced the publication of the Chautauqua *Journal*. At about the same time two small stores of mixed stocks were opened in temporary box buildings, while a third building was erected in which a saloon was opened. Another building of the same class was erected for a boarding-house, where the county officers and those on and about the town site found something to eat, lodging as best they could.

With this start at Sedan, Peru, seven miles to the east, a town of about 200 population, seconded by the people near the geographical center of the county, moved in the matter of circulating a petition for a county-seat election. A petition containing the requisite number of names for an election was soon secured, when the county commissioners were requested to con-

NOTE 1.— H. B. KELLY was born in Richmond, Ky., February 28, 1843. His parents moved to Iowa in 1849. He enlisted in 1862 in company C, First Iowa cavalry, and served three years as a private soldier. At the close of the war he settled in Atchison county, teaching school; also teaching in Buchanan county, Missouri. In the spring of 1872 he made a permanent settlement in Kansas at Howard City, Howard county. He edited the Howard City *Messenger*, and afterwards the Elk Falls *Journal*. Later he became interested in the Chautauqua *Journal*, which he sold to buy the McPherson *Freeman*. He was married November 17, 1870, to Julia L. Adkins. He was elected to the state senate from the McPherson district in 1884 and reelected in 1888. His residence to-day is Topeka, where he is engaged in the handling of bonds and securities.

NOTE 2.— Chapters 78 and 106, Kansas Statutes of 1875.

NOTE 3.— EDWARD JAQUINS was born in Clymer, Chautauqua county, New York, in 1842. He settled in Kansas in 1872. He was married in 1876. He was at one time a member of the board of supervisors in New York. He represented Howard county in the legislature of 1875, and in 1897 and 1899 represented Cowley county.

vene to consider the same. The members of the board were Ed. Hewins,[4] T. J. Berry, and John Lee; Berry and the county clerk supposedly in sympathy with the petitioners for an election. On the day fixed for consideration of the petition, owing to the absence from the county of Commissioner Lee, it was feared that Commissioner Berry and the county clerk might canvass the petition and order an election. It was therefore deemed necessary to secure Berry before the board should assemble, and this was done through a promise to place him on the Sedan ticket for the legislature, his ambitions in that direction having been well known to the writer and to Eli Titus,[5] then sheriff.

Management of matters for Sedan then in hand devolved upon Eli Titus, C. J. Peckham, and the writer, we having decided that, unless Berry could be secured, we must prevent a meeting of the board, and to this end, upon the arrival of Hewins, in the morning, we had him secrete himself in the hay-loft of a little stable on the town site, leaving Berry the only member of the board present. Hewins was to be kept secreted until an agreement should be concluded with Berry, and with this reached, Hewins was to come out of his hiding and, with Berry, to consider the petition for election. The agreement with Berry was to the effect that the two sides should present their matters and debate and wrangle over the proposition until three or four o'clock in the afternoon, when the request of the Sedan managers would be granted. With this understanding, it was agreed that Berry should act with Hewins in giving the Sedan people thirty days in which to inspect the petition for county-seat election before the board should take final action thereon. This was a great disappointment to Peru and the managers for county-seat election, but it was the winning card and turning-point for Sedan, as during the thirty days copies of names of signers to the petition were made, and the friends of Sedan, with pockets full of warranty deeds to town lots, made and acknowledged in blank, called upon the petitioners and presented to such as could be secured deeds, each, to one or two lots, owing to the ice cut by the petitioner, conditioned that the signer there and at that time sign a request addressed to the board of county commissioners to erase his name from the petition for a county-seat election before making canvass of the petition.

This work was continued until Sedan town lots were pretty well distributed

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NOTE 4.—EDWIN M. HEWINS was born in Loraine county, Ohio, March 22, 1839. His mother was Sabra Worcester, a relative of the author of Worcester's Dictionary, and cousin of General Harney, the famous Indian fighter. Edwin M. Hewins received a meager education in the common schools of Fond du Lac and Appleton, Wis. In 1857, when eighteen years of age, he struck out for himself, and settled on a claim in Wabaunsee county, Kansas. He participated in some of the territorial excitement, on the free-state side, and in 1859 was a prospector in Colorado and New Mexico. He returned to Kansas in the winter of 1860, and enlisted in the Second Kansas cavalry. He was severely wounded at Coon creek, and was honorably mustered out at the close of the war. He settled in Shawnee county, and in the spring of 1871 removed to Howard county. Governor Crawford made him captain of a militia company for defense against the Indians. In 1876 he was elected a member of the house of representatives. He served again in the house of 1879, and in the senate of 1885 and 1887. May 22, 1866, he was married to Julia E., a sister of ex-United States Senator E. G. Ross.

NOTE 5.—ELI TITUS was a pioneer stock-raiser and stock dealer in southern Kansas. His father, Benjamin Titus, was a stock dealer near Galesburg, Ill., and his grandfather, Benjamin Titus, was a New Jersey soldier in the revolutionary war. Eli Titus was born at Lebanon, Boone county, Indiana, July 16, 1846. He received a good business education at Lombard College, Galesburg, Ill. At the age of seventeen, in 1863, he enlisted as a private in company C, One Hundred and Thirty-seventh Illinois, and served to the close of the war. He married, at Connersville, Ind., October 4, 1869, Miss Lilly Myers. He settled at Paola, Kan., in 1866, and in 1869 removed to Chautauqua county. In 1872 he was elected sheriff of Howard county and served two terms. He was a member of the house of representatives in 1883. Some years ago he removed to Kansas City, Mo.

over the country, and enough names taken from the petition to reduce it to less than the number required for an election by the time of the meeting of the board thirty days later.

Knowing that defeat of a petition never permanently killed a movement for county-seat election, a dozen residents of the county who were opponents of a county-seat election met in the shade of a jack-oak tree on the borders of the town site, and these, as I now recall the names, were: Eli Titus, Ed. Hewins, Ed. Jaquins, Col. Samuel Donaldson, John Lee, C. J. Peckham, L. L. Turner,[6] J. L. Mattingley, W. W. Jones, Virgil Jones, Jas. Springer, and H. B. Kelly, most of whom resided in remote sections of the county.

The meeting was called to consider the best method and plan for keeping down county-seat elections, and this, however, not for pecuniary interest of the parties in the town site, but to prevent a recurrence of the strife and conditions that had resulted disastrously to Howard county.

Among the several propositions offered, H. B. Kelly proposed the erection of a court-house as the best method of preventing county-seat elections, and upon this Eli Titus moved that Kelly build a court-house, and the motion carried unanimously; the meeting, without organization, chairman, or secretary, made no record of its conclusions. With nothing further proposed or done, the meeting ended, and all went to their several homes and vocations. But Kelly had been charged with building a court-house, and he proceeded at once to the work, becoming his own architect, own judge as to size and plan of building, method of procedure, extent and conditions of contract. The dimensions of the building undertaken were about fifty by sixty feet, two stories, and to be built of stone—hammered, dressed, range rock. Five offices were provided on the first floor, with two and a court-room on the second, and the work undertaken with no person pledged in writing for the contribution of a dollar.

A stone contractor was secured, and an agreement made with him for the work, signed by H. B. Kelly and the contractor, but with not a dollar on hand to commence or continue the work. A dozen men were soon at work laying foundation and carrying up the walls for a court-house, for payment of which neither the county nor individuals were obligated, while very few were informed as to plan, probable cost and source from which funds might be derived.

Each of the dozen persons who had been present at the meeting was notified, and asked for, and paid, a contribution of fifty dollars, which was followed with a later payment of fifty dollars, while from that time until about the last of December the building of that court-house and its completion kept the writer a very busy man.

The Sedan convention to nominate county officers was held, a ticket made up of Republicans and Democrats was designated "the Sedan or anti-county-seat-election ticket." This was soon followed by the opposition nominating a ticket pledged to petition an election for county seat. The court-house, building through the campaign, was the argument for the Sedan ticket, the campaign having been made upon the proposition of donating a court-house to the county. Each candidate on the ticket was assessed fifty dollars for court-house purposes, while friends over the county were called on

NOTE 6.—LEONIDAS L. TURNER was a member of the first Board of Railroad Commissioners, serving from April 1, 1883, to April 1, 1887.

for contributions, various turns and shifts having been made to raise money or its equivalent. If a man had an ox he would sell, he was given a fancy price for it, possibly twenty-five per cent. above its value, conditioned that he would take a town lot in exchange for it, or a town-company note, the ox then turned to payment for labor or material. Wheat was bought at more than railroad prices, paid for in town lots or town-company notes, while, among the several sawmills in the county, native lumber, used for joisting and studding, was purchased in the same way and upon like condition. Men wanting work, either hauling from Independence or hauling stone or lumber, were employed, and paid in part in the same way, with the result that in the various and remote parts of the county men were engaged in work on the court-house, and, having thus acquired an interest in the town site and the success of Sedan, became advocates for the election in their several localities of the Sedan ticket.

Prompt payment every Saturday to the dozen men at work on the building was an important matter, and the coming of Saturday with no cash was a trying time for the writer. However, he would call in turn on the little stores or the saloon for a loan, these having proven of most valuable assistance. Saturday noon the contractor would start hunting Kelly and Kelly would start for a loan. But he never told the person from whom he obtained the loan for what purpose the money was wanted. The lender might guess, but I feared that telling in the early stages of the work that I was borrowing to pay for work on the court-house, the enterprise would be regarded a failure and the loan requested could not be had. From the saloon I would borrow possibly fifty dollars, to be returned the middle of the next week, and then would bestir myself to collect in something, or secure a new subscriber to the fund, when I would promptly pay back the money borrowed. If I failed to realize it from a new source, I would go to one of the stores and borrow and pay the saloon, and when collections were quite slow, as they usually were, I would go to the other store and borrow to pay the first store; and so, for a period of three months, I took turns borrowing in one place to pay in another, stirring up candidates and friends of the movement, and paying big prices for anything I could turn, to realize upon, in some way. I did not permit work to stop, but kept it moving, and through a fierce campaign the court-house building proved the strong card for the Sedan cause. The election resulted in victory for the Sedan ticket by 100 to 200 majority, the battle having been won, though, with the court-house still incomplete. The walls were, however, complete, the joisting and studding all in, and the window- and door-frames in, but the roofing was untouched.

I submitted a proposition for roofing the building, designating the kind of roof to be put on, to two firms of carpenters who had located on the town site, their bids having been something like $1100 or $1200 each, for furnishing everything and putting on the roof. But, as there was no such money at my command, I rejected the bids, and, driving to Independence, employed a carpenter for a day, who went with me into the attic and inspected the roof of the Caldwell hotel, as the model by which to be guided. A plan of the roof was drawn, with each principal piece of lumber used therein, and this we took to a lumber-yard, where I bought the bill of lumber from the carpenter's draft, showing the exact pieces necessary—bought enough and

no more—freighted the material to Sedan in wagons, hired workmen by the day, and, using walnut shingles, put the roof on complete for something like $500.

The structure, then a building, good from foundation to roof, with walls, joisting, studding, window- and door-frames in, and roof on, was accepted by a friendly board of county commissioners as a building erected, fully satisfactory to the commissioners, who under the law were prevented from levying a tax for the "erection" of a court-house costing more than $1000. They accepted the Sedan structure as a building, and made a tax levy sufficient to complete the court-house, upon conveying the building with a block of ground to the county. The cost of the building paid as indicated in the foregoing was about $4000—possibly a little more; a sum which now appears insignificant. But the labor was secured cheaply, there were no leakages, and no chance for leakages, as there was never any accumulation to leak, and no hole for it to leak through. The raising of that amount of money at that time in a new community where $100 or $200 in cash made the possessor a capitalist, for a town forty miles from a railroad, was an undertaking fraught with no little difficulty. Not a candidate, and not a prospective political candidate, during the period between the commencement of the court-house and election, was eager to announce his personal connection with it; in fact, he avoided that, as, in the event of failure, defeat of the Sedan ticket, and stoppage of work on the court-house, the opponents of Sedan prophesied that the stone pile in Sedan would be pointed out as a monument to Kelly's folly.

But the court-house was a success and the Sedan ticket was a winner; victory reached through a period of trial and tribulation, untiring work by day and sleepless nights for the writer, as during the time of building the court-house he was editing his paper in the interest of the ticket, participating in campaigning, speaking at nights in the various schoolhouses of the county, and in addition to this locating newcomers on lots of the town company—lots donated to those who would build and become residents of Sedan.

It is now thirty years since the board of county commissioners accepted the Sedan court-house and that building is still the Chautauqua county court-house; not imposing, not commodious, and not changed, it stands and has stood, answering every purpose, and that, too, practically without cost to the county, having served the purpose for which it was intended, namely, prevention of county-seat contests. Chautauqua county has never had a county-seat election, never issued a bond for a court-house, nor made a tax levy therefor to any considerable amount, save such as was necessary for the completion of the building donated.

Of the group of twelve who met in the shade of the jack oak in August, 1875, Colonel Donaldson, Eli Titus, Ed. Hewins, and John Lee, all strong men in their day, are dead.

Among those who met and decided for a court-house not one had a personal interest in the town site, but were interested only in having a county free from the strife and turmoil of county-seat contests.

Briefly, this is the story of the building of the Sedan court-house.

THE KANSAS OIL PRODUCERS AGAINST THE STANDARD OIL COMPANY.

An address by WILLIAM E. CONNELLEY,[1] delivered before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its thirtieth annual meeting, December, 5, 1905.

I ENGAGED in the business of oil production at Chanute, Kan., in August, 1903. I became interested in holdings in Neosho, Allen and Chautauqua counties. During the summer of 1904 prices of crude oils declined rapidly, and the producers of crude petroleum in Kansas came to believe that the depression then created in their business was caused by the action of the Standard Oil Company. Many of the producers were confronted by ruin, all of them by heavy loss. As the Standard Oil Company appeared to be entrenched behind legal forms no remedy existed. The oil producers were not organized. What seemed a promising organization was effected about August. A meeting was held in Independence and one at Chanute; but the Standard Oil Company had great influence in both towns, and the movement commenced by these meetings for the organization of the general field amounted to nothing. Chanute maintained a strong and aggressive local oil producers' association. The feeling that some remedy for the existing evils could and would be found was wide-spread in the state. In his message to the legislature Gov. E. W. Hoch gave official expression to this feeling, and he recommended that some adequate remedy be devised by the legislature.

On Thursday, January 12, 1905, I was in Peru, Kan., with J. O. Fife, attending to a business matter. It was a cold day. A deep snow had fallen the night of the 11th, and on this snow there was a thick crust of sleet. It was with difficulty that our team broke the road from Peru to Sedan, but the trip was finally made. Hoping to find the south road in better condition, we returned to Peru by the route that leads by the Huffman pool, a rich oil-field, but we found no person had driven over that road, and we had to break the way from Sedan to Peru. Upon our return to Peru we went to the office of H. E. West, where the Kansas City daily papers were found. They contained Governor Hoch's message, which was read with great interest by every one. It created much discussion, during which it was suggested that we begin then and there to form some organization embracing all the producers of crude oil in Kansas; this body to seek to accomplish the purposes deemed necessary to preserve the oil industry of the state. After mature deliberation upon the matter, Mr. West decided to call together in his office, at eight o'clock that evening, all the oil producers in the vicinity of Peru. Some eight or ten producers responded to the call. They formed the Chautauqua County Oil Producers' Association, and the newly formed body decided to issue a call for a meeting of the oil producers of the entire oil-field. I was requested to prepare the call. I went into a room apart from the one in which the meeting was in progress; there I wrote the following, which

NOTE 1.—Author of The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory; John Brown; James H. Lane; Wyandot Folk-lore; Kansas Territorial Governors; An Appeal to the Record; Overland Stage to California (with Frank A. Root); Memoirs of John J. Ingalls; The Heckewelder Narrative; Doniphan's Expedition (in preparation). For biographical sketch of Mr. Connelley, see Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 7, p. 486.

was adopted without change, though the 19th was substituted for the 24th as the day for the meeting:

"PERU, KAN., January 12, 1905.

"The Chautauqua County Oil Producers' Association read with pleasure the message of Governor Hoch to the legislature. He does not disappoint us, but proves the true friend of Kansas and of every industry vital to her interest and prosperity. We congratulate the producers of petroleum upon the position and stand of Governor Hoch. And we also congratulate them upon the election by the people of a legislature of good business men, determined to do everything possible to foster, preserve and develop the resources—all the resources—of the great state of Kansas. And while Kansas has surprised the world by her marvelous growth of corn, wheat, cattle, and other agricultural and live-stock products, and by her production of lead, salt, and other mineral resources, she now bids fair to become the greatest producer of crude petroleum in America. This being true, it is but just that the people of Kansas should enjoy the results and profits of this valuable resource. It is particularly gratifying that Governor Hoch is of this opinion, and that he believes that the people should not be robbed of these profits by monopoly and the unjust methods which have proven so disastrous to this particular industry in other states.

"Realizing that the petroleum interests of Kansas are of enormous proportions and capable of indefinite extension, and that they extend over several counties of the state and require the consideration and careful attention of every person interested therein, this association desires to assist in devising ways and means to enable the people to realize the hopes expressed by Governor Hoch. To this end this association deems it a duty to request every producer of crude petroleum in Kansas, and every one interested therein, to be present at a general and fraternal meeting which it hereby calls for Thursday, the 19th day of January, 1905, in the Throop hotel, Topeka, Kan., at eleven o'clock A. M., to discuss the present conditions and future prospects of the petroleum industry of this state, and to take such united action as may then and there be believed proper and necessary. THE CHAUTAUQUA COUNTY OIL PRODUCERS' ASSOCIATION.

By H. E. WEST, *President.*"

Copies of this call were coming from the press in Peru the following day, before I left for my home in Chanute. At that time plans for the Topeka meeting were not discussed, for there was no certainty that it would have a fair attendance, and until it was known that the producers would be present in respectable number it was thought to be idle to make plans. The call was sent broadcast. The Chautauqua county association, of which I was a charter member, did little the week following the formulation of the call but solicit attendance upon the Topeka meeting. The response of the producers was sudden and enthusiastic, and we could see that the meeting would be a success. A special train was provided to carry the producers to Topeka, and it was crowded. Every part of the Kansas oil-field was represented. The day preceding the meeting was stormy, and when the train arrived in Topeka, at dark, snow was falling. The Hotel Throop was soon filled to overflowing, and Mr. West saw that the meeting would have to be in some hall, if all the producers were to be present, for there was no room in the hotel large enough to hold them. The audience chamber of the Topeka Commercial Club was engaged for the meeting on the 19th. On the night of the 18th a meeting was held in the parlors of the hotel at which the question concerning the union of producers of oil and those of natural gas in the proposed movement was discussed. The oil producers thought it best not to join the two interests, but the producers of gas were anxious to have the organization to be

formed care for the interests of the producers of both oil and gas; on this subject no agreement was reached in the meeting, although the question engrossed the attention of every one present for the remainder of the evening. Matters were in a chaotic condition. A large attendance had been secured and the producers were enthusiastic; but there seemed a lack of leadership, and no one had any plan for even the meeting to be held on the 19th. Plans for handling the general situation were almost as numerous as the producers present. The indications were that a plan would have to be evolved after long discussion of the numerous ones presented. I knew this course was fraught with danger and likely to develop dangerous and irreconcilable differences. There was some unanimity as to what we would have done, but none as to how to make intelligent effort to secure the ends desired. I retired at eleven o'clock, and at that time there was nothing definite determined for the coming meeting except that Mr. West would preside over its deliberations.

On the morning of the 19th, I went early into the writing-room of the hotel and sat down at a small desk and wrote nine resolutions. During the night I had studied the whole movement carefully and reflected upon the expressions of the oil producers gathered in the hotel lobby. I had arrived at a conclusion as to what should be done at the meeting, and these resolutions embodied that conclusion. Some of the resolutions were in effect the same that I had helped prepare for our Chanute association. In forming the other resolutions I had not even a suggestion from any one. I finished writing the resolutions just as the hotel lobby began to fill, and at the same time the operator of a typewriter came in and took her seat at a machine on a small desk across the door from me. I had her make half a dozen copies of the resolution. While talking to her, R. C. Rawlings, of Chanute, came in with a resolution expressing the gratitude of the producers to Governor Hoch. I had prepared a similar resolution, but as that of Mr. Rawlings was better than mine I asked leave to use it, which he readily granted. The copies were finished about ten o'clock. I had not seen Mr. West up to that time that morning, nor had I talked with any of the principal producers that day.

I took my resolutions directly from the typewriter to the room of Mr. West. There I found Mr. West, J. H. McBride, Charles Noble, and also M. L. Lockwood, who was writing a resolution covering the rate question. These gentlemen were discussing the situation, in an effort to mark out a course to be pursued in the meeting, but nothing definite had been concluded. I presented my resolutions and went over them carefully. They agreed that I had covered the situation and pronounced the resolutions satisfactory. I handed them to Mr. West and started to go out, but he called me back and requested me to submit the resolutions to the meeting, which I agreed to do. And then we started to the hall where the meeting was to be held.

When we left the hotel to go to the meeting, we found the day clear and bright, and many remarked that it was a good omen. The meeting was called to order by Mr. West as soon as we arrived at the chamber, and he, as chairman, read a long paper, with which he was not satisfied. Then J. M. Parker, of Independence, was elected secretary of the meeting.

Mr. West asked what was the further pleasure of the meeting. I offered the first of my resolutions, as follows:

"*Resolved*, That this organization become a permanent body, to be known as the Kansas Oil Producers' Association, and that it be extended by the admission to membership of any person engaged in the production of crude oil in Kansas."

I moved the adoption of the resolution, and it was adopted without discussion. Then I read my second resolution, which follows:

"*Resolved*, That the president shall, upon the adjournment of this meeting, appoint four members, who, together with himself, shall constitute the executive committee of this association, which said executive committee shall be the executive and administrative power and authority of the association until the first annual election, which shall be provided for by said executive committee. Such executive committee shall appoint such other committees—legislative and others—as it may deem necessary. Said executive committee shall devise ways and means to raise such funds as may be required to meet the expenses of the association, and shall appoint a treasurer to receive and disburse the same upon its order."

This was the most important resolution I had prepared. It constituted a scheme of government for the association and provided for every contingency which I could foresee. It was, in fact, the embodiment of all the meeting was called to accomplish, and I was anxious to know how the producers would receive it. There was no discussion after I moved the adoption of the resolution, and it passed by a unanimous vote. I was much pleased, for I then knew there would be no wrangling, no disagreement, no dissatisfaction, and that the meeting would be harmonious; and I then believed that the ends for which we were organizing to labor would be fully accomplished. I felt that an organization was effected which would be a power for good in Kansas.

At the request of Mr. H. B. Kelly, I read the remaining resolutions at once and moved their adoption together. They were as follows:

"*Resolved*, That it is the sense of this association that the state of Kansas ought to erect and maintain a refinery for oil, of the capacity of at least 5000 barrels daily."

"*Resolved*, That it is the sense of this association that a law should be enacted by the present legislature making all pipe-lines now built and those to be constructed in the future for the transportation of oil common carriers, subject to all the laws, duties and obligations of the same, and that said lines be regulated in all matters by some competent authority, to be designated by the legislature."

"*Resolved*, That it is the sense of this association that the legislature ought to protect the industries of this state by a law providing heavy penalties for its violation, and which should prohibit any dealer, owner or manufacturer from selling his products at a lower price in one portion of the state than in another portion thereof, all items of cost considered, thereby creating a monopoly and destroying competition in manufacture, trade, and commerce."

"*Resolved*, That it is the sense of this association that the present legislature should by law provide for transportation rates and charges by railroads and pipe-lines that will enable the producers of oil in this state to sell their product in any portion thereof at a fair profit for fuel and other purposes."

"*Resolved*, That it is the sense of this association that the present legislature should provide a competent board of inspection, to be supported by reasonable fees collected for services performed, to protect the resources of

the state by the proper action concerning dry, abandoned, imperfect, exhausted or dangerous oil- or gas-wells. Also for the inspection and proper grading of the crude oil produced in the state, and having authority to act upon the appeal of producers or purchasers in case of dispute."

"*Resolved*, That it is the sense of the Kansas oil producers, in convention assembled, that the action of Governor Hoch in recommending such legislation as will protect the Kansas producers of crude petroleum and the refiners of the same from the crushing and throttling grasp of monopolistic influences is most heartily and sincerely commended as the act of a man to whom the interests and welfare of the people of this state are very dear; and we furthermore thank him from our innermost hearts for his manly actions and his mode of encouragement to the oil producers of the state."

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of this association be tendered all the members of the present legislature for the manifest disposition shown to preserve and foster the oil industries of Kansas."

The resolutions were adopted after very little discussion. The last resolution is changed a little from the form in which I put it, as I had tendered the thanks of the association to Senators Porter and Waggener only, for the introduction of bills in the interest of the oil producers. It was believed best to include all the members of the legislature. No other changes were made in the resolutions.

Within an hour after President West inquired the pleasure of the meeting the work for which the oil producers had assembled was fully accomplished, and there had been scarcely five minutes' discussion of the resolutions offered. A gentleman from Nebraska, whom no one present knew, but who was suspected of being an agent of the Standard Oil Company in disguise, wanted the membership to include consumers of oil, as well as producers, but he met with little encouragement. So rapidly and with so little friction had the work been done that all were surprised to find there was really nothing else to do. Mr. S. H. Whisner, of Wyandotte county, moved that a committee on constitution and by-laws be appointed, and this he moved after the adoption of all resolutions. It was explained to him that the meeting had passed that stage, and that the purpose supposed to be served by a constitution and by-laws had been provided for in the second resolution. On motion of Mr. Rawlings, of Chanute, a tax of fifty cents per month on each producing oil-well was levied to meet the expenses of the association, and the meeting adjourned for dinner with practically all of its work done and objects accomplished.

At the afternoon meeting President West announced the names of the four members appointed by him on the executive committee. They were L. H. Perkins, of Lawrence; Senator S. J. Stewart, of Humboldt (not a member of that legislature); J. M. Parker, of Independence; and J. O. Fife, for Chanute, though he lived in Wyandotte county. The committee was a good one. It organized by the election of H. E. West, president; J. O. Fife, vice-president; J. M. Parker, secretary and treasurer.

Mr. West assumed the real work of the committee. It is safe to say that no man was ever more faithful to a trust, nor was one ever more devoted to a cause; and it is safe to say, also, that no man ever did more effective work. He directed a campaign to secure the cooperation of the people of Kansas in his efforts to secure legislation along the lines laid down in the resolutions, and it was not long until the whole state was aroused. Petitions and letters poured in upon the legislature from every quarter. The newspapers took up the work. Public gatherings passed

resolutions. There was an uprising such as can occur nowhere but in Kansas. It spread to other states. Illinois offered to loan Kansas the money to build the state refinery. The whole country was aroused. Congress ordered an investigation of conditions existing in the oil-fields. The action of the state in rebelling against the greatest and wickedest corporation on earth, when older and richer states had submitted to its arrogance for years without protest, was applauded throughout the land. Kansas was praised for her courage. Her rebellion against slavery and its destruction through her efforts were often mentioned, and the hope was expressed that her remarkable rebellion against trusts would lead to their regulation and control in this country. The Standard Oil Company tried to stay the rising tide by sending its representatives to Topeka to use methods so often effective in other places and by employing a great number of "attorneys" and hangers-on about legislatures, but these were swept out of the state and out of service immediately, to appear no more around the state-house, so fierce was the sentiment against them. And for all these things President West was largely responsible. He surprised everybody by his executive ability and his power to organize and influence men. Often he worked twenty hours out of the twenty-four, and was always sanguine of success.

The accomplishments of the association were truly remarkable. The third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh resolutions were in effect requests for the enactment of laws. Of these five requests, four were complied with by the legislature. They are as follows:

The third resolution requested the state to erect and maintain an oil refinery capable of handling 5000 barrels of crude oil daily. The law as passed made the daily capacity of the refinery 1000 barrels. This law was declared by the state supreme court to be in conflict with the constitution of Kansas.[2]

The fourth resolution requested a law declaring pipe-lines for the transportation of oil common carriers, subject to all the restrictions applicable to common carriers; and a common-carrier law was passed and is now a Kansas statute.[3]

The fifth resolution requested a law prohibiting any corporation or person from underselling a competitor, to ruin him, and at the same time sell the same product at a higher price in another community. A law known as the antidiscrimination law was passed in compliance with this request. It is now on the statute-book, and is one of the best laws ever enacted by any state. Under its provisions a number of independent refineries are in operation in the state. It is estimated that more than a million dollars have been invested in Kansas refineries by residents of other states as a result of the enactment of this law less than one year ago. And it has made the price of oil uniform in the state. It is safe to say that this law has already saved the people of Kansas ten million dollars, for it applies to all manufactured articles and not alone to refined oil.[4]

The sixth resolution requested the enactment of a law placing a maximum

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NOTE 2.— There were appropriated the following sums for the construction, maintenance, etc., of the Penitentiary and Oil Refinery: Ten thousand dollars for provision of suitable quarters, feeding, guarding, etc., of convicts employed in its construction; $200,000 for construction and equipment; and $200,000 as a "revolving fund" for the operation of the plant. (Session Laws of 1905, ch. 478, p. 783.) Declared unconstitutional by the supreme court July 7, 1905, Justice A. L. Greene writing the opinion.

NOTE 3.— Session Laws of 1905, ch. 315, p. 526.

NOTE 4.— Id., ch. 2, p. 2.

rate for freight charges on the shipment of oil by railroads. The law was enacted, and under its operation a large business is being built up in various parts of the state in the establishment of fuel-oil stations. The fuel-oil dealers purchase their oil from the Kansas oil producers. Before the enactment of this law the freight rates on crude oil in Kansas were prohibitive.[5]

The seventh resolution requested a board for the supervision and protection of the oil-fields from damage from neglected and abandoned wells, and to supervise the inspection and grading of crude oil. It should have been passed. It is supposed that there would have been little opposition to a proper bill of that nature; but the time of the legislature is limited by law, and in the labor of shaping and passing the other bills deemed of more importance this bill had to be neglected and was not passed, though it is confidently expected that the next legislature will enact a law along the lines marked out by the resolution.

The result of the formation of the association and its efforts was the enactment of four laws out of five which were requested—a result never before equaled in Kansas, and, so far as we know, never equaled in any other state; and, as said before, this remarkable record was largely due to the sound judgment and untiring energy of President West. His selection for the head of the association was the most fortunate that could have been made. He had the undivided support of the other members of the executive committee, all able men, and in their respective positions did splendid work. Everybody worked—worked to full capacity, and in unison with every other worker.

We must not forget the legislature in this brief review, for it is entitled to honorable mention always. In ability, as a body, it ranked far above the average legislature. It was patriotic, square, and honest. It realized that it had been elected to labor for the welfare of Kansas, and it rose to the occasion and did its duty. It was not elected on the issues put before it by the oil producers, but it responded nobly to what it saw was the right of the matter. It was a clean, honorable body, bent on doing the right thing. It was a business body, careful of its reputation, for there were no grafts nor scandals. I said, in a communication to a Chanute newspaper, that no other legislature had ever been given the opportunity in Kansas which now came to this one, and if it responded intelligently it would be the most illustrious that ever met in any state. That estimate may have been too high, though I doubt it. It must be admitted that the Kansas legislature of 1905 stood for a square deal, and against graft, boodle, trusts, and other forms of oppression of the people.

The oil men saw with satisfaction many of the ablest men in the legislature come to their aid and labor especially in their interest, without expectation of fee or reward. Where all the friends of the oil producers did so well, it is difficult justly to make special mention. In the senate, W. S. Fitzpatrick and F. D. Smith were untiring in their efforts, but none worked harder nor with better judgment than Senator James F. Getty, of Wyandotte county. His course was an agreeable surprise to the oil producers. He was a new man in the public affairs of Kansas, and it was not known how he would regard the questions presented by the oil men. He voluntarily espoused their cause, for the sole reason that he believed it the right thing to

NOTE 5.—Session Laws of 1905, ch. 315, secs. 3, 4, p. 536.

do, and he stood for their requests with marked ability. Many other senators did the same, and scores of house members could be named who fought valiantly for the measures proposed by the producers.

Governor Hoch was a host within himself. His position on these questions, so vigorously urged in his splendid message, made it possible for the association to be formed. Without his official expression in favor of the oil producers of Kansas we could not have organized the association, nor could we have secured the cooperation of the people of Kansas. In any movement for the rights of the people it is imperative that some strong man stand boldly forth as their champion in the beginning. Governor Hoch's defiant challenge to the Standard Oil Company rang like a trumpet blast, and was our rallying-cry. He sprang at once into national prominence because of his fearlessness, his ability, his courageous stand for the people, and for his uncompromising hostility to trusts. At home he became the idol of his people.

The laws enacted at the instance of the Kansas oil producers have been on the statute-books less than a year at this writing, but the good effects of them all are already visible in many directions. These good effects will increase enormously in the near future.

The fight started by the oil producers here has spread to many states. Kansas blazed the way, as she always does when a great movement for the rights of the people is to be inaugurated. Under the leadership of Governor Hoch the people carried their cause to the legislature, which, by its response, became the most remarkable that ever assembled in any state, and became illustrious in being the first to make a stalwart stand against the further encroachments of monopolistic greed.

THE HISTORY OF THE DESERT.

An address by FRANK W. BLACKMAR,[1] delivered before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its thirtieth annual meeting, December 5, 1905.

THE theory of a great American desert stretching over boundless wastes in the interior of the continent has been one of the most persistent ideas in the historical development of our nation. Based upon the meager facts obtainable by indirect methods, this theory has been, largely, the product of the vivid imagination of writers who felt and travelers and explorers who suffered. Philosophers, historians and scientists have contributed to the dream and the statesman has ever been prone to concede what he considered the inevitable. And quite naturally enough it came about, for they had no method of knowing the actual resources of the country and no conception of the methods to be employed in its conquest. True it is, also, that, compared with the fertile valleys and wooded districts east of the Mississippi, the great inland basin has been to all ordinary purposes a veritable desert, for it failed to give up

NOTE 1.—FRANK WILSON BLACKMAR was born November 3, 1854, at Springfield, Pa. He graduated from the University of the Pacific in 1881, A. M., 1884; Ph. D., Johns Hopkins, 1889; professor of mathematics, University of the Pacific, 1882–'86; graduate student Johns Hopkins, 1886–'89; fellow in history and politics, 1888–'89; professor of history and sociology, University of Kansas, since 1889; president Kansas conference charities and corrections, 1900–'02. He is author of Federal and State Aid to Higher Education in the United States, 1890; Spanish Colonization, 1890; Spanish Institutions in the Southwest, 1891; The Study of History and Sociology, 1890; The Story of Human Progress, 1896; Economics, 1900; History of Higher Education in Kansas, 1900; Charles Robinson, the Free-state Governor of Kansas, 1900; Life of Charles Robinson, the First Governor of Kansas, 1902; The Elements of Sociology, 1905.

its treasures and to submit to civilization in ways similar to the more favorable districts of the Mississippi valley and the Atlantic seaboard. And so the terrors of this *terra incognita* have been magnified and its worthlessness proclaimed.

Gradually, however, myth has given way to fact, just as trapper and explorer have given place to the *bona fide* settler; the pony express and the prairie-schooner to the railroad; and the land has ceased to be considered a mere highway by the shortest trails to the Pacific slope, and has become a habitable land, whose mineral and agricultural resources are to be developed—a land whose face is dotted with beautiful towns and cities and pleasant homes. In the great drama of settlement, while the world was thinking and dreaming of the dreary wastes of land and creating the myth of the desert, the hardy pioneer was setting his stakes farther westward and enlarging the boundaries of civilization. It was a strenuous life, marked by self-denial, hardship, and toil, frequently of disappointment and regret. Frequently romance and tragedy existed side by side. For it must be, in the mastery of nature, that a large number of people should live on the margin of culture, preparing the way for others who may enjoy the blessings of civilization thus made possible. So, in the settlement of the West, statesman, historian, scientific explorer and the prophet of human destiny were thrust aside by the adventurous spirit who took his life in his hands and went out to meet and conquer the difficulties of an unknown land. It was the pioneer who demonstrated the possibilities of the country and made known its characteristics and advantages, and who really mastered the territory.

Perhaps the first suggestion of the myth of the desert came from Thomas Jefferson, who thought that the great inland territory west of the Mississippi would be of comparatively little value to the United States. In the purchase of Louisiana he seemed to be thinking only of a strip of land which would protect our Western frontier, rather than of a great territory to be filled with a teeming population. But there was no real knowledge of this country at the time of Jefferson. It was a boundless territory, unknown as to soil, climate, and possibilities of civilization. It appears that the explorations of the Spaniards in the interior and on the Pacific coast were little known by the inhabitants of the Atlantic seaports. And so for years afterwards, through conjecture, various reports of travelers, and the flight of imagination, this territory came to be known as "The Great American Desert." It was like the myth of the great northwestern passage to India, which the explorers sought at Panama, and chased, with varying success, further and further to the northwest, until finally it ended in a passage from the Pacific ocean into the Arctic, known as Behring strait. And so, in history and vision, the Great American Desert was created, but it has gradually disappeared from the maps, and likewise from the minds of the people, as they slowly realized the facts of settlement.

The real foundation of this myth was perhaps laid in the expedition of Zebulon M. Pike, who crossed the plains to the Rocky Mountains in 1805 to 1807. It is true that the famous expedition of Lewis and Clark had given something of the vastness of the territory, but, as they kept very close to the Missouri and Columbia, they could give very little of the possibilities of the country. Their reports, too, seemed to have for their objective point the Oregon territory, rather than any explicit descriptions of

the lands between it and the Mississippi. But Pike's expedition gave some statements in regard to the territory which were taken as a matter of fact, and which characterized for more than half a century this great interior of the continent. Speaking of the fertility of the soil, he says: "From the Missouri to the head waters of the (Little) Osage river, a distance, in a straight line, of probably 300 miles, the country will admit of a numerous, extensive and compact population. Thence, on the rivers Kansas, La Platte, Arkansas and their various tributaries it appears to me to be only possible to introduce a limited population on their banks." (Coues, vol. II, p. 523.) This limits the fertile territory to the boundaries of the state of Missouri and a small part of eastern Kansas, and counts the rest of the territory capable of only a sparse settlement.

Again, he says, in characterizing this territory: "These vast plains of the western hemisphere may become in time as celebrated as the sandy deserts of Africa, for I saw, in my route in various places, tracts of many leagues where the wind had thrown up the sand in all the fanciful forms of the ocean's rolling wave, and on which not a speck of vegetable matter existed." (Coues, vol. II, p. 525.) And in his conclusion he states: "But from the immense prairies there arises one advantage to the United States, viz., the restriction of our population to some certain limits, and thereby a continuance of the Union. Our citizens being so prone to rambling and extending themselves on the frontier will, through necessity, be constrained to limit their extent on the west to the boundaries of the Missouri and the Mississippi, while they leave the prairies incapable of cultivation to the wandering and uncivilized aborigines of the country." (Coues, vol. II, p. 525.) There is in this statement a hint of the material welfare of the nation in the prevention of the too rapid exploration of a country and the practice of extensive agriculture to the neglect of intensive agriculture.

Long's expedition of 1819 and 1820 rather emphasizes this characterization given by Pike. In speaking of the country east of the meridian which passes through Council Bluffs, he asserts that it will support a high population, but that "the scarcity of timber, mill sites, and sources of water, difficulties that are almost uniformly prevalent, must for a long time prove serious impediments in the settling of the country. Large tracts are often to be met with exhibiting scarcely any trace of vegetation." When it is observed that within this territory we have now the northern part of Missouri, the fertile state of Iowa, and a large part of the grain belts of Minnesota, it is easy to realize that the possibilities of the country were unthought of by the chronicler. Of the country west of this meridian the report states: "In regard to this extensive section of the country, we do not hesitate in giving the opinion that it is almost wholly unfit for cultivation, and, of course, uninhabitable by people depending upon agriculture for their subsistence." (Long's Expedition, vol. II, p. 361.)

But, having taken this melancholy view of the land, he finally discovers that this vast territory may be of some use to the United States, and he reiterates the opinions of Jefferson and Pike in the following paragraph:

"This region, viewed as a frontier, may prove of infinite importance to the United States, inasmuch as it is calculated to serve as a barrier to prevent too great an extension of our population westward, and secure us against the machinations of an enemy that might otherwise be disposed to annoy us in that quarter." (Long, vol. II, p. 361.)

He closes by saying: "From the minute account given in the narrative of the particular features of this expedition, it will be perceived to be a manifest resemblance to the deserts of Siberia." In this he refers to the whole distance to the Rocky Mountains.

Now come the first reports of the territory beyond, in which the boundaries of the desert are extended to the Pacific coast. He says, in speaking of the country beyond the Rocky Mountains: "It is a region destined, by the barrenness of its soil, the inhospitable character of its climate and by other physical defects to be the abode of perpetual desolation."

These two government explorers laid the foundation for the discussion of the subject in future years, and set some limits to the thought and imagination of the people. So we find, thereafter for a period of fifty years, in the school geographies and atlases and in other descriptions of the country, a representation of the Great American Desert. Woodbridge and Willard published a geography for schools in 1824, in which they reflected the statements of Long and Pike, except that they mention that the soil between the Missouri and Mississippi is very fertile, but that, lacking in water and timber, settlement would be impeded. They seem to have discovered somewhere south of the Missouri, and extending to the Red river, a swamp 200 miles in length and five to thirty in width. For the benefit of the youth of our schools, they go on to give a full description of the country, a part of which may be stated as follows:

"From longitude 96, or the meridian of Council Bluffs, to the Chippewain mountains, is a desert region of 400 miles in length and breadth, or about 1600 miles in extent. . . . On approaching within 100 miles of the Rocky Mountains the snow-capped summits become visible. Here the hills become more frequent, and elevated rocks more abundant, and the soil more sterile, until we reach the abrupt chain of peaks which divide it from the western declivities of North America. Not a thousandth part can be said to have any timber growth, and the surface is generally naked. . . . The predominant soil of this region is a sterile sand, and large tracts are often to be met with which exhibit scarcely a trace of vegetation. The salts and magnesia mingled with the soil are often so abundant as to destroy vegetation. The waters are, to a great extent, impure, and frequently too brackish for use. . . . The valley of the Canadian river is covered to a great extent with salt incrustations, resembling ice or snow in its appearance. The waters of this river are so impregnated with salt as to be unfit for use, and this is the case with other tributaries of the Arkansas and of the Red rivers. . . . Agreeably to the best intelligence, we find the country, both northward and southward of that described, commencing near the sources of the Sabine and Columbia, and extending to the northern boundaries of the United States, is throughout of the same character."

Again we find, in Carey and Lee's atlas of 1827: "The Great American Desert covers an indefinite territory in Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska, Indian Territory, and Texas."[2] Mitchell, in his "Accompaniment to Reference and

NOTE 2.—"About 140 miles west of the state of Missouri the country begins to assume a more level face. About this place, also, commences a growth of short, soft grass on the prairies, which prevails westwardly, none of which is found in Missouri, Illinois, or Indiana. I presume that this circumstance has led some travelers into the mistaken supposition that they were passing over poor land. The soil, as far west as we extended our survey, is almost invariably rich. The uplands are somewhat inferior to that nearer the state of Missouri. The bottom lands of Solomon river, which are two or three miles wide, mostly prairie, and the bottom lands of other smaller streams, are of first-rate quality. . . .

"I beg leave, sir, to state distinctly that I am confirmed in an opinion often expressed, that the country under consideration may safely be considered favorable for settlement; the distance, on an average of 200 miles from the state of Missouri and territory of Arkansas, water, wood, soil, and stone, are such as to warrant this conclusion."— Rev. Isaac McCoy. Extract from his letter to the secretary of war, dated April, 1831, reporting his survey of the Delaware reserve and outlet, in Kansas, the previous summer.— In 23d Cong., 1st sess., sen. doc. 512, p. 435.

Distance Map," published in 1835, states that a large portion of this country may be likened to the Great Sahara or African desert. In 1838 Bradford's Atlas of the United States indicated the great desert as extending from the Arkansas through into Colorado and Wyoming, including South Dakota, part of Nebraska, and Kansas. Here, also, was an indefinite boundary, suggesting an unknown country.

Perhaps Irving, in his "Astoria," gave the most forcible impulse to this notion of the great interior. In his association with the northwest custom officials at Montreal he listened to many stories of adventure, and, as he states: "I was at an age when imagination lends color to everything, and the stories of these Sinbads of the wilderness made the life of a trapper and a fur trader perfect romance to me." Subsequently he made a brief tour on the prairies and into Missouri and Arkansas, and then was prepared to write "Astoria," in which he gives graphic pictures of the plains. But he prefaces this charming book with the significant statement that "The work I here present to the public is necessarily of a rambling and somewhat disjointed nature, comprising various expeditions by land and sea." While it is a book full of interest, no doubt the Sinbads of the wilderness and Irving's imagination fail to give sufficient data to enable us to form a clear judgment of the country.

In regard to the nature of this country, Irving has this to say, in part: "This region, which resembles one of the ancient steppes of Asia, has not inaptly been termed 'The Great American Desert.' It spreads forth into undulating and treeless plains and desolate, sandy wastes, wearisome to the eye from their extent and monotony. . . . It is a land where no man permanently abides, for at certain seasons of the year there is no food for the hunter or his steed." Again, he continues to say: "Such is the nature of this immense wilderness of the far West, which apparently defies cultivation and habitation of civilized life. Some portions of it along the rivers may partially be subdued by agriculture, others may form vast pastoral tracts like those of the East, but it is to be found that a great part of it will form a lawless interval between the abodes of civilization, more like the wastes of the ocean or the deserts of Arabia, and, like them, be subject to the depredation of marauders." This work appeared in 1836, and gave renewed impulse to the ideas of the Great American Desert.

Soon after came the great struggle over the Oregon territory, during which an attempt was made to show the boundless wastes of desert that existed between the extended possessions of the United States and the Pacific coast. Greenhowe's History of Oregon, which appeared in 1845, took up the statement of Long and emphasized his frightful picture of the country. He says:

> "One most important fact in a geological point of view was completely established by the observation of the party, viz., that the whole division of North America drained by the Missouri and Arkansas, and their tributaries, between the meridian at the mouth of the Platte and the Rocky Mountains, is almost unfit for cultivation, and thus uninhabitable for people dependent on agriculture for subsistence. The portion for almost 500 miles, extending from the thirty-ninth to the forty-ninth parallels of latitude, was indeed found to be a desert of sand and stones, and subsequent observations have shown the adjoining regions to a great distance west of those mountains to be yet more arid and sterile."

From this time on the geographies continued to represent the Great

American Desert on their maps and the explorers continued to talk of the sterility of the region, which now extended from the meridian passing through Council Bluffs to that unknown region beyond the Rocky Mountains. Mitchell's School Atlas, in 1840, pictured the Great American Desert west of the Rocky Mountains, and described it as a great sandy desert, running from Arizona to the northern boundary of Nevada, covering the entire territory between the Rocky and the Snow mountains. Smith's Geography, in 1844, had the same statement, with the exception that the Nevada-California desert was called the "Great Sandy Plains." Smith repeats the same in his editions of 1847 and 1850. The geographies continued to represent these ideas down to the year 1870, though the desert grew smaller and smaller, and finally became eliminated.

The settlement of Kansas and Nebraska in the '50's and '60's tended, to a certain extent, to eliminate the desert idea. In the meantime, the expeditions of the United States government, especially those of Fremont and Kearney, and the surveys for great transcontinental railroads, tended to clear up the matter by degrees, though we still find that the magazines continued to discuss the Great American Desert. In the *North American Review*, July, 1858, is a paragraph on the report of Lieut. C. K. Warren on the Missouri and the Great Plain. The eastern line of the desert has now moved up to central Kansas and Nebraska, but the author goes on to state that, "Supposing, however, that with central Nebraska and Kansas civilization outside the river bottoms must cease, the question arises, What effect will this important fact have on these young territories themselves, as well as on the country at large? Nebraska and Kansas will be, in that case, the source at which will terminate a vast ocean desert nearly 1000 miles in breadth."

Again, in the *Westminster Review*, for July, 1867, a writer is trying to point out that the Hudson Bay Company has taken lands to themselves which are fertile and valuable, and has tried to create the impression that the lands are worthless. In speaking of the territory south of the northern boundary of the United States, he has this to say: "From the valley of the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains the United States territory consists of an arid tract extending south nearly to Texas, which has been called 'The Great American Desert.' This sterile region, covering such an immense extent of area, covers but a few miles of fertile land." The author proceeds to describe the lands of Canada, and then states: "Nature, marching from east to west, showered her bounty on the United States until she reached the Mississippi, but there she turned aside and went northward to favor British territory."

The explorations for transcontinental railroads near the forty-seventh and forty-ninth parallels from St. Paul to Seattle, and near the forty-first and forty-second through South Pass from Council Bluffs, and near the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth westward to San Francisco, gave considerable information about the country. But in all the surveys carried on by the government, and in all the scientific expeditions, there seem to be no methodical efforts to show the nature of the soil and its adaptability to agriculture. The general descriptions of climatic conditions, and the fauna, flora and general geology of the country, were without a serious discussion of the possibility of agriculture.

In an article published by General Hazen in the *North American Review*, January, 1875, based on his investigations during a long residence in the

territory described, is given the most scientific description of the country put in print up to that date. While he does not take the ground that had been reached by other observers, that there will be damming up of the stream of immigration on the frontier at the middle of Nebraska and Kansas, he shows that the railroads and land agents, in the interest of this Western country, have greatly exaggerated its agricultural possibilities.

However, granting that the railroads made exorbitant statements concerning the fertility of the soil and possibilities of agriculture in the West in general, we now observe, in a somewhat different way from what they pictured it, the resources of the West are rapidly approximating their most sanguine representations.[3] General Hazen states that 200 miles from Omaha good agricultural land is found, but, after that, nothing but barrenness. He states that the western limit of our agricultural land has been reached by settlers along the frontier from the Rio Grande to the forty-ninth parallel of latitude. Among other things, he specifically states that the western half of Kansas is unfit for agriculture, and the Solomon, Republican and Saline rivers rise in the northern part of it in numerous small branches, giving some small strips for irrigation, but as a rule the soil is unsusceptible of agriculture and unfit for settlement. We now know that much of the land described in Kansas and Nebraska has turned out to be fine agricultural land, producing some of the finest crops of wheat in the world. Indeed, as if to defy the opinions of men, nature has extended the wheat belt nearly to the Colorado line. As farmers have learned to handle the soil and adapt agricultural methods to the climate and the soil, the agricultural belt has continually widened. Also, to a certain extent, the processes of agriculture have noticeably affected the rainfall and the climate. General Hazen refers to the statement of Mr. Blodgett, of the government service, that "the great arid region may be said to embrace ten degrees of longitude and seventeen degrees of latitude in the United States, drained only by the great Colorado and Columbia rivers, yet so arid is this region that fully 200 miles square has not sufficient rainfall to require any drainage at all." It is evident that in this statement he includes the region west of the Rocky Mountains.

Some attempts were made in 1862 by the Union Pacific railroad to ex-

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NOTE 3.—The following letter was found among the archives deposited with the Historical Society by Adjutant-general Hughes, and contains a prophecy of the agricultural possibilities of the western half of our state now more than fulfilled:

LAND-OFFICE, JUNCTION CITY, KAN., August 5, 1863.

His Excellency Governor Carney:

SIR—Knowing the lively interest you take in reference to the prosperity of the state, I wish to call your special attention to a subject which, I presume, has already engaged your attention to some extent.

The question is: "Immigration to the state." The dry year, the war, our proximity to or location in a state possibly very soon to be one of the greatest battle-fields of the war, and other causes, have for the past two years almost entirely defeated Kansas of the immigration which would have naturally flowed into it; and these and other causes still retard and turn immigration aside. That capital should be shy of danger is natural, and thus we lose a class of men much needed in all communities, and which should be secured if it can be done with fair means.

I am told that several of the Western and Northwestern states have agents at some of our principal cities whose business it is to direct immigration. Thus Minnesota and other Northwestern states are now filling up. How these agents are sustained, or whether the report is true, I know not, but I presume it is done in some way by the state.

If some such way could be adopted in Kansas, would it not richly repay our state? A few of the border counties are partially settled, but far more than one-half of the state is still almost without settlement. Pass a line north and south through the east line of the Pottawatomie reserve, and that is close to Topeka, which is far east, as you know, of the center of the state, and I am of the opinion that if the entire families on farms were located at regular distance that you would not have one family for each township of six miles square; and this though no desert waste can be found for 175 miles west of this place. And here, governor, let me ego a little. I came to Kansas in 1853, and have been here ever since. I think I know this portion of the state from observation and experience, and I feel confident in its ultimate triumph in all that goes to make up agricultural wealth. It is and should be a dryer country than most of the Mississippi

periment on their land in regard to the possibilities of agriculture, but all grains and grasses failed for want of water. All the trees failed, except the catalpa, honey-locust, and box-elder, which seemed to thrive.

General Hazen estimated in his report that the possible arable land of Arizona was not more than one million acres, and that of New Mexico the same; Colorado having only two millions. We find at the present time that Arizona has an acreage of about two millions already under cultivation; Colorado, of nearly ten millions; New Mexico, of five millions of acres of land, all under cultivation, within twenty-five years from the time General Hazen made his dismal statement about the arid lands of the West. One conclusion that he reached is the following: "The phenomena of the formation and rapid growth of new, rich and populous states will no more be seen in our present generation, and we must soon face a condition of facts utterly new in the condition of the country, when not new but old states must make room for the increase of population, and thus receive a fresh impulse."

The final stroke which destroyed the terror of the desert and exploded its myths and reduced its legends to matters of fact was a report of Major Powell, in 1879, on the "Lands of the Arid Region." It was a report on the whole interior region, from the humid regions of the East to the Pacific ocean, based upon the rainfall and the water-supply. All the lands having an annual rainfall below twenty inches are called arid. Those having a rainfall of from twenty to twenty-eight inches are called the subhumid region. The western boundary of this subhumid region runs along on the one hundredth meridian. About four-tenths of all the land in the United States, exclusive of Alaska, at the time the report was written, was included in the arid district, having an annual rainfall below twenty inches. About one-tenth of the land was found in the subhumid region. Major Powell characterizes the subhumid region as a land subjected more or less to disastrous droughts, the frequency of which will diminish from west to east. He also asserts that agriculture cannot have an assured success in a country where the rainfall is twenty inches or less; and he doubts whether, be-

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valley, but it has quite moisture enough for the staple agricultural products. The extreme western border of the state will perhaps be the only land in the state not strictly agricultural, but even this belt of land will be found to be but a narrow one and beyond the extreme head of the Kansas river. The early and later rains fall as far west as the forks of the Solomon, 150 miles west of this place, each year since I have been here, and will more and more as the land is opened up. I allude to this subject, governor, because it is generally believed that western Kansas will not produce, is too dry, etc. I am well satisfied that it will grow more wheat, and, take a series of years, more corn, than Iowa or Illinois. But I have said enough.

The question now is, How shall we secure an immigration to fill up a country pierced by three lines of railroads: One from Atchison west to the Republican, one up the Kansas and up the Republican valley, and one from Topeka southwest through a very rich portion of the state? A vast population can be stored on the waters of the Blue, the Republican, on the rich, broad valley of the Solomon, as well as on the Smoky Hill, Neosho, and other streams. Thousands of settlers can find as good land now open as the land joining the town site of Topeka on the south, and all over western Kansas.

I have not nor will not allude to advantages other than agricultural. You will need none. To suppose that there is no other, is to set aside some of the most obvious saline and mineral manifestations found anywhere.

I write this hasty note, governor, to simply call your attention to the subject, believing that if any plan can be devised to direct immigration legitimately that it will be done.

I will not deny that I might possibly be benefited a little with such immigration, but the state would far more. And feeling confident of the purpose of the executive to make Kansas a prosperous state, I have called his attention to it, at the same time feeling that you have no doubt ere this given the subject your most careful attention.

If the executive has not at his disposal such state means as will enable him to plan and execute some well-directed plan to consummate the object, I trust that the coming legislature will at once place a proper fund at his disposal as will conduce much to the early and permanent prosperity of this rich state.

Would that it could be done at once and not wait another year.

Feeling that I am writing to a friend, I have spoken freely, and shall be glad at any time to do all in my power to increase the wealth and power of the state.

In haste, very respectfully, your friend, S. D. HOUSTON.

cause of the alternation of drought and harvest, agriculture will prove remunerative in the arid region. Not only has rainfall been more regular in recent years, but it has been found that some crops may be successfully grown on land where the annual rainfall is less than twenty inches. Add to these facts the study of the soil and the seasons and the adaptability of a variety of crops, and the actual results have been far different from the inferences drawn from the report. However, he makes a general estimate of the water-supply, the amount of irrigable lands, timber lands, and pasture lands, all of which was of great value in the settlement of the arid region. After this report, while people might talk about the desert in a general way, or about particular districts, the conception of the Great American Desert had changed or passed away.

In the map which Major Powell publishes in connection with his work no mention is made of any desert in America except a small district southwest of the Great Salt Lake, a territory less than twice the size of the small state of Rhode Island, known as the "Great Salt Lake Desert." The official map of the United States of 1900 recognizes this desert under the name of Great Salt Lake Desert. The geographies used in our public schools still call it the Great American Desert. It also recognizes a desert in southern California and Nevada, east of the Sierra Nevada mountains. But now the former desert is circumscribed by two railroads, which pass through a portion of it, while a third line is surveyed across it. Into the latter one railroad already penetrates, and a second is about to be built through it. Only a few years will elapse before the term "desert" will cease to be used in connection with any part of the territory of the United States.

But is there no real desert, apart from the myth which existed in the minds of geographers and philosophers? Within the boundaries of this immense territory designated by Major Powell as the arid region are many districts which partake of all the qualities of the desert. There are, indeed, rocky steppes, treeless plains and sandy wastes still in existence to-day. There are wide stretches of land without running water or lakes, and with scarcely any rainfall, covered with sand and sage-brush. Upon these dreary wastes the sun pours its intense rays, making the hot air move in undulating waves from the earth's surface and creating the mirage, the irony and mockery of the desert. The traveler, a faint speck upon the boundless plain, sees, by means of the fateful mirage, the distant sage-brush suddenly enlarging to trees of good proportion that mirror their forms in inviting waters. But, as he travels on, the vision recedes at his approach, nor does he ever overtake it before the sun passes to the west of the distant mountains and the picture is dissolved. What an abomination of desolation is this desert, that puts its stamp upon everything that lives! Even the coyote has lost the jollity of his nature, which he possesses in well-watered mountain and fertile plains; his body is a skeleton, his ribs showing through the matted and unhealthy coat of hair, his eyeballs glare, and every evidence of a hungry, savage nature appears. The sage-hens are feathers, skin, and bones, and their dull gray colors, like those of the coyote, agree with the somber and desolate appearance of the plain. The lizards and snakes, both savage and venomous, are like tough pieces of leather. There is every evidence of a struggle for existence. The sage-brush and cactus, wherever the land is not too sterile to permit their growth, have taken on the color and appear-

ance of the desert. They, like the animals, have learned to do without water and with comparatively little food, and to live a scrawny, meager life. Tracts like these may cover hundreds or thousands of acres, only lacking sufficient water to make them blossom as the rose.

But with all of its desolation the desert is not without its charms; the mountains are always in sight in the dim distance of dust and haze, and when the sun's rays pass behind their huge forms they seem to approach the dweller on the plains and to gather about him as night falls. The air is delightfully cool and charming, and even intoxicating, and as the glare of the sun is removed, in the long twilight or in the early morning colors of enhancing beauty appear. The grays and browns are vivified in the changing light and the scene is enlivened by the appearance of the afterglow of sunset. Those who have dwelt in these dry districts, where small tracts of land could be irrigated or where stock could be pastured, have accustomed themselves to the conditions of life, like the animals and plants. They have toughness in their grain and have learned to delight in the attractions of the desert. While culture and luxuries of more-favored parts of the world are not theirs, there is freedom in this Western life and they love it. The climate of the arid region is lacking the disagreeable feature of heat and cold, namely, moisture. The excessive heat does not exhaust the system as it does in humid regions, nor does the excessive cold impair the health. When the thermometer registers 110 in the shade in Arizona the suffering is not so great as at 90 in New York city. Likewise in the Dakotas twenty-five below zero is more easily endured than zero weather in Boston. There is an exhilaration and charm to the air of the arid regions which moist countries do not possess.

Little by little civilization has gradually encroached upon the desolate places. While men were conjecturing as to what was to be done to this practically boundless area of worthless land, the settler has gradually invaded the territory and adapted himself to the development of the resources of the country. First there came the trappers and the fur traders, who established their posts along the principal streams of the continent. The government, to protect the first invaders and to secure the country to itself, planted lines of forts along the principal highways of travel, until the whole territory was dotted with military stations, which opened up the way more fully to the settler and the traveler. The great overland trading routes from Independence, Atchison, Leavenworth and Council Bluffs to Santa Fe, N. M., and to Oregon, along the old Santa Fe, Salt Lake and Oregon trails, enlivened the scene and opened up the way for future settlement. The hardy pioneer established his cabin in some fertile spot convenient to fuel and water, and began agriculture and stock-raising in a small way. This advance-guard of civilization, settling down without leave upon Uncle Sam's land, suggested the possibilities of the country. Others followed, until, by the time of the great transcontinental railroad, the advance-guard had established itself on every plain and in every valley, wherever there was prospect of food and water for man and beast.

The discovery of gold in California gave a great impetus to overland travel, and many who had crossed the plains returned to settle in some favored spot. Thus the possibilities of the great interior became known. Gradually, too, it appeared that, in their haste to reach the Eldorado of the Pacific coast, the gold-seekers had passed by untold wealth of coal, iron,

copper, gold, silver, zinc, lead, and petroleum, hidden underneath the soil in mountain or plain. The discovery of these have caused the rapid settlement of some districts and added much to the wealth of the country.

Following in the wake of the railroads came the great multitude of people, hurrying and scurrying for new lands and mines and watercourses, so that this great arid region is developing tremendous wealth of mining, agricultural and pastoral products, and its population is steadily increasing, and its desert conditions are gradually disappearing, through the efforts of the man who digs and toils and subdues nature.

The first lands taken were along the rivers and other watercourses. The struggle to obtain possession of the water of this region has caused much strife and has marked one of the tragedies of the plains. First came the fight with the Indians, who resisted encroachment on the water privileges of the country. This was followed by the strife of independent squatters who contended for water-rights. Then the great land corporations would obtain possession of the water or land along a stream and by this means control the entire country around. Then came the great contention for the great ranges of the territory, and with it cowboy justice, in which might made right. The contention of the cattleman against the sheepman has led to many a dark tragedy. While cattle permit forage and undergrowth to survive and perpetuate themselves, sheep sweep the country clean of its vegetation, eventually killing the native grasses. Hence, when a few thousand sheep are introduced into a neighborhood it is not long before it is unfit for a cattle range. There has been great prodigality of plain and forest by improper use and by the carelessness of settlers in destroying forests by fire. But these strenuous times, when the whole country was subjected to the savage rule of contending forces, are fast passing away. Gradually the country has yielded to the influences of law and order. There is also a greater utility of the resources of nature. Forests and ranges are protected and the water is quite evenly distributed, so as to yield the largest service to the various members of the community. The laws of irrigation have done much to regulate the property rights in water. It is treated more as a commodity in the market and less as a mere accident of nature.

The work of irrigation, in a measure, is the basis of prosperity in this region, for it deals with the food-supply—that which makes all civilization possible. They have learned to measure the water on the surface and the water under the surface and to direct it to scientific use. Thousands of windmills pump the water from wells and irrigate small tracts of land, amounting, in the aggregate, to hundreds of thousands of acres. The water is turned from the streams to cover the irrigable land, and huge reservoirs hold the surplus water of mountain streams, to be measured out to growing crops.

The waste and misuse of water when water is the great essential, the burning of the forests when timber is scarce, the destruction of grasses and ranges through lack of care, are tragedies of the past. They have given way to the utility of forest and stream and vegetation. The mines and the railroads have caused tremendous feats of engineering skill. The mountains have been tunneled and crossed and the hills forced to yield their treasures of mineral wealth. Manufactories of all kinds have sprung up and are increasing daily in number and equipment. At Pueblo are gigantic iron and steel works that would not seem insignificant by the side of the

magnificent plants at Pittsburg. The rapid movement in manufacturing enterprises in the far West comes as a surprise to many. But why should it? With water-power, coal, and all minerals, and a consuming public, manufacturing is an essential outcome of the country. Steadily the factory approaches the region of power and raw material.

Best of all, this great region, marked by plain and valley and mountain, the backbone of the continent, is the great health-maker of the nation. Not all of the land can be put to agricultural use, but it has a high service to perform in the control of storm and wind and sunshine for the strength and healing of the nation.

One should not pass lightly by the influence of education in the building of the great commonwealths in the arid region. For scarcely had the smoke first issued from the lonely cabin or the sod house before the sturdy pioneers, following the precedent of the more-favored settlers of the Mississippi valley, began to plan for schools, and for schools of the better sort. Meager, it is true, was the beginning, but soon high schools, colleges and universities dotted the land. Every state and territory within the arid region has its state university, whose education articulates with the high schools and grammar-schools of the country. It is a land of magnificent distances, and many of the pupils were obliged to journey far to reach the seat of education, but they minded it not. The writer once taught a small school in a district fifty miles square. Some were deprived of the privilege of education, but others were eager enough to ride seven miles to and from school in the pursuit of knowledge. In a western county of Kansas, in what is known as "the short-grass country," nearly 400 miles from Kansas City, are a few remnants of the old sod schoolhouse. But from these sod schoolhouses the children graduate into the county high school where Latin, French, German, mathematics and the rudiments of science are taught, and where they are fitted for entrance to the University.[4] One grasps the greatness and beneficence of our public-school system when it is realized that from the sod schoolhouse on the plains it is but a step to the high school and another to the University, after which the best educational institutions of America and Europe are open to the zealous student. Surely the schoolhouse, the free library and the church have played no small part in the mastery of the desert.

The immense power derived by the fall of great volumes of water, descending from a height of 10,000 feet to a plain of 4000, will give the mechanical power of a hundred Niagaras for the development of manufactures and transportation. Even now a plan is conceived of running an electric line down the canyon of the Colorado to the sea and using the water-power of the river to generate electric power for the road. It is only a suggestion of what may be added to the engineering feats already accomplished in the mastery of the West.

The millions of money derived from land sales and appropriated by Congress to carry on irrigation in the arid region will be of untold value in the utilization of the water-supply. Great reservoirs will be built for the storage of surplus waters of the melting snows of the mountains, to be distributed on the land, insuring bountiful crops. Could the floods of great rivers be thus stayed and evenly distributed over the plains, immense tracts of land would yield bountiful harvests.

NOTE 4.—See "The Victory of the Plow," page 38, this volume.

The construction of the Panama canal will mean much to the interior of the United States. It will mean a shifting of the center of trade and manufacture to the West, and will call for the development and use of all the natural water-power and resources of the country. Even now the lines of commerce are running north and south from the interior to the Gulf.

But let us see what has been accomplished already in this arid region of Major Powell's. Let us observe to what extent the real desert has been conquered. Leaving out of consideration the great states of Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, and Arkansas, comprising a territory once considered valueless, with a population of over eight millions, and considering only the fifteen states and territories lying almost wholly in the great arid region, comprising a territory of 1,508,210 square miles, we have to note the following statistics: The population within this territory numbered, in 1900, 8,771,269; the acreage of farms, 300,380,645. Of these farms, 100,956,487 acres are already improved. The value of the farms in 1900 was $4,006,108,282. The value of agricultural products for 1900 was estimated to be $947,907,104. Of farm lands, 6,566,738 acres are under irrigation. In addition to this, the mining products, $160,000,000, add to the growing wealth of the country. But more marvelous than all this is the rapid growth in railroad extension throughout this territory. The mileage of railroads had already reached, in 1900, the enormous figure of 50,712.96 miles. There are not less than six great transcontinental lines running through the territory, and there soon will be several more. Short lines are extending in every direction into fertile valleys, and to mines and cattle ranges, opening up the territory and furnishing means of increasing population. A line has been completed from Salt Lake City to Los Angeles, running through the heart of the great sandy plain of the geographers. Another will soon be completed from Denver through the northern part of Colorado and Utah to Salt Lake City, opening up a territory comprising the richest part of Colorado in agricultural and mineral lands. Another line penetrates the northern part of Nevada and enters the Sierra Nevadas and the northern part of California.

Nevada is being crosscut by short lines to meet the new mining districts. Railroad extension in the Southwest has been very rapid, and the proposed new Orient road from Kansas City to Port Stillwell will pass through some of the most desolate portions of Texas. How long will it take, then, by the penetration of railroads, through the development of mines, and by the use of all the water that can be obtained above the ground and from underneath, to transform this healthiest portion of the globe into a populous district of fifty millions of people? Gradually, but surely, the real desert is being mastered, just as was the myth of the desert, by the push and energy of the people. The great Northwest also is awakening to renewed energy. Montana and Idaho are undergoing a rapid change, as people begin to realize their vast agricultural and mineral resources. Though the country is rough and mountainous the valleys of states large enough for empires will support a large population. But the excess agricultural products of the great interior will all be consumed by a population engaged in manufacturing, transporting, and mining.

Prophesying on the future of America, Coleridge, many years ago, said: "The possible destiny of the United States of America, as a nation of 100 millions of freemen, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, living under

the laws of Alfred, and speaking the language of Shakespeare and Milton, is an august conception." We are now prepared to improve on Coleridge, and to say a nation of 200 millions of freemen, living under American common and statute law, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, fifty millions of whom occupy the arid region of the continent, where the word "desert" is unknown, will soon be a mighty reality. Truly—

"Westward the course of empire takes its way;
The first four acts already past,
The fifth closes the drama with the day;
Time's noblest product is the last."

Some may dispute that the last act of the great drama of immigration and settlement is the noblest of them all, but it is at least great in the completion of the nation and the mastery of mountain, desert, and plain. What has a half-century wrought with its slow-going methods? What will the next half-century do, with steam and electricity, with improved machinery and methods of agriculture?

The Santa Fe and Oregon trails, still in the memory of men living, are like the stage-coach and the emigrant train—practically unknown to the men who are now building the West. The old cabins and dugouts are replaced with modern dwellings. The great ranges are fast passing into orderly farms, where cultivated crops take the place of wild grasses. Steadily is man's rational selection directing the selection of nature. Even the cowboy, an essential creation of Western conditions, is rapidly passing away. Like the buffalo, he has had his place in the drama of civilization. The Indian of the plain must yield to civilization or pass away. Custer, Cody, Bridger and Carson did their work and passed on. So did the great caravan of the plains. Pioneers of the old school are giving place to a young and vigorous group of men of intellect, will, and ceaseless activity, who are turning the light of scientific discovery on plain and mountain. College men are found in every town and city, on plain and mountain, joining hands with the man of affairs in subduing nature and building an empire in the arid region.

II.

SEMICENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF OUR TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION.

KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL AND DECORATION DAY.

An address by HON. WILLIAM H. TAFT,[1] secretary of war, at Topeka, May 30, 1904.

THE semicentennial anniversary of the signing of the bill organizing the territories of Kansas and Nebraska was enthusiastically observed throughout the state in schools and public gatherings, Monday, May 30, 1904. Monday was Memorial day, and it was observed jointly at Topeka by the Grand Army of the Republic and the pioneers; Tuesday was territorial day; Wednesday was woman's day; and Thursday was Topeka day.

Monday there was a great military and civic parade in Topeka, in honor of Secretary of War William H. Taft, who represented President Roosevelt, as the orator of the day. Tuesday was characterized by an exhibition of pioneer experiences, and on Wednesday the women gave an exceptionally fine flower parade.

The Auditorium was crowded to its utmost Monday afternoon, the 30th, to observe the dual anniversary of Decoration day and the formation of Kansas territory.

Theodore F. Garver, of Topeka, called the meeting to order and introduced Right Reverend Frank R. Millspaugh, bishop of the diocese of Kansas, who offered the following prayer:

"Almighty God, whose kingdom is everlasting and forever infinite, have mercy on the whole land, and especially, we ask, on this the fiftieth anniversary for the state of Kansas. So rule the hearts of the president of the United States, the governor of this state and all others in authority that they and we, the people, may in all things seek Thy honor and glory in true citizenship. We thank Thee for the great blessings Thou hast heaped upon us as a state, and as we commemorate to-day those who have died in and after service for their country, we give them hearty thanks for their example of self-sacrifice, and we beseech Thee that we with them may have our perfect consummation and bliss in Thy eternal and everlasting glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

NOTE 1.— WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, September 15, 1857. He was educated at Woodward high school, Cincinnati, graduated at Yale in 1878, and at the Cincinnati Law School in 1880. He served as assistant prosecutor of Hamilton county, 1881-'82; collector of internal revenue, first district of Ohio, 1882, which position he resigned; in general law practice from 1883 to 1887; from 1887 to 1890 he was judge of the superior court of Ohio; solicitor-general of the United States, 1890-'92; dean and professor law department, University of Cincinnati, 1896-1900; United States circuit judge, sixth circuit, 1892-1900; civil governor Philippine islands, June 5, 1901-'03; president United States Philippine Commission, 1900-'03; appointed United States secretary of war, 1903, in which position he is still serving. His father, Alphonso Taft, served as secretary of war and attorney-general in the cabinet of President Grant, and as minister to Austria and Russia under President Arthur.

Judge Garver very fitly stated the purpose of the meeting, as follows:

"I extend cordial greeting and hearty welcome to our distinguished guest, the secretary of war, and to all who have come to-day to join us in the celebration of an event in Kansas history which has meant so much and which still means so much to our state and nation. Fifty years ago to-day Kansas emerged from the chaos of almost boundless plains and assumed the place of an organized territory among the states of this nation. When the curtain was drawn aside, her people were seen already arrayed for that contest in behalf of the rights of man which was impending. They won the fight which made Kansas a free state; and, without faltering or even stopping to sheathe their swords, they marched forward to join that greater army and helped win the fight which made a free nation.

"On this Memorial day of 1904, it is fitting that we celebrate that first step taken by Kansas, half a century ago, towards the statehood which she to-day honors; and that we, at the same time, commemorate the heroic deeds of that grand army of men in blue whose sacrifices made possible such a statehood in such a nation. This day belongs to the brave men of '54 and the veterans of '61. Hats should go off as we do them honor.

"It had been arranged that this meeting should be presided over by Charles Harris, department commander of the Grand Army of the Republic for Kansas. He has been unavoidably prevented from being with us; but there is present Abram W. Smith, of McPherson, late department commander, and I take great pleasure in presenting him to you as the president of this meeting."

Mr. Smith said that the day was doubly dear to all Kansans because it commemorated events in which Kansans were especially interested. "The people who came here from the Eastern and Middle states," he said, "planted the seed which made this a free state. They determined the destiny and character of the state. After the early settlers came the young men who had left their homes to go to war. When they had returned home they found their places taken; so they came west. This made Kansas essentially a soldier state, and we are proud of it."

Gov. Willis J. Bailey followed with a short address. He said the day which the people had met to celebrate was surrounded by sacred memories which were inspiring. He thanked the old soldiers for the inheritance of an undivided Union and said that it would be kept as inherited. "You have demonstrated to the world," he said to the old soldiers, "what love of country means, and the flag you fought for not only floats over a united country, but over other lands as well. What we have is merely a prelude to what we will have when the country is fully developed. Our early settlers produced wonders and the work has not ceased. The character of the state was made by the settlers and the soldiers. You old soldiers blew in the bottle the character of Kansas and there it is going to stay. States have characters as well as individuals; you established the character of Kansas."

In closing his speech Governor Bailey introduced Secretary Taft, and the audience arose and cheered as Mr. Taft came forward on the platform. His address in full:

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Grand Army, and Citizens of Kansas: I deeply regret, as you must, that the engagements of President Roosevelt pre-

vented him from accepting the invitation of your committee to address you at this time. No one could have pointed out more forcibly and more usefully the lessons to be drawn from this day we celebrate and its sequelæ than he, with his thorough knowledge of our country's history and his discriminating appreciation of the significance of its important events. But he could not come; and as a poor substitute he persuaded your committee to accept me. I appreciate the honor greatly, but sympathize with you in your disappointment.

It would be difficult to select a day and date more important and significant, both from a local and national standpoint, than the day which we celebrate here. It is fifty years to a day since President Franklin Pierce signed the Kansas-Nebraska bill.[2] We do not meet to praise him, or the author of the bill, Stephen A. Douglas, or those by whose votes the bill was enacted into law. Though our party prejudices are mellowed by half a century, and though now we can take a more judicial view of the act, we still find nothing in it which can reflect credit on those who are responsible for its passage. The act involved a breach of faith so palpable that its beneficiaries and supporters were embarrassed in its defense, while its opponents, the anti-slavery men of the North, were roused to an indignation of white heat at this deliberate breaking of a compromise which for thirty years had been thought to be as sacred as the provisions of the constitution itself. The declarations of the bill opened every foot of unorganized territory in the United States to the possibility of having imposed upon it the institution of human slavery, and it remitted the decision of the question to the uncertain, untutored, floating vote of a shifting pioneer people, forming the population of a territory not yet incorporated into a state. It transferred the decision from the Congress of the United States, an intelligent and dignified legislature, to an unorganized, disorganized body of men, among whom mob violence was certain to exist, subject to all sorts of improper influence, capable of unscrupulous manipulation. If this be true, why do we commemorate the event? Why is there gathered here so much of the intelligence and patriotism of the great state of Kansas? When we meet to celebrate the Fourth of July, it is because we feel pride in the declaration of independence and the courage and high-mindedness of our ancestors that led them to strike off the bond of union with England and make a nation for themselves. When we celebrate the adoption of the constitution, it is because we regard that as the greatest single instrument ever struck off by the mind of man for the government of freemen, with the checks and restrictions necessary to the enjoyment by them of proper political control and the freest civil liberty. When we cele-

NOTE 2.—It was apparently not until some years after its passage that Nebraska was relegated to the rear in the name of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and was thus deprived by its jayhawker neighbor of its immemorial precedence, and of the full fame or notoriety of its relation to this famous (or infamous) act. Douglas constantly referred to it as the Nebraska bill as late, at least, as the time of his debates with Lincoln in 1858; but in his noted article in *Harper's Magazine* of September, 1859, he commits the error of stating that the act "is now known on the statute-book as the Kansas-Nebraska act." The act is in fact entitled in the statute as "An act to organize the territories Nebraska and Kansas"; but the Illinois Democratic convention of 1860 called the measure by its present name. The misnomer, and the usurpation by Kansas of first place in the name, may probably be credited to the fact that it is more easily spoken in that form, and that the spectacular and tragical political procedure in "bleeding Kansas" during the years immediately following the passage of the bill gave the territory the full place in the public eye, to the exclusion of Nebraska, with the comparatively tame events of its organization. (Morton's History of Nebraska, vol. 1, p. 155.) The first eighteen sections of the act of May 30, 1854, apply to Nebraska, and Kansas is provided for beginning with section 19. The senate, July 21, 1854, passed a resolution for printing 20,000 copies of the "Kansas and Nebraska act."—Senate misc. doc. No. 72, 3d Cong., 1st sess.

brate Appomattox day or the birthdays of Washington or Lincoln or Grant, we rejoice for what happened on the day we celebrate. Here the case is different. We rejoice to-day in the fact that the bill which was enacted into law fifty years ago, instead of accomplishing the purpose of those who voted for it, marks the beginning of the end of a controversy which eliminated from our social system the cancer of human slavery, and permits us as citizens of the United States to look the world in the face when we proclaim our national love of freedom and civil liberty. The Kansas-Nebraska bill was the last great step of the slave power before actual secession, which showed to a doubtful and hesitating North the political extremity to which the institution of slavery could bring its supporters; and it aroused the North to a state of virtuous excitement which three decades of abolition propaganda had failed to stir.

The first hundred years of the independence of the United States embrace but little more than the history of the rise and fall of the slave power in this country. That history teaches us that we human beings are so much the creatures of circumstance that we should be very charitable in condemning those of our fellows who have been led away from the principles of right and justice into a condition of mind where a distinct vision of those principles is blurred by self-interest. Originally slaves were owned in all the states of the Union; but they disappeared from those states in which slave ownership was not profitable, and they increased in those states in which it was profitable.

Had the slaves been profitable in New England and not in South Carolina, is it too violent a presumption that the geography of the slavery question might have been reversed? Until Eli Whitney invented the cotton-gin, it was by no means an impracticable and impossible effort on the part of Jefferson and other leading statesmen of Virginia to bring about an abolition of slavery; but as the increase of the planting of cotton and its sale enriched the Southern states, and it was believed that the cotton crop depended upon the use of slave labor, emancipation and abolition in the Southern states became a political impossibility.

In 1784 Jefferson almost secured the passage of an ordinance through the Continental Congress which would have excluded slavery from Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, and all the territory northwest of the Ohio river. By only two votes out of twenty was this ordinance lost. In 1787, through the instrumentality of Gen. Rufus Putnam and Nathan Dane, and not without the influence of Jefferson, the ordinance of 1787 was passed, which excluded slavery from the then northwestern territory, made up of the future states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. When the constitution came to be adopted the anti-slave party in the South was not sufficiently strong to prevent the necessity for compromise upon the slavery question, and the constitution expressly recognized property in human beings by making provision for rendition of such property from one state to another; and it also expressly recognized the existence of the slave trade and its legality until 1808.

After 1800 both Jefferson and Madison seem to have acquiesced in the spread of slavery in the new states. Between 1800 and 1820 a series of compromises was effected by which from time to time there was admitted to the Union at the same time a slave state and a free state. In 1820 the question arose of the admission of Missouri. By that time the slave power

had become strongly developed in the South, and a heated controversy arose because the supporters of the slavery system deemed its extension into Missouri of the utmost importance. Accordingly, the Missouri compromise was enacted, which permitted slavery in the state of Missouri, but forbade its existence in all other portions of the Louisiana purchase north of the south boundary of Missouri; that is, 36° 30′ latitude.

This compromise, which continued in full force and effect for thirty-four years, would have been quite sufficient to meet all exigencies had it not been for the Mexican war, a war undertaken at the instance of the Southern states, for the purpose of securing additional territory below the parallel named in the Missouri compromise for the extension of slavery. In the Mexican war I include the annexation of Texas, which brought it about. The law annexing Texas provided for a possible four states to be carved out of that territory, which would, of course, largely increase the political power of those favoring slavery. It was supposed at the time of the Mexican war that the additional territory extending to the Pacific coast obtained from Mexico would be well adapted for the introduction of slavery, but it became apparent from the organization of the territory of California as a free state and a closer acquaintance with the character of New Mexico that this was a mistake. The pressure, however, for additional territory, the aggressiveness of the slave states, and the complaints made by them in respect to a failure to restore fugitive slaves by the North, produced a political anxiety on the part of the leaders of the Whig party, whose supporters were to be found partly in free states and partly in slave states, to secure another compromise, disposing of the questions arising out of the Mexican war.

Accordingly, Mr. Clay, in 1850, introduced his series of resolutions providing, among other things, for the admission of California with a free constitution; for the admission of any territory acquired from Mexico without any restriction as to slavery, because it did not exist by law and was not likely to be introduced into any such territory; declaring the inexpediency of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia without the consent of Maryland, and without just compensation to the owners of slaves; prohibiting the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and making more effectual provision for the rendition of fugitive slaves. These resolutions were embodied in a bill, were supported by Mr. Clay, by Mr. Calhoun, and by Mr. Webster—by the last named in his famous 7th of March speech—and were enacted into law against the opposition of senators who were subsequently identified with the Republican party.

Four years later, after the death of Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Clay, and Mr. Webster, Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, introduced in the senate the Kansas-Nebraska bill, asserting that it was the logical outcome of the compromise measure of 1850, which, he said, necessarily involved a repeal of the Missouri compromise.[3] The bill permitted the people of the projected state to

NOTE 3.—"One day toward the close of January [January 29, 1850], Henry Clay rose from his chair in the senate chamber, and waving a roll of papers, with dramatic eloquence and deep feeling, announced to a hushed auditory that he held in his hands a series of resolutions proposing an amicable arrangement of all questions growing out of the subject of slavery. Read and explained by its author, this plan of compromise was to admit California, and to establish territorial government in New Mexico and the other portions of the regions acquired from Mexico, without any provision for or against slavery, to pay the debt of Texas and fix her western boundary, to declare that it was 'inexpedient' to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, but 'expedient' to put some restrictions on the slave trade there, to pass a new and more stringent fugitive-slave law, and to formally deny that Congress had any power to obstruct the slave trade between the states."—F. W. Seward, *Seward at Washington*, 1846-'61, ch. 16.

"Mr. Atchison labored hard to get the Missouri compromise repealed in the first Nebraska

declare it free or slave. In the debate which followed, it was clearly established by the arguments of Senators Chase and Wade, of Ohio, Seward, of New York, and Sumner and Everett, of Massachusetts, that the repeal of the Missouri compromise did not enter into the consideration of those who were discussing the compromise measure of 1850. Nevertheless the Southern senators, coming to the rescue of Judge Douglas, upon the constitutional ground that Congress had not the power to restrict slavery in the territory of new states, passed the bill, and gave, as they supposed, further extension to their favored institution. Andrew H. Reeder was appointed governor of the new territory by President Pierce, and an election was held for the territorial legislature. A pro-slavery legislature was carried by the votes of 2500 men who moved across the border from Missouri, cast their ballots, and then returned to their Missouri homes. At this stage in the history of our country, there was very little to encourage those who looked upon slavery as a curse and found no safety for the country save in its extermination. Compromise after compromise had been made with the slave power, with a view to restricting the extension of its operation, until now all compromises were abandoned, and the question of the existence of slavery was left to mob law and mob violence. At this time, one would have been thought mad to prophesy that in little more than ten years from the date of the Kansas-Nebraska bill there would be within the jurisdiction of the United States only free men and women. It is well for us, with the tendency to pessimism which we find so wide-spread at the present day, to look back in our history and note the occasions and times when the reasons for discouragement have been far greater than at the present day, and to follow with care the result of the courageous and intelligent effort toward the betterment of conditions—of individuals who believe in practical progress, and who believe in doing things instead of saying things.

At every stage of progress in the country's growth, there are those who profess to have and follow the highest standard of ethics, and, by their criticisms of actual progress, anger and discourage others who, with quite as

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bill, brought in by Mr. Douglas at the short session immediately preceding that in which the measure passed. On the 3d of March Mr. Atchison arose in despair and said: 'I have always been of the opinion that the first great political error committed in the political history of this country was the ordinance of 1787, rendering the Northwest territory free territory. The next great error was the Missouri compromise. But they are both irremediable. There is no remedy for them. We must submit to them. I am prepared to do it. It is evident that the Missouri compromise cannot be repealed. So far as that question is concerned, we might as well agree to the admission of this territory now as next year, or five or ten years hence.'"—Congressional Globe, 2d sess. 32d Cong., vol. 26, p. 1113.

"Several senators followed Mr. Atchison, and spoke against time until the session ran out, and thus the bill was defeated. Mr. Douglas, the author, laboring might and main to carry it without the clause of repeal, which Mr. Atchison pressed for in vain. A short time before the meeting of the next Congress, Mr. Atchison, in his speech to his constituents before leaving for Washington, changed his tune from that of his 3d of March speech in the senate, and declared that the Missouri compromise repeal should be inserted in the Nebraska bill or he would never vote for it. He had, doubtless, heard from his friends in the South, that both the Whig and Democratic members of that section would sustain him in this course. Mr. Atchison then accomplished his purpose of repeal; and how? In his speech from the cart-tail in Kansas, whither he went to carry slavery by his Missouri force, he told the people he achieved it by informing Mr. Douglas that if he refused again to insert the repealing clause in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, he would resign the chair of the vice-president in the senate, be elected chairman of the territorial committee, and report the repeal of the Missouri compromise himself; and he gave Mr. Douglas only twenty-four hours to make up his mind. The latter yielded, and then followed Mr. Douglas's successive attempts to satisfy Mr. Atchison. He first drew a bill leaving it to the judges to annul the compromise on the score of its unconstitutionality. Mr. Atchison held that this was not a compliance with his pledge. Then Mr. Douglas found between Saturday, when the bill was first published, and the next Monday, a final clause which, he said, his clerk had lost, and was therefore omitted, and which contained the provision of the compromise of 1850, that the territory might come in as a state with or without slavery, as the constitution determined. This was wholly at variance with the bill and its explanatory report, for it took from the judiciary and gave to the people the right of deciding the constitutionality of the Missouri

high standards, conceive that it is wiser to make some progress by seeing clearly actual conditions, treating them as facts or obstacles, and compromising with them, so far as it is possible without sacrifice of honesty and decency, for the sake of real advancement. The former class usually plumes itself as the higher and purer element, because it makes no compromise and accepts nothing as such. I do not know that it is important to dispute this pretense, but I cannot refrain from saying that, in the march of the world toward a higher civilization, those who make the progress may fairly claim a higher meed of praise than those who not only do not themselves make the progress, but so frequently obstruct by their criticisms and sneers those who do.

When the enactment of the Kansas bill of 1854 presented the issue, Shall Kansas be free or slave? a few men—hardly more than a dozen—determined to make her free by peopling the state with citizens who would forever exclude slavery from the limits of the new state.

It is noteworthy that the professed and prominent abolitionists scouted the idea that this could be a successful movement, and rejected men engaged in it as allies because it did not appear with sufficient clearness that they were casting themselves upon the altar in declared and open sacrifice for the cause of the negro. These theorists seemed not to be content with the bringing in of the state of Kansas as a free state. They demanded that it must be brought in on the avowed principle of love for the negro and in his interest. Had their views prevailed, Kansas might have been a slave state; but the men engaged in the work were practical men, and of sterner stuff. They were little moved by words or formal distinctions. Eli Thayer traveled from town to town in the North soliciting aid for his emigration society, and recruiting the ranks of the small bands of settlers already in Kansas or on their way there. When it became necessary to have guns, Thayer obtained them in the East and sent them to his fellows in Kansas. Charles Robinson superintended and guided the movement in Kansas itself. With their lives often at stake, nothing daunted or discouraged the two patriots. They

compromise, which was the purport of the committee's bill before this incongruous foundling, picked up on Sunday, was attached. But this extraordinary effort did not satisfy Mr. Atchison. He thought it possible that both the judges and the territorial convention might feel themselves unauthorized to repeal the Missouri compromise, and a week after Mr. Dixon had reported his amendment for absolute repeal, Mr. Douglas inserted it in his own bill. Who can hesitate in believing Mr. Atchison's account of the travail which brought forth the repeal, taken down, reported and published by his friend, the editor of the *Western Dispatch*, when sustained by such corroborating evidence in the public history of the transaction?"—The New York *Evening Post*, Saturday, October 20, 1855, in Webb Scrap-books, vol. 6, p. 61.

"General Atchison resides on the western border of Missouri, and wants to be reelected by the newly chosen legislature, if possible. Of course, he is a good deal around, and was in attendance at a sale of lots on the 20th ult., at Atchison city, on the Kansas side of the Missouri river, a few miles above Weston. Finding a large crowd of Missourians in attendance, General Atchison improved the occasion by making them a speech, whereof the Parkville *Luminary*, of the 26th, reports the substance, as follows: 'General Atchison mounted an old wagon and made a speech. He commenced by alluding to the beautiful country which was now beginning to be settled — to some of the circumstances under which a territorial government was organized — and in the course of his remarks mentioned how Douglas came to introduce the Nebraska bill with the repeal clause in it. Senator Atchison said that, for himself, he is entirely devoted to the interests of the South, and that he would sacrifice everything but his hope of heaven to advance her welfare. He thought the Missouri compromise ought to be repealed; he had pledged himself in his public addresses to vote for no territorial organization that would not annul it; and with this feeling in his heart, he desired to be chairman of the senate committee on territories when a bill was to be introduced. With this object in view, he had a private interview with Mr. Douglas, and informed him of what he desired — the introduction of a bill for Nebraska like what he had promised to vote for — and that he would like to be chairman of the committee on territories, in order to introduce such a measure; and, if he could get that position, he would immediately resign as speaker of the senate. Judge Douglas requested twenty-four hours to consider the matter, and said if at the expiration of that time he could not introduce such a bill as he (Mr. Atchison) proposed, which would at the same time accord with his own sense of right and justice to the South, he would resign as chairman of the territorial committee in Democratic cau-

sacrificed everything but honor and honesty to the pursuit of the one purpose that Kansas, when admitted, should be admitted as a free state. Robinson restrained his fellows from serious conflict with the federal authority, and, with a tact and finesse almost impossible for us to understand, limited forcible resistance to the repudiated territorial authorities and police. After two years, so well conducted was the campaign of Thayer and Robinson, that no movement was taken on behalf of the pro-slavery party and the border ruffians of Missouri that did not rouse additional indignation on the part of the North against the pro-slavery movement in Kansas and additional sympathy with those who were there fighting the cause of freedom.

Ultimately men forced their way into the anti-slavery ranks who were willing, from one motive or another, to resort to such unjust extremes that the ground which had been gained by the free-state party under Thayer and Robinson might well have been lost. Fortunately, however, public opinion had then become so fixed that this late movement did not cause the reaction which certainly would have been caused had its projectors appeared much earlier upon the scene. It would not only take too much time, but it would be most perplexing, to enter into a discussion of the Topeka constitution and the Lecompton constitution and the controversies which arose in respect to them and their varying provisions as to slavery. That happened which, with the light we now have, ought perhaps to have been foreseen. The forces representing the free men of the country, who are the natural pioneers, settled Kansas, and the slave owners and the border ruffians from Missouri, who could not resort to more than an occasional invasion, ceased to play a part which could be important only when there was no actual settlement or population. The slave owner was timid, and did not care to expose his property to the very decided risk involved in guarding it in disputed territory like that of Kansas; so that the number of slave owners who moved here was quite small. This beautiful state, with its magnificent agricultural possibilities, attracted the energy and the enterprise of the

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cus, and exert his influence to get him (Atchison) appointed. At the expiration of the given time Senator Douglas signified his intention to report such a bill as had been spoken of." — New York *Tribune*, October 19, 1854, in Webb Scrap-books, vol. 1, p. 169.

"Early in the campaign of 1852 Atchison took the stump in Platte county, which lies on the western side of Missouri, with nothing between it and Kansas except the Missouri river, and, from the outset, made the great point to be gained by the election of Pierce, the repeal of the law of Congress by which Missouri was admitted in 1820. Rev. Frederick Starr, with whom we had an interview a few weeks since, who has been for five years past a resident of Platte county, was present at a mass meeting at Weston, when this declarative statement was made from the stump by General Atchison. This announcement was made thus openly upon the arrival there of intelligence of the result of the Democratic convention at Baltimore and the nomination of Franklin Pierce. Atchison then stated that the scheme should be placed in charge of Northern Democrats, in order that its success should not be endangered by its Southern origin and advocacy, and he assured his hearers of its ultimate and triumphant success. He doubtless had Douglas in his eye at the moment of making the announcement — they had been in the senate together, and well knew each others' utter baseness, simulation, venality, and entire want of principle. Atchison knew that the predilections of Douglas have been always for slave, and that though nominally a Northern man, yet his associations have been with the South."—The Detroit *Democrat and Inquirer*, Friday morning, May 25, 1855, in Webb Scrap-books, vol. 4, p. 94.

"I now wish to review my course on the Kansas-Nebraska bill. When the subject was first introduced, you know I opposed it. I plainly saw, then, all the difficulties that would and have attended it. I told you then that it would be no benefit to you. I told you that it would be injurious to the commerce of the frontier counties; that the trade would go west with the increase of population. But meetings were held, resolutions were passed declaring it was your wish to open that territory, and I, being a true Democrat, promised to go for it on one condition, and that was that the Missouri compromise, so called — the Missouri restriction, properly called — be repealed. I addressed the people here in this court-house, at Parkville, at Westport, in fact, all over the state, and told them that if the compromise was repealed I would go for a bill to organize the territory, and in a speech at Independence I told the people that unless that restriction was repealed I would see them damned before I would go for it. That was the English of it. Well, it was done. I do not say that I did it, but I was a prominent agent."—Extract from address of David R. Atchison, at Platte City, Mo., February 4, 1856, as contained in letter of Wm. Hutchinson, in New York *Daily Times*, of February 25, 1856, in Webb Scrap-books, vol. 9, p. 216.

Northern youth, stimulated as they were by emigration societies in all the Northern states. Even the Southern people, after three years, saw the contest in Kansas and Nebraska, from a Southern standpoint, to be hopeless. The agents whom President Pierce and President Buchanan sent as governors and secretaries to the territory—honest men generally, as they were, though prejudiced—returned to tell their principals the truth, that Kansas was and must be a free state; that any election that showed otherwise was only the result of fraud and violence. There are no greater heroes in the history of this country than Eli Thayer, of Massachusetts, and Charles Robinson, of Kansas, who, almost alone and single-handed, entered upon the work of peopling a vast territory with free and brave men, so as forever to exclude human slavery from its limits. So it was that on the 29th of January, 1861, almost within hearing of the guns that boomed out the beginning of the civil war at Fort Sumter, Kansas was christened and accepted as a state of the Union from which slavery should ever be excluded. It was the people of Kansas who did this. It was the people of Kansas that rose against the iniquitous measure devised for the purpose of fastening the system of slavery upon these prairies, and who, by their own bravery, courage, and enterprise, made slavery impossible.

We celebrate to-day the enactment of the Kansas and Nebraska bill as a tremendous obstacle to free government which the people of Kansas themselves overcame by their courage, their persistence, and their intelligence.

We celebrate it as the first step in the birth and development of this great state, which, reaching from the Missouri river to the Rocky Mountain states, compels admiration of all who look upon it. From a few Indian tribes to a highly intelligent and patriotic population of a million and a half of souls in fifty years is a transition which finds no parallel save in other states of our own country similarly situated. The state has had the diseases of childhood. It has been swept at times with notions and ideas, superficially attractive, that if the creditor class could only be obstructed in free collection of its debts, the debtor and the larger class would profit, to the benefit of the community. Hard experience has taught the futility of such experiments, and has shown that the only method of securing progress and prosperity is to insist on exact justice to both creditors and debtors, because the creditor class can always protect itself against more than one loss, whereas the debtor class, losing all future and necessary credit, is rendered poor indeed. Then there has been on the part of good Kansas people the strong conviction that men and women can be made morally greatly better by legislation. Such a feeling always possesses an agricultural people of strong moral convictions, but as cities grow, and as the population becomes more dense, the truth steals over the clear-headed, however moral and high-minded, that there is a limit to the making or keeping of people good by law, and that when the law essays more than it can really effect, public morals are not improved, and the authority and sacredness of enacted law suffer. Born and reared as Kansas was in the atmosphere of an intense moral strife, possessing largely an agricultural and therefore a simple and honest people, the history of the politics of the state presents to the student of economics and politics most useful lessons. Strong and enthusiastic as its people are, favored by heritage, history, and natural wealth and resources, they can afford to experiment, if only the lessons of the experiments are carried home to their hearts, thus advancing and retracing their steps. They are in the

end led along a path of conservative progress which means real advancement. Child of the irrepressible conflict over the moral issue of slavery, carving its own future out of a most inauspicious beginning, the progress, material, intellectual, and spiritual, which it has made in the fifty years of its history, safely augurs that it will, among the states of the Union, take a more and more important place, until with its great central geographical position shall accord completely its national influence and control.

What is the lesson for us from the birth of Kansas? Is it not that we should never despair of the body politic as long as we know that there are among the citizens of the republic a large majority sound of heart, sound of head, on the right side? Abuses will establish themselves in popular as in other governments, and men will avail themselves of popular lethargy and inertia to fasten upon the people for a time a government which is really not representative.

In some of our states to-day there are machines that prevent really popular party expression, and in many of the cities the aggregation of the ignorant and corrupt is so great as to make the electorate more easily subject to the manipulation of the boss than in the country or in a state at large. It is perhaps not too much to say that the problem of to-day most concerning Americans is the method by which pure and disinterested municipal government can be obtained on a popular basis. The increase in wealth has put into the hands of individuals and corporations the means of corrupting a municipal electorate.

The lover of his country is apt to exclaim that there is no hope in the future. This is not brave; this is not courageous; this is not to look at the lessons of history; this is not fair to the progress which has already been made, and it does not do justice to the honesty and intention of the great mass of the American people; for in their soundness of heart and their soundness of mind will be worked out this problem, more intricate in many ways possibly than the one we have been just discussing, but one which presents no more discouraging features than were placed before the free-state men of Kansas when the Kansas-Nebraska bill was passed, in 1854.

But, gentlemen, this is more than the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. This is the day set apart by the proclamation of the president and the governor of Kansas as a memorial day for the dead who have given up their lives for their country in the service of their government. As Kansas was the child of the irrepressible conflict between slavery and freedom, which led to the war of secession, she could not but respond to the nation's call. For six or seven years there had been war in Kansas, and the spirit which had thus been engendered sent to the front to defend the Union and suppress slavery thousands of Kansas' sons. Under President Lincoln's call of May 3, 1861, for three years' men, the First Kansas infantry was organized. Of this regiment a writer has said: "The rapidity with which men enlisted and the earnestness manifested to proceed at once to the place of conflict most clearly demonstrated the loyalty and patriotism of the citizens of Kansas."

Actuated as these men were by the highest patriotic motives, we gather here now to do them honor, and to spread flowers and sweet fragrance over their green graves. We do this from two motives: First, from a deep and ever-recurring sense of gratitude to those who died that our country might

live; and, second, to demonstrate to those who may be invited to future sacrifice that republics are not ungrateful.

It is delightful to praise and render tribute to those who die in a cause the moral side of which is always prominent, and such were the men who entered the civil war under the inspiration of the controversy which grew out of the statehood of Kansas. But there are in the graves of yonder cemeteries, perhaps, the remains of men who entered the employ and service of the government under no such inspiration, and yet from a simple sense of duty to their government they laid down their lives in Indian warfare, Cuba, or the Philippines. Shall we distinguish between the noble dead because some may denounce the righteousness of either our Indian, Cuban or Philippine war? "My country! may she ever be in the right; but my country, right or wrong." This has not always met the approval of all, but it must be the true guide of every man who has a country.

Every man who owes allegiance to a country must bear arms for that country, should he be legally called upon. Whether the country be right or wrong is a matter always of opinion. In free governments the majority usually rules. Constituted authority thus selected determines the course of the country, and that course may lead the country into war. Should it do so, every citizen, high or low, is subject to the call to arms. If he may dispute the right of the country to call him, then government is at an end. Hence it is that a man who bears the uniform of his country, and in its service loses his life, whether in the battle or in the hospital, or under any circumstances in the line of duty, cannot have his case distinguished from one who, acting under the impulse of a tremendous moral force, carries forward his country's flag to moral victory. To every one of these brave men, whether their lives were lost in one war or another, in maintaining one issue or another, so long as they were maintaining the cause of their government, are gratitude and the sweet commemoration of this day due. It is fortunate indeed that a country under free auspices is rarely moved to war save by some moral issue, and, therefore, that the moral inspiration is usually with the troops of such a nation and such a country; but there is a comparatively small number of persons, who claim to be citizens of the world, and to be above the mere spirit of patriotism, and who deal more stringently with their own country than any other, who need to be reminded that as the world is, as governments are, as nations are, there is no higher obligation that can be recognized than that which the citizen owes to his country to lay down his life in any controversy in which that country may engage.

And now, as we contemplate the ashes of those whose lives were sacrificed in the great civil conflict between the North and the South, the question cannot but recur, Could it have been avoided? Might not the frightful loss of life and limb, the ravages of disease and the great destruction of property and the suffering of men, women and children have been averted? There were men who thought so at the outbreak of the war. There are those who continue to think that the war was unnecessary. I cannot concur with them in this view. The hundred years of the growth and development of the slave power preceding the war unconsciously fastened into the social system of the South attachment to slavery on the one hand and hostility to it in the North on the other, which, as Mr. Seward said in his Kansas-Nebraska speech, created an "irrepressible conflict." The issue entered into the social life of the South, and its removal and the extirpation of the evil were

impossible except by a capital surgical operation. "War is hell," and there is no war in history that was more severe than our civil war. Even that war, awful as it was, has not wiped out all the evils and all the troubles that have arisen from the existence of slavery in the United States. The victors doubtless made errors in their effort to remedy the existing evils that time and patience only can rectify. Nothing but a cataclysm, nothing but a destructive upheaval, could have brought the peace which now prevails between the sections. Much blood as it has cost, much human agony as has been expended, all, all have not exceeded the glorious benefit that has accrued to our common country.

[THE people of the city of Lawrence engaged in exercises October 1 to 6, 1904, commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Lawrence. Sunday, October 2, the Rev. W. M. Backus, of Chicago, preached an anniversary sermon; Monday, October 3, was given to the old settlers and the old soldiers, and an address by Geo. W. Martin, secretary of the State Historical Society; Tuesday, October 4, was school day, made memorable by a wonderful parade by school children; Wednesday, October 5, an address by the Rev. F. W. Gunsaulus, of Chicago; Thursday, October 6, anniversary day, address by George R. Peck, general attorney Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul railway, Chicago.—G. W. M.]

EARLY DAYS IN KANSAS.

An address by GEORGE W. MARTIN, Secretary of the State Historical Society, October 2, 1904, at the semicentennial of the founding of Lawrence.

THE story of Kansas has been told and told, but the half has not been known. The troubles of Charles Robinson, John Brown, and James H. Lane, the doings and misdoings of the leaders and agitators, have monopolized the attention of history, to the overshadowing of the meek and humble, the noiseless doings of the great army of pioneers, without whom no one could have made fame, and but for whom the sentiment of our "*Ad astra per aspera*" would never have been immortalized.

I look back, and it is easy to see the swarms of heroic men and women coming up the river; and, when denied the river, blazing a way across the prairies of Iowa and Nebraska, on foot and by wagon, to make homes and save Kansas to freedom. And amid the bluster and ruffianism of the border, I see pro-slavery or Southern people moving in to find homes, content that the issue should be honestly made and fairly settled. And, glancing down the history of the years, I see how these people blended into a homogeneous citizenship, disturbed only by the wrangles of those who sought leadership.

And a review of the fifty years shows me how the toilers, the humble individuals who came to these plains to work, have made a billion-dollar commonwealth of the territory of Kansas. In view of our aptness in dodging taxation, I take it that an assessed valuation in 1904 of $387,577,259 warrants as fair a comparison between the bleak and uninviting prairies of fifty years ago, absolutely worthless, and a billion dollars of Uncle Sam's two- or four-per-cent. bonds of to-day. Who produced this wonderful result?

Those who filled the offices, many of whom are known only by their receipts for salary; those who attained temporary or spasmodic fame; or those who figure in our published histories as statesmen and leaders? Of course, none of them. Real history will tell you that those who stuck first the plowshare into this soil are the heroes who have accomplished so much.

I am not a boss buster. I would not disparage the boss. Sometimes a change is essential, but a boss is indispensable. Kansas was born of bosses, by bosses, and for bosses. Concerning Kansas, and what should happen here, fifty years ago everybody from Maine to Texas was a boss. The political bosses at that time in the higher circles of national affairs undoubtedly decreed that Nebraska should be free and Kansas should be slave territory. New England, however, became the real concrete thing, at long range, with several score of subbosses on the ground. And while the Middle West furnished the voters and a fair sprinkling of the subbosses, New England is entitled to the honor of leadership in organizing the forces following the plow and the shop, in starting the most interesting of all in the union of states. From what I see of the publications of the New England states, of New York, Pennsylvania, and some of the Southern states, going back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Kansas will some day publish the name of every person who settled in her borders during the territorial era; this on the theory that the humble worker, and not he who attains prominence through some noise, is the one that history will in the end credit with what success has been made.

Neither would I disparage the man who fights. Those were stirring times. Those who came here to settle a principle and make a home—and that meant the vast majority—were compelled occasionally to take the sword. They did not come here to steal horses and to raise hell, as some historians would have you believe. They and their descendants have remained with us. But the violence and the outrages through which the territorial settlers passed have been dwelt on, to the neglect of business operations and the development of material interests.

So what has been the result of the fifty years under the combined effort of the men who started the plow, those who fought, those who led in public affairs, and the bossism of New England? Who can conceive the idea of a few settling on a raw and useless piece of the world and starting such machinery of government as we have in the state-house at Topeka? Where such a thing or power was never dreamed of fifty-one or two years ago, we have a perpetual motion which draws from the soil millions of dollars every year where not a dollar existed before. Laws to regulate the affairs of the people, and a body to adjudicate differences, are made and accepted by all. This power has drawn and expended $11,445,703[1] in erecting buildings for public use, for higher education, and the unfortunate. It has created a current business requiring the annual gathering and disbursement for state, county, school and municipal purposes amounting to $16,063,637.25 for the year 1904. This governmental machine has also created an indebtedness upon this territory amounting in 1904 to $34,027,649, securities ranking as high as any in the world.

School property has increased from $10,432 in 1862 to $9,298,387 in 1904. There are 8627 common schools at work in the state, employing 10,103 teach-

Note 1.—Superintendent public instruction (Kan.) reports, 1862-1904; state treasurer, 1904.

ers, costing annually from $10,381 in 1862 to $6,523,967.21 in 1904. From 1878 to 1904, inclusive, this machine called the state, founded by our territorial pioneers, gathered in and expended for common schools $110,472,981,13. It had a permanent school fund, December 31, 1904, amounting to $7,599,-395.48. On this date the State University, the State Normal School and the State Agricultural College each had permanent funds—bond account—of $150,079.17, $218,435, and $487,388.80, respectively. Including the denominational schools, we have a total invested in school property of $18,603,324.[1]

For the year 1904 our crop products amounted to $208,406,358, and our live stock on hand was $159,010,755, making a total value of $367,417,113. Among the fifteen leading agricultural states, for a period of five years, Kansas stands No. 1, with a combined value of wheat and corn raised for that period of $387,433,347. In the year 1900 Kansas ranked No. 1 for corn, with a value of $97,807,362. The total acreage of the state is 52,572,160, and in 1904 but 25,672,082 acres were in use. From 1904 back to and including 1883, twenty-one years, the crop productions of Kansas amounted to $3,368,584,768, or an annual average of $160,408,798. Much less than fifty years ago the western end of the state was considered absolutely worthless; and yet the results for 1904 gave a *per capita* production of over $300 in several of the counties of that section; and pioneers of 1854 and 1855 have lived to see ordinary farms sell for $35 and $40 per acre; and alfalfa farms, something then unknown, also sell for from $50 to $75 per acre, in the western one-half of the state. Add the value for each year back to and including 1872, less 1873, for which year there are no figures, and we have a total of $3,932,153,889. Since 1872, less 1873, and including 1904, we have raised, from a very small portion of the "American Desert," 4,070,778,487 bushels of corn and 1,051,806,169 bushels of wheat.[2] We have 13,099,637 bearing fruit-trees and 4,946,630 non-bearing fruit-trees.[3]

In 1903 the mineral productions of Kansas amounted to $27,154,007.85, or a grand total of production since the industry began of $249,325,890.06. The production of oil in 1903 amounted to $1,120,018.90, or a total of $2,025,584.33 since 1894. In 1903 the value of natural gas produced was $1,115,375, or a total of $4,475,616 since 1889.[4] Before the greater portion of this oil and gas development, the United States census for 1900 gave the state 7830 manufacturing establishments, with a total capital of $66,827,362, and an annual production of $172,129,398.

At the close of fifty years the state had a population of 1,533,049.[5] In June, 1904, or nine days more than fifty years from the signing of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, Kansas had 534 state and private banks and 156 national banks, in which our people had deposits amounting to $104,841,566.82.[6] We are the fifth state in the Union in railroad mileage, with 10,527.92 miles, June 30, 1904, of which 10,067 miles are of steel rails.[7] We have $8,000,000 worth of church property.[5]

NOTE 1.—Superintendent public instruction (Kan.) reports, 1862-1904; state treasurer, 1904.

NOTE 2.—Reports State Board of Agriculture, 1872-1904.

NOTE 3.—State Horticultural Society, 1904.

NOTE 4.—University Geological Survey of Kansas, Mineral Resources, 1900-'03.

NOTE 5.—United States census, 1900.

NOTE 6.—Report of Kansas Bank Commissioner, 1903-'04.

NOTE 7.—Report of Kansas Board of Railroad Commissioners, 1904.

Stop a moment and grasp these figures, if you can, the result of the movement started on these prairies by the territorial pioneers. Consider, also, that, of this semicentennial period, on the eastern border the first ten years were given to war and bloodshed, while on the western border the first twenty or twenty-five years passed before development obtained a foothold or impetus, the Indians [8] raiding that section as late as twenty-four years after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. And the figures represent the productive power of less than one-half of the magnificent domain within the bounds of Kansas. In those days agriculture was considered doubtful, while the mineral development was not dreamed of. The people in that portion of Nebraska south of the Platte made a vigorous effort to be included in the state of Kansas, but the Wyandotte constitutional convention excluded them.

God forbid that I should present these figures as the only results of the seed sown by the pioneers of the '50's, or that a mercenary touch should overshadow the spirit of loyalty, of state pride, of enthusiasm for home, bequeathed by them to native and adopted sons alike. They set a standard of citizenship that sent more soldiers into the Union armies during the rebellion than the state had voters, and that always exceeded quotas without bounty, heading the column of mortality with the highest percentage—61.01 in 1000, Vermont and Massachusetts following with 58.22 and 47.76, respectively. In the late war with Spain, the state furnished a regiment which commanded the attention of the world, with others that would have done as well had opportunity been the same to all. The finest building in every Kansas town is a schoolhouse. A distinguished senator, who commanded the plaudits of the world for eighteen years, said that once a Kansan, the allegiance can never be forsworn; so that the title "formerly of Kansas" commands everywhere the profoundest attention, securing to all our boys who emigrate choice places in all lines of the world's activities.

Who were the people at that time engaged in the movement to establish the state of Kansas? I hope it will not be treason on this sacred town site, watered by the blood of so many martyrs, and battered on all sides by foes until the heroic character of Lawrence is established the world over, to say that they were overwhelmingly Middle states and Western people. We have no count for 1854. Reeder's census, [9] in February, 1855, shows a population of 8601, of whom 408 were foreigners, 151 free negroes, and 192 slaves. There were 2905 voters. I find the statement that in Lawrence, in January, 1855, there

NOTE 8.—The Northern Cheyennes, under the leadership of Dull Knife, made a raid across the state in September and October, 1878, during Gov. George T. Anthony's administration, in which more than forty men were murdered and many women captured.

NOTE 9.— The census of Kansas as taken during the territorial period:

1854, May 30. "I infer it is the white population of Kansas that you desire. This information I will give you as nearly as I can. There were three military posts at this period, Leavenworth, Riley, and Fort Scott. [The latter fort was dismantled, 1853–'55.] Fort Riley was built during the years 1852–'53. I have not now any means of ascertaining the number of employees at those forts. I visited and was employed at two government stations during that period, and I have made an estimate of all the school and missionary stations at that time, including missionaries, teachers, traders, mechanics, squaw-men, etc., and give it, as nearly as can now be ascertained, as about 1200 men, women, and children. About one-half of this number were single men. There were no settlers upon the public lands prior to 1854. The territory at that time was covered all over with Indian reservations, and no white settlers were permitted to settle upon the lands. A few squaw-men and half-breeds who were lawfully in the Indian country had taken a few claims, perhaps fifty or more such. Those names Mr. Cone gives are of these classes. I recognize among them Pottawatomie and Kaw names."—T. S. HUFFAKER, Council Grove, October 30, 1905.

1855, January 15. As provided by the organic act of May 30, 1854, census enumerators were

were 80 residences,[10] with from 5 to 20 occupants each. Another account gives you credit for 400 abolitionists. Notwithstanding the census count of 2905 voters in the whole territory in February, in the following month of March, 5427 pro-slavery, 791 free-state and 89 scattering votes were cast. In April, 1857, Secretary Stanton made another count, and found a population of 25,321, with five counties making no returns. The census of June, 1859, gives Lawrence township a total population of 3351; number of voters, 1079; heads of families not voters, 26; number of minors, 2239; negroes, 7.[11] There seems to have been no other count, except of voters, until the federal census of 1860. The vote[12] on the Wyandotte constitution, and for delegate to Congress, October 4, 1859, seems to have been an orderly one, amounting to 15,951 for and against the constitution, and 16,949 total vote for delegate. In 1860 the census showed a population in the territory of 107,206, of whom 12,691 were born in foreign countries. This gave a population of 94,513 native-born Americans. In the census of 1860, the state of Ohio led, with 11,617 natives in Kansas; Missouri followed, with 11,356; Kansas comes in third, with 10,997 babies; Indiana is fourth, with 9945, and Illinois fifth, with 9367; Kentucky was next, with 6556; Pennsylvania, 6463; New York, 6331; and Iowa with 4008. The six New England states led Iowa, with 4208. The tenth state was the two Virginias, with 3487. The list continues: No. 11, Tennessee, with 2569; No. 12, Wisconsin, with 1351; No. 13, Massachusetts, 1282; No. 14, North Carolina, 1234; No. 15, Michigan, 1137; No. 16, Vermont, 902; No. 17, Maine, 728; No. 18, Connecticut, 650; No. 19, Maryland, 620; No. 20, New Jersey, 499. Daniel W. Wilder, who worked out these figures, himself a Massachusetts man, says: "But nearly all the states that contributed largely to Kansas in the early and later years were

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appointed by Governor Reeder. (Kan. State Hist. Soc. Col., vol. 3, p. 247.) Returns. (Rept. of Cong. Inves. Com., 1856, pp. 9, 30.)

1857, February 19. An act to provide for the taking a census, and election for delegates to a convention. (Laws 1857, p. 60.) Returns. (*Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, May 30, 1857.) "Census of Douglas County," a broadside containing the names of 552 electors, arranged by townships, dated May 9, 1857.

1857. Census taken under provisions of the Topeka legislature in the summer of 1857, as mentioned in letter of T. J. Marsh to George L. Stearns, Lawrence, K. T., July 18, 1857: "The work of census taking has not been completed. Some 50,000 inhabitants have been returned. The number of voters is much larger in proportion to the whole number of inhabitants than with us. As an instance, I saw one return of the numbering of a township thus: Voters, 1584; total, 3008. The census will be continued. It is said there is a large portion not yet taken."]

1858, January 21. An act to provide for taking a census in certain districts. (Laws of 1858, p. 223.) "SEC. 2. The following persons are hereby appointed commissioners to take such census, viz.: Scott J. Anthony and Columbus Crane, for the township of Kickapoo; Benj. F. Dare and Chas. Mayo, for the township of Oxford; Chas. Mayo and Samuel M. Cornatzer, for the township of Shawnee; Dr. J. Eagles and Caleb Woodworth, jr., for the township of Walnut; J. C. Danford and Wm. Emerson, for the townships of Tate and Potosi; A. G. Barrett and Dan C. Auld, for the county of Marshall; and Wm. R. Griffith, for the county of McGee, who, before entering upon the discharge of their duties, shall take an oath faithfully to discharge their duties under the provisions of this act."—Laws 1858, p. 224. [Have not yet found returns of this census.]

1859, February 11. An act providing for taking a census. (General Laws 1859, p. 73.) Returns. (House Journal, special session, 1860, pp. 35–39.) "The returns, as reported by the governor, show a partial and incorrect census, as taken in the month of June, 1859, since which time the immigration into Kansas has been unprecedented. The whole amount of population, as reported by the governor at the regular session (January 3, 1859), was 71,770; to which, if we add the calculation, as estimated in the foregoing counties partially returned, and from which we have no return, the population, up to the 1st day of July, 1859, would amount to about to 107,570, in which is not included a large number of the most populous counties, from which there have been only a part of the townships returned to the executive."— Report of Committee on Elections, in House Journal, special session, 1860, p. 425.

1860. United States census, vol. 1, pp. 158–167.

NOTE 10.—The Webb Scrap-books are responsible for much of this miscellaneous information.

NOTE 11.—House Journal, special session, 1860, p. 37.

NOTE 12.—Wilder's Annals, pp. 281, 282.

connected with us by river navigation. These states were Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois, Arkansas, Missouri, and Iowa. These states and their rivers made Kansas."

From an address by John A. Anderson before the teachers' institutes in 1879, I quote: "From this standpoint (meaning that the Western man is better fitted for pioneer work), please scan the proportions in which our population came from other states to Kansas, as enumerated in the census of 1875: Out of each 100 Kansans, there came from New England 1, from New York 2, Pennsylvania 3, Ohio 6, Kentucky 2, Indiana 7, Illinois 17, and Missouri 14. These states may be termed the agricultural spine of the nation, both because of climatic position and the order of their settlement. From Michigan came 2, Wisconsin 2, Minnesota 1, Iowa 9, and Nebraska 1. These are the ribs, and of later growth. Other groupings show that the Atlantic slope, embracing New England, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, and Alabama, all told, furnished 7, and the great basin (meaning the region between the Alleghany and the Rocky Mountains), 83. The slave states furnished 19 and the free states 76. Foreign countries sent 5 and the United States 95."

The federal census of 1900 gave us 630,321 native-born Kansans. Illinois followed, with 113,704, and Missouri next, with 100,814. The six New England states in 1900 had 11,857 natives in Kansas, and of this number 3433 came from Massachusetts.

So the illusion that has always existed that Kansas is a Yankee state is dispelled.

This disclaimer, however, does not evidence any lack of pride by us in the connection the Yankees had with the beginnings of Kansas. It will probably never be a question whether Kansas would have been saved from slavery without the agitation and money of New England. Upon the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill the free states and the slave states began to organize to open battle in Kansas. The compromise measure of 1820 made Kansas free soil, and the undoubted purpose of the act of May 30, 1854, was to facilitate the introduction of slavery into this territory. The South claimed Kansas as its own, but that region was no match in resources to the North, led by New England. The South could not raise funds as did the North, and organization in its interest was almost entirely limited to the border counties of Missouri. However, in John Sherman's scrap-book is a letter dated New Orleans, June 4, 1856, addressed "To the North," and signed "J. H. J.," in which it is said: "The South has sent more than $200,000 already—not to Kansas, but in the border counties of Missouri—and will send double that amount in the next three months," the pretext being to buy Kansas lands. A speaker in the Alabama legislature said Kansas was worth to the South a tax of ten per cent. on the $250,000,000 of slave property. Buford[13] sold forty slaves at an average of $700 each, or $28,000, all of which he lost in his Kansas movement. I see frequent statements in the Southern papers that he obtained all the money he desired, but the subscription lists to be found seem to be short. The various organizations and movements in the North and South to raise money for Kansas will always be of interest, and some day of persistent investigation. Daniel W. Wilder

NOTE 13.—Fleming's "The Buford Expedition," in Am. Hist. Review, vol. 6, October, 1900.

says that, through all instrumentalities, not less than $250,000 was raised in the North for Kansas, and that it was money well spent.

And yet there is abundance of testimony in the old scrap-books out of which I am working to show that the Yankees about Lawrence did it all. A Washington writer in the Philadelphia *Ledger*, as early as December, 1854, threw up the sponge, as follows: "In July last (1854) I wrote you that Kansas would be a slave state. I am now of a different opinion. The impertinent and insolent interference of your Eastern fanatics, the colonizing, as they have done by hundreds, of the lowest class of rowdies to browbeat our voters, and prevent a fair expression of the popular will, has brought about this result. They have located themselves near the Kansas river, named their city Lawrence, and number, I am told, some hundreds of voters. I have seen some of them, and they are the most unmitigated set of blackguards I have ever laid my eyes upon."

I have said that the story of Kansas has been told and told, and only half known. The position I occupy is a remarkable one from which to view and contemplate the dimensions of Kansas and the activity of her people. The founders of the State Historical Society gave it a breadth of foundation and purpose, resulting in a collection the scope of which is little realized by the public. The factional and controversial feature of our history has obscured much of this material. It will be of use in determining matters after all the participants have gone to glory. I am a hopeful sort of an individual—have been in Kansas so long that I know the best will always happen.

About two years ago the widow of George L. Stearns, while on her deathbed, made up a bundle of her husband's correspondence and sent it to the State Historical Society. There are many letters of great historical value, and some eight or ten financial statements. Three statements, that I conclude are not duplicates, show an expenditure for Kansas from July 1, 1856, to July 1, 1857, of $74,654. One is that of P. T. Jackson in account with the Massachusetts State Kansas Committee, another of James Hunnewell, treasurer of the Middlesex County Kansas Aid Committee; the third statement shows where $48,116.04 of the money came from, as follows: Massachusetts, $44,817.39; Maine, $785.37; New Hampshire, $933.99; New York city, $845.34; South Carolina, $5; Great Britain, $491; British provinces, $5, and unknown, $235.

Prof. William H. Carruth made a valuable statement in the sixth volume of the Historical Collections of the operations of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, and other schemes to raise money, giving interest to this question of funds for Kansas. The letters to Mr. Stearns are from well-known Kansans, contributing much light on how things were done then. Many thousands of dollars were shipped to firms in St. Louis and Chicago; to S. C. Pomeroy, E. B. Whitman, S. N. Simpson, and M. F. Conway; scores of items are in these names, but mostly marked for some one else. The fund about which Mrs. Stearns has furnished the Historical Society so many papers differs from the others in that there seems to have been a special agent sent out from Boston to look after it and report conditions. His name was Thomas J. Marsh. He arrived in the territory July 12, and returned to New England about October 1, 1857. There are ten of his letters written during that time. I quote from his letter of July 18: "I think this is an important time for the future of Kansas. The people here are earnest, though they are apparently quiet and at their business. They need help.

As an evidence of this earnestness let me say, that in the convention [free-state convention at Topeka, July 15 and 16, 1857, to nominate candidates under the Topeka constitution], were men who had to ride more than 100 miles from the extremes to the place of meeting, and this, not by railroad conveyance, but on horseback, very many of them, with the thermometer ranging all the time from 95 to 110 degrees, and consuming, including the two days occupied by the meeting, not less than from a week to ten days' time."

July 21, 1857, Mr. Marsh wrote a lengthy letter in which appears this: "The committee have their plans matured, and speakers engaged for the coming election, and all their meetings notified; a good vote will be polled in August. I called upon George W. Brown this morning. I believe I have now seen all the apparently hostile chiefs. Mr. Brown, I think, is well disposed. There may be some personal matters not entirely settled, but I trust and believe they will all be deferred until all of the elections have been held. I told Mr. Brown, as I have told the others, that their differences were a source of grief to all their friends East; no matter who was right or who was wrong, they were furnishing aid and comfort to their enemies and sorrow to their friends. That friends at home, nor myself, would have only one feeling, one wish to express, and that was union of all the friends in Kansas, for the freedom of Kansas."

Who can overestimate the importance, in determining the future of Kansas, of this interesting piece of New England bossism, through a special agent, in rounding up the local bosses, whose petty quarrels threatened to destroy all effort? New England was justified in sending a special agent to boss the job, since she was putting up the stuff.

But this is not the only evidence showing that the boss was paramount in those days. A Washington letter to the New York *Times* in December, 1857, says: "The agent of the administration, who represented them in Kansas during the sitting of the [Lecompton] convention, was Henry S. Martin, a shrewd and intelligent Mississippian, then and now clerk in the interior department under Secretary Thompson. Martin was constantly present at the convention caucuses, and it was chiefly through his representation and influence that the convention determined on only a partial submission of the constitution to the people. As the agent of the administration his credentials were strengthened by the fact that he was at the same time a clerk in the government service, and his influence was paramount. Except for his interference it is fully believed that the Judge Elmore party, who favored a free submission of the constitution, would have triumphed. It was Martin's dispatch to Washington, also, which led the president and the [Washington] *Union* to take their positions so early in favor of the convention's action."

And yet what would all this putting up, bossing and scheming have amounted to had not a great majority of the settlers gone to work building log cabins on their claims and breaking prairie?

The campaign which seemed to warrant a special agent from New England to meet the necessity of rounding up the bosses, who were distressing friends all over the country, was the first time the two parties met at the same ballot-box. From the 29th of November, 1854, until October 5, 1857, not quite three years, the people of the territory had twelve elections, eleven of them without force. The pro-slavery people obtained control of the terri-

torial organization by fraudulent votes, they polling 5427 votes March 30, 1855, when the census taken in February, 1855, reported only 2905 voters, and so the free-state people refused to recognize the pro-slavery authorities, and attempted to start another organization. At the second election,[14] March 30, 1855, there were 781 pro-slavery votes polled at Lawrence and 253 free-state,[15] while on October 5, 1857, there were 906 free-state and 11 pro-slavery. Of the twelve[16] elections, five were held under the Topeka constitution and seven under the bogus government. In the last election, October 5, 1857, Gov. Robert J. Walker had induced the free-state people to participate, under the pledge of fair play. It was the purpose of the Grasshopper Falls convention[17] to consider this question of the free-state men voting. It was unanimously decided for the free-state party that they would make the effort to capture the territorial organization. It was in this effort New England was so specially interested. The free-state party won[18] by a vote of 7888 to 3799, a majority of 4089. They elected a majority in both branches of the legislature, the council standing nine free-state and four pro-slavery and the house twenty-four free-state and fifteen pro-slavery. But the pro-slavery people had the apportionment fixed so that if the Oxford fraud had prevailed there would have been a change of three councilmen and eight members of the house, which would have given a pro-slavery majority in both houses. Governor Walker and Secretary Stanton, however, kept their pledges of fair play and threw out the returns of Oxford. There were 1628 votes[19] polled at Oxford for legislative candidates, when only 124, probably all legitimate, were cast for township officers. It was generally understood at Lecompton that Secretary Stanton refused certificates of election based on the Oxford vote with a pistol pointed at his breast. This was the turning-point.

Here is another letter, by Thos. J. Marsh, addressed to George L. Stearns, Esq., dated Lawrence, August 7, 1857, and marked private: "I understand Mr. E. B. Whitman is going to start for the East on Monday [the 10th], and as the proper disposal of the money entrusted to my care in some measure depends upon the fact of no other persons knowing anything about the amount but myself that from time to time may be sent me, I hope you will not deem it wise to communicate to him any information in regard to it except generally. Money is wanted for all purposes. I pay such bills and such only as I think you will approve. I have not nor do I intend to encourage any expenditures that do not seem to be absolutely necessary."

August 11 he writes an important letter full of advice concerning the Grasshopper Falls convention, called for August 26, closing with the following paragraph: "You mention the request of the committee that Judge [Martin F.] Conway be constantly employed so long as there is anything to be done. The judge is engaged in the military organization, acting in the

NOTE 14.—Rept. of Cong. Inves. Com., 1856, pp. 30-33.

NOTE 15.—*Herald of Freedom*, October 10, 1857, gives this at Lawrence, March 30, 1855, as 1050 pro-slavery and 225 free-state.

NOTE 16.—Kan. Hist. Soc. Col., vol. 7, pp. 141, 142.

NOTE 17.—Wilder's Annals, 1886, p. 176; also, letter of T. J. Marsh to George L. Stearns, d. Lawrence, K. T., Sept. 7, 1857.

NOTE 18.—Wilder's Annals, 1886, p. 194.

NOTE 19.—Id., pp. 194, 195.

capacity of adjutant-general. If there is no voting done, the organization falls. Mr. Redpath is assistant to Conway, and Mr. Whitman is quartermaster. I could not promise them money for salaries or other expenses unless authorized so to do. Judge Conway told me before the August election that he was going to Osawatomie to speak, if he could get a team. I gave him twenty dollars. He started, lost the way, and did not arrive in time. He spoke at another place."

In a postscript to a letter about the Grasshopper Falls convention, dated August 27, 1857, he says: "Governor Robinson has just handed me $200, to be used for the free-state cause, forwarded by Amos A. Lawrence, Esq." In another letter, dated September 7, appears this: "I have paid out for various services, $744.80; by far the larger part was for the census, and the balance for the August election. My own expenses driving about here and my expenses coming here will make about $100 more, besides my board, so that I shall not have more than $550 for present use. There is a man here, missionary for the Democracy; he is very polite. I am satisfied he is a little too leaky for his employers or for his own success." Among the papers are Marsh's board bills, $80, and laundry, $10, receipted by Robert Morrow.

Marsh was a Know Nothing politician, of New Hampshire antecedents. In 1858 Governor Banks made him superintendent of the Tewksbury almshouse. In this job he and his family lost their reputations. A correspondent of the Historical Society says Marsh was pecuniarily honest and was of good repute in 1857. The trouble seems mostly to have been with his boys. He was the first Kansas boss, for he seems to have rounded up our "chiefs" in good shape at the right time, and yet he was here but ten weeks, and his name appears but once in printed Kansas history.[20]

In this collection of letters there are many also from E. B. Whitman to George L. Stearns. Politically Whitman's letters are cheerful and instructive, but financially quite doleful. October 11, 1857, he writes: "Yesterday I was obliged to borrow $350 at five per cent. per month, to meet some freight payments. If it does not arrive soon I shall be deeply in trouble again. Money is very scarce here, and I do not know but that we shall all have to stop payment. Mr. Marsh has returned, leaving us to foot the bills for the organization. I cannot learn that he paid any bills at all of this description." October 25 Whitman writes that the results of a draft had failed to arrive in St. Louis. "Indeed," he says, "I do feel uneasy. Is it possible that I am after all to be disappointed? Here I am with an enter-

NOTE 20.—"Thomas J. Marsh, a gentleman of integrity and organizing ability, was selected as agent, and he left for Kansas on the 2d day of July, where he remained till after the October election. Arriving at Lawrence, he attended a conference of leading men met to consider the question of voting at the October election. The situation was not hopeful nor were the men assembled confident of success. Mr. Marsh stated to them that he had been sent by the friends of free Kansas in the East with from $3000 to $4000 to aid in organizing the territory to carry, if possible, both branches of the legislature in October. Encouraged by this proffered assistance, the conference agreed to press upon the free-state convention, soon to be held, the importance of securing, if attainable, the legislature. Mr. Marsh attended the convention, but he found the delegates much disheartened. The people were poor, many had been murdered, others had been despoiled, a malignant typhoid fever was prevailing, and many were sick and dying. It was certain, too, that there would be a large failure of their crops. They felt that political power was wholly in the hands of their enemies, whose plans were matured, and who were confident, boastful, and insolent. 'But for all that,' said Mr. Marsh in a letter to Mr. Wilson, 'it was one of the grandest conventions I ever attended. An influence went out from it which was felt in every part of the territory. From that time the work went steadily on; conventions and neighborhood meetings were held everywhere until the day of the election. Under the circumstances, no political contest in this country will compare with it. I shall never forget how they labored and what sacrifices they made. But they triumphed and saved the territory to freedom.'"—Wilson's Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America, vol. 2, 1876, p. 539.

prise of magnitude and importance on my hands, with expenses to a large amount already incurred, my own personal obligation given for money borrowed on the strength of the arrival of this. The money was on deposit, as I supposed, when I left, and no intimation was given me that there could be a delay. Is it possible that the parties making the collection in Boston have appropriated it to their own use? Do investigate and write me at once, if you have any bowels of compassion." Whitman borrowed $500 for John Brown, giving his personal obligation, and this was troubling him. October 25 he says: "I am willing to work, wear out, die, if need be, in the cause, but I cannot make bricks always without straw."

The Historical Society possesses hundreds of such letters, and from them and the newspaper clippings some writer will, some day, revise and greatly revive and freshen Kansas history. The letters of Whitman and Marsh will some day be published, as also a fine collection from many leading statesmen of that period addressed to Charles Robinson, furnished by Sara T. D. Robinson.

It might be well to look and see if there were any friends in those trying times who have not been remembered. In the bitterness coming out of ten years of war on the border, we have believed, and taught our children to believe, that no good could come out of western Missouri. Time modifies all views and controversies, and a little search in the marvelous collection in the state-house at Topeka makes the fact stand out that across the line there were heroes who stood up for the rights of the people coming to Kansas, regardless of their views on the slavery question.

The first expression was in Salt Creek valley, about three miles west of Fort Leavenworth, in March, 1854, when it was resolved,[21] "That we will afford protection to no abolitionist as a settler of Kansas territory." Next, at Weston, a reward[22] of $200 was offered for Eli Thayer. On the 20th of July, 1854,[23] a resolution was adopted at a meeting held at Weston, and signed by B. F. Stringfellow, and known as the Bayliss resolution, declaring "That this association will, whenever called upon by any of the citizens of Kansas territory, hold itself in readiness to go there to assist in removing any and all emigrants who go there under the auspices of the Northern emigration aid societies." Did this stand as the sentiment of the people of Weston, or was there any to protest? On the 1st of September, 1854,[24] before there was any trouble at Lawrence, or elsewhere in the territory, a mass meeting of the citizens of Weston was held, and the following expression adopted:

"WHEREAS, Our rights and privileges, as citizens of Weston, Platte county, Missouri, have been disregarded, infringed upon and grievously violated within the last few weeks by certain members of the Platte County Self-defensive Association; and

"WHEREAS, The domestic quiet of our families, the sacred honor of our sons and daughters, the safety of our property, the security of our living and persons, the 'good name' our fathers left us, the 'good name' of us all —and the city of our adoption—are each and all disrespected and vilely aspersed and contemptuously threatened with mob violence, wherefore, it

NOTE 21.—Webb Scrap-books, vol. 1, p. 43.

NOTE 22.—Id., vol. 1, p. 46.

NOTE 23.—Id., vol. 1, p. 104.

NOTE 24.—Id., vol. 1, p. 114½.

is imperatively demanded that we, in mass meeting assembled, on this, the 1st day of September, A. D. 1854, do make prompt, honorable, effective and immediate defense of our rights and privileges as citizens of this glorious Union: therefore,

"*Resolved* (1), That we, whose names are hereunto affixed, are order-loving and law-abiding citizens.

"*Resolved* (2), That we are Union men. We love the South much, but we love the Union better. Our motto is, the Union first, the Union second, and the Union forever.

"*Resolved* (3), That we disapprove the Bayliss resolution as containing nullification, disunion, and disorganizing sentiments.

"*Resolved* (4), That we, as consumers, invite and solicit our merchants to purchase their goods wherever it is most advantageous to the buyer and the consumer.

"*Resolved* (5), That we hold every man as entitled to equal respect and confidence until his conduct proves him unworthy of the same.

"*Resolved* (6), That we understand the 'Douglas bill' as giving all the citizens of this confederacy equal rights and equal immunities in the territories of Kansas and Nebraska.

"*Resolved* (7), That we are believers in the dignity of labor; it does not necessarily detract from the moral nor intellectual character of men.

"*Resolved* (8), That we are competent to judge who shall be expelled from our community, and who shall make laws for our corporation.

"*Resolved* (9), That mere suspicion is not a ground of guilt; mob law can only be tolerated when all other law fails, and then only on proof of guilt.

"*Resolved* (10th and lastly), That certain members of the Platte County Self-defensive Association have proclaimed and advocated and attempted to force measures upon us contrary to the foregoing principles, which measures we do solemnly disavow and disapprove, and utterly disclaim, as being diametrically opposed to common and constitutional law, and as having greatly disturbed and well-nigh destroyed the order, the peace and the harmony of our families and community, and as being but too well calculated seriously to injure us in our property and character, both at home and abroad. We will thus ever disavow and disclaim."

This is signed by 174 citizens of Weston, and is a printed broadside in the Webb collection of newspaper clippings. The only name that can be identified to-day signed to this protest is that of H. Miles Moore, still living at Leavenworth. Mention of this protest was made in the New York *Tribune* in October, the letter being dated Fort Leavenworth, September 18, 1854.

It seems that David R. Atchison was a roaring lion on the border seeking whom he might devour. He was at the head of a gang of ruffians called the Platte City regulators. They destroyed the press of the Parkville *Luminary* April 14, 1855, and drove the proprietor, George S. Park, away from home because of some criticism of pro-slavery action in Kansas. In a short time Park returned to look after some private business, when the mob arose again and demanded that he go. He offered to do anything manly or honorable to avoid the shedding of blood. A committee of citizens who had the care of Park asked the mob if they were satisfied, and they responded "No," that Park had to leave. Fielding Burns, one of the committee, responded: "Then let the principle be settled in blood. We ask the honors of war. Set your day and we will meet you, but don't sneak down in the night. Come openly, and blood will flow as freely as in the Mexican war. We fight for principle, for right." W. H. Summers, another member of the committee said: "Let them come, and the streets of Parkville will be hotter than hell in fifteen minutes!" A vigorous protest was addressed to

the world by the citizens of Parkville, in behalf of freedom of action in Kansas, signed by a committee of eleven.[25]

The "Annals of Platte County," by W. M. Paxton, says the result of this outrage on Park was to bring a myriad of anti-slavery settlers to Kansas, and of Park it says: "He became a great capitalist, and returned to his old home to bless and enrich the very men who had conspired for his ruin. He, from the wealth thrust upon him by his enemies, founded Park College, the grandest and noblest educational enterprise in the West. His dust now reposes at the very spot whence he was banished in life, and a colossal marble monument to his honor overlooks the place where his press was submerged. How unsearchable are God's judgments, and 'His ways are past finding out.'"

The mayor and councilmen of the city of Weston, May 19, 1855, protested[26] against the outrage committed in the streets of their city on William Phillips, who was taken from Leavenworth and sold by a negro at auction in Weston.

The St. Louis *Intelligencer*, which was filled from day to day with constant and bitter attacks on the pro-slavery leaders in Missouri, August 30, 1855, published a lengthy article on "The Suicide of Slavery,"[27] from which I take a few lines:

"Any man of sense could have foreseen this result—Alabama and Georgia may hold public meetings and resolve to sustain the slaveholders of Missouri in making Kansas a slave state. But their resolutions comprise all their aid—which is not 'material' enough for the crisis. When slaveholders of Alabama and Georgia emigrate they go to Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas. They do not come with their slaves to Missouri or to Kansas. Call they that backing their friends?

"The result is that Kansas, the finest land under the sun, is neglected and idle; occupied by a few honest and earnest but disheartened pioneers, and lorded over by a dozen or two feudal tyrants of Missouri, who curse by their presence the land they have desolated.

"Such is Kansas—poor, neglected, and despised—and western Missouri stands infected by the horrible contagion of outlawry, and dwindles away under the moral leprosy of its mobocratic leaders!

"These are the bitter fruits of the repeal of the Missouri compromise—a wicked and wrongful deed—that will yet bring a hell of bitter self-reproaching to its authors. Missouri did not demand that repeal. The South never asked it. Atchison solicited it—and in a moment of political insanity the South consented to the wrong, and made the wrong her own. This was the suicide of slavery.

"Atchison and Stringfellow, with their Missouri followers, overwhelmed the settlers in Kansas, browbeat and bullied them, and took the government from their hands. Missouri votes elected the present body of men who insult public intelligence and popular rights by styling themselves 'the legislature of Kansas.' This body of men are helping themselves to fat speculations by locating the 'seat of government' and getting town lots for their votes. They are passing laws disfranchising all the citizens of Kansas who do not believe negro slavery to be a Christian institution and a national blessing. They are proposing to punish with imprisonment the utterance of views inconsistent with their own. And they are trying to perpetuate their preposterous and infernal tyranny by appointing, for a term of years, creatures of their own as commissioners in every county, to lay and collect taxes and see that the laws they are passing are faithfully executed. Has this age anything to compare with these acts in audacity?

NOTE 25.—Webb Scrap-books, vol. 6, pp. 207-236.

NOTE 26.—St. Louis *Evening News*, June 4, 1855, in Webb Scrap-books, vol. 4, p. 137.

NOTE 27.—Webb Scrap-books, vol. 5, p. 79.

"It has been the common opinion of thoughtless persons and thick-headed bullies of the West that the Northern and Eastern men will not fight. They would rather work—plow, build towns, railways, make money, and raise families—than fight. But fight they will, if need be. Remember, the sons of New England shed the first blood in the American revolution; and they were the last to furl their flags in that terrible struggle. They have never disgraced their country by cowardice, and they will not. They are Americans, with spirit, courage, endurance, and deep love of liberty to animate them. The free-state men in Kansas will fight before they will be disfranchised and trampled on. Mark the word.

"Here comes, then, the suicide of slavery. The outrages committed by Atchison and his fellows in the repeal of the Missouri compromise, and by Stringfellow and his followers in subjugating Kansas to non-resident rule, will bring on a collision, first in Congress and then in Kansas—and who shall tell the end?

"Slavery will never sustain itself in a border state by the sword. It may conquer in some respects; but it can never 'conquer a peace.' Never! never! Once light the fires of internecine war in defense of slavery, and it will perish while you defend it. Slaveholders will not stay to meet the fight. Property is timid, and the slaves will be sent to Texas to be in 'a safe place' while the fight lasts; and as soon as the slaves are gone, it will be found that Missouri has nothing to fight about, and the fight will end 'before it begins!'

"Thus the slavery propagandists who repealed the Missouri compromise to make Kansas a slave state will make Missouri free, and, in endeavoring to expel abolition from Kansas, they will fill both Kansas and Missouri with an entire free white population, worth more to the two states than all the negroes in America.

"Is not the Kansas outrage the suicide of slavery?"

The committee appointed by the Grasshopper Falls convention, August 26, 1857,[28] fourteen in number, James H. Lane, chairman, says: "We desire to be understood that the people of Kansas do not charge the outrages to which they have been subjected to the people of Missouri as a body. On the contrary, they know that the masses of the people have not joined in these outrages, but have remained at home and have denounced the invaders."

The semicentennial period, which has closed upon Kansas, has been the most interesting which has fallen to the lot of any portion of the American people. The settlement and development of a state like Kansas, the mighty issue involved in its inception, and the world-wide results which came from the struggle precipitated from without upon these prairies, gave to the pioneers and later citizens of the state a proud position in the history of the world. The first to open the way were moved by faith, not only in the moral and political principles which impelled so many thitherward, but to invest in agricultural implements and household goods looking to the material outcome of this region, then an unknown quantity. It is said that Buford's company of Southern emigrants, in 1856, were an expense to the people of Kansas City (Benjamin F. Stringfellow raised $500 for them), whereas, a Connecticut party, moving in simultaneously, expended $6000 in St. Louis, and $4000 more in Kansas City, for implements and groceries.[29] Hearing that Atchison was very busy with his "Lone Star Order" and "Blue Lodges,"

NOTE 28.—*Herald of Freedom*, September 12, 1857.

NOTE 29.—One of Buford's men wrote from Franklin, Kan., the 6th of July, 1856, to the Mobile *Tribune* (Webb Scrap-books, vol. 15, p. 213), stating that not one-seventh of Buford's company remained in the territory. He says: "Most of the others have returned home to hang around their mothers' apron-strings, leaving the energetic and persevering Yankees to rule Kanzas. Yes, these men, the 'flower of Southern chivalry,' the men on whom the South relied to vindicate her rights, and for whose support liberal subscriptions were made, the men whom the Missourians welcomed with outspread arms and open purse, have proved false just at the time when they should have stood ready to do or die for Southern rights. Having seen Kanzas, hav-

practicing military drills for an invasion of the territory, thirteen merchants of Lawrence made an appeal to the chamber of commerce[30] of St. Louis, January 30, 1856, for peace and protection, stating that the people of Lawrence had expended in their city in less than a year over $100,000 for goods, and friends in the territory nearly $1,000,000. Paul R. Brooks, of Lawrence, and George W. Hutchinson, of Marceline, Mo., are the only ones living who

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ing spent their money in dissipation, when the time for work and enduring hardships came on, they struck for home, to disparage the country, to denounce Colonel Buford, and, what is worse, to desert and leave unprotected the rights of the South."

The St. Louis *News*, about July 24, 1856, tells of the return of Major Buford to Alabama. (Webb Scrap-books, vol. 15, p. 111.) It says: "Major Buford passed through this city not long ago on his way to Alabama, and it is said he is so disgusted with the Kansas business that he will have nothing more to do with it. He tried to get his men to settle on preemption claims, become steady citizens, so as to secure him for the sums of money he had paid out for them. But the men could not be induced to do it. They preferred roaming over the country in organized bands, depending on their too hospitable friends in Kansas and Missouri for the means of support. These friends are becoming tired of them, and no doubt desire their departure. They have done nothing for themselves, nothing for their commander, and nothing for the cause of the South in Kansas."

Page 224, volume 15, Lawrence letter, dated July 23, says: "The funds collected for their support have become exhausted."

NOTE 30.—The following is the protest in full, published February 23, 1856, and found in Webb Scrap-books, volume 9, page 198 (William Hutchinson wrote the paper; B. W. Woodward was on the committee; the third member has passed from memory):

"*To the Chamber of Commerce at St. Louis:* While all the American constitutions regard government as based upon the expressed or tacit consent of the governed and the supreme power of state as always residing in the people, it is not essential to a pure democracy that its powers should be delegated to executive or legislative agents, but exigencies may arise wherein the high moral trust may be exercised by the sovereign people in conserving their own rights and liberties in the absence of official agents. Such an exigency has now arisen with us, in which the supremacy of the popular will must be recognized, for securing our own happiness against foreign abuses — in defending the right and repelling the wrong.

"You must be already aware that while without an outward, operative government of our own, while we were weak in numbers, wealth, and all the requisites for the administration of justice, our soil has been repeatedly invaded by armed bands as well as organized armies from your state, who, without provocation or the slightest pretext, have murdered our peaceable citizens, destroyed our ballot-boxes, pillaged our property, blockaded our towns, and threatened them with demolition and their inhabitants with death, and that it has only been through the most unparalleled forbearance, in some instances, and manly defense of our inherent rights in others, that we have escaped a most deadly civil war. Recent reports have come to us that there is another extensive organization in your state which is preparing for a future attack upon our towns, and that recruiting officers are moving to and fro enrolling men in several counties, who go through with daily military drill for the same unlawful purpose. We have committed no crime, violated the international faith toward no state, but have ever sought to maintain the sanctity of the most peaceful relations toward all men.

"We came to Kansas because we believed it possessed the most inviting climate, luxuriant soil and enchanting scenery now open to emigrants upon this continent. We came to build up for ourselves and our children beautiful homes, where, as the inheritance of a free government, we and they might enjoy a lifetime, having our hearts filled with the pleasure of domestic joy. We have been educated in the schools of peace, and nothing would be more abhorrent to our natures than to see the smoke of battle curling over these prairies, or to feel again the smart of those grievous outrages with which some of your people are said to be threatening us. These considerations, gentlemen, prompt us to address you in a commercial capacity.

"We have chosen a residence in Lawrence, from its unrivaled situation upon the only navigable river in the territory — an indispensable requisite in building up a large commercial city. We have erected suitable stores for a wholesale and retail trade, and have already secured a very flattering business with the interior country. Although it is but little more than twelve months since the first store was erected here, yet we have already paid to your state over $100,000, a large proportion of which has gone to your city, and the trade of our entire territory with your state thus far has been nearly one million dollars. This circumstance alone has already raised the prices of many articles of export in your state from 200 to 500 per cent., and your city is extending her levees and enlarging her warerooms in anticipation of our future trade. With an area four times as large as your whole state, our prospective business must be at least fully equal to that of any other state, and our prosperity, in a commercial sense, has quite as much to do with the future greatness of your city as any constructive considerations it is possible to deduce from your own state. Geographically, St. Louis is the commercial mart of Kansas for years to come, or, until by dint of our own industry and the richness of our soil, manufacturing and commercial cities will be built on our own rivers, and even then they will reciprocally add to your enterprise and wealth. The chain of all our public interests, therefore, becomes directly linked with yours. Our prosperity is yours, our adversity is yours, our invasion is yours, our conquest is yours; for if, by an unnatural and coercive policy on the part of any of your people, we are induced to open new thoroughfares for trade with other cities and invest our wealth in opening railroads and telegraphic communication with the same, the weight of your imprudence will recoil only upon your own heads, and in due time we shall escape the fiery ordeal unscathed.

"Although the froward spirit of President Pierce, according to his message, has not yet discerned anything in our grievances that 'have occurred under circumstances to justify the interposition of the federal executive,' we will hope and trust that, so far as the citizens of your

signed the paper. Just five days after this appeal, on February 4, 1856, Atchison and Stringfellow made speeches[31] in Platte county, urging an invasion of the territory, in such reckless and extravagant language as to cause one to conclude that in comparison John Brown was of the highest order of saneness. And on the 27th of March following, sixty-eight business firms in Lawrence called a meeting to consider the breaking open and searching of goods in transit on the Missouri river, and an extra tax that had been imposed on goods coming up the river, and to remedy the same by

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state are implicated, they have occurred in such a manner as will justify your interposition and kindly offices. Like great events casting their shadows forward, the forebodings of the future have produced a general paralysis in all departments of business throughout the territory. Our trade is not one-third as large as it was three months ago; mechanics—laborers of all kinds—complain alike of the general depression. In the border towns of your state the same want of enterprise is observed. Let this continue, and our remittances to your city the coming season will be very limited. Emigration is retarded; consequently no new money is brought into circulation, and we are cursed, not with war alone, but with 'war, pestilence, and famine.'

"Our wish is to urge upon you these considerations, and, by virtue of your commercial influence throughout the state, ask of you to intercede in our behalf in staying the hand of evildoers, that we may go on developing our greatness and yours, and long enjoy the pleasure of those relations we have mutually found thus far so profitable and pleasant.

G. W. & W. Hutchinson & Co.
Hornsbys & Ferril.
L. M. Cox & Co.
W. & C. Duncan.
Woodward & Finley.
P. Richmond Brooks.
J. J. Fariss.
Ran & Bro.
C. Stearns.
Otis Wilmarth.
Gaius Jenkins.
L. H. Brown & Co.
Lyman Allen & Co."

Note 31.—December 6 to 9, 1855, about 1500 Missourians besieged Lawrence. They retired in consequence of a treaty of peace between Governor Shannon and Charles Robinson and James H. Lane, to which John Brown objected; the latter wanted to fight. May 21, 1856, Lawrence was attacked and much property destroyed. September 15, 1856, an army of 2700 again moved on Lawrence, but Governor Geary arrived in time to disperse them. David R. Atchison was in the party, and Governor Geary rebuked him, by saying that the last time he saw him he was presiding over the United States senate as acting vice-president.

December 15, 1855, Atchison published a letter in the Charleston *Mercury*, in which he wrote: "Let your young men come forth to Missouri and Kansas! Let them come well armed, with money enough to support them for twelve months, and determined to see this thing out. One hundred true men will be an acquisition. The more the better. I do not see how we are to avoid civil war. Come it will. Twelve months will not elapse before war, civil war, of the fiercest kind, will be upon us. We are arming and preparing for it. Indeed, we of the border counties are prepared. We must have the support of the South, We are fighting the battles of the South. Our institutions are at stake."—Webb Scrap-books, vol. 8, p. 139.

On the date referred to, February 4, 1856, Atchison said: "My object in going was not to vote but to settle a difficulty between two of our candidates, and the abolitionists of the North said, and published it abroad, that Atchison was there with a bowie-knife and revolver, and by God 't was true. I never did go into that territory, I never intend to go into that territory, without being prepared for all such kind of cattle. . . . I say, prepare yourselves; get ready. Go over there; send your young men, and if they attempt to drive you out, then, damn them, drive them out. Fifty of you with your shotguns are equal to 250 of them with their Sharp's rifles. Get ready; arm yourselves; for if they abolitionize Kansas, Missouri is no longer a slave state, and you lose $100,000,000 of your property."—Webb Scrap-books, vol. 9, p. 216.

At Lawrence, May 21, 1856, Atchison made this kind of a speech: "Boys, this day I am a Kickapoo ranger, by G—d. This day we have entered Lawrence with Southern rights inscribed upon our banner, and not one d——d Abolitionist dared to fire a gun. Now, boys, this is the happiest day of my life. We have entered that d——d town, and taught the d——d Abolitionists a Southern lesson that they will remember until the day they die. And now, boys, we will go in again with our highly honorable Jones, and test the strength of that d——d Free-state hotel, and teach the Emigrant Aid Company that Kansas shall be ours. Boys, ladies should, and I hope will, be respected by every gentleman. But, when a woman takes upon herself the garb of a soldier, by carrying a Sharp's rifle, then she is no longer worthy of respect. Trample her under your feet as you would a snake. Come on, boys; now to your duty to yourselves and your Southern friends. Your duty I know you will do. If one man or woman dare stand before you, blow them to h-ll with a chunk of cold lead."—Webb Scrap-books, vol. 13, p. 58. [James F. Legate always said that he heard this speech.]

In a speech at St. Joseph, in the early summer of 1855, B. F. Stringfellow said: "I tell you to mark every scoundrel among you that is the least tainted with free-soilism or abolitionism and exterminate him. Neither give nor take quarter from the d——d rascals. I propose to mark them in this house, and on the present occasion, so you may crush them out. To those who have qualms of conscience as to violating laws, state or national, the crisis has arrived when such impositions must be disregarded, as your rights and property are in danger; and I advise you, one and all, to enter every election district in Kansas, in defiance of Reeder and his vile myrmidons, *and vote at the point of the bowie-knife and revolver.* Neither give nor take quarter, as our cause demands it. It is enough that the slave-holding interest wills it, from which there is no appeal. What right has Governor Reeder to rule Missourians in Kansas? His proclamation and prescribed oath must be repudiated. It is your interest to do so. Mind that slavery is established where it it not prohibited."—Webb Scrap-books, vol. 3, p. 130.

establishing a line of steamboats from Alton, Ill., to Leavenworth and Lawrence, and thus reach Chicago.[32]

By the summer of 1857 the end of the contest was so apparently free-soil that the spirit of commercialism exhibited by the people of Lawrence reached Atchison and Stringfellow, and the towns of Atchison[33] and Leavenworth[34] were yielded to free-state control. History tells us that about this time the pro-slavery and free-soil men of Atchison agreed tacitly to forego political differences and remember only the well-being of the town, and several ladies opened small private schools for the accommodation of the growing young community.

In October, 1857, Gen. James H. Lane[35] had an appointment to speak at Atchison, and threats of violence were made by some pro-slavery people. October 19, 1857, a public meeting was held, and speeches were made by several citizens of various political stripes, Robert McBratney, Dr. J. H. Stringfellow, and others, all deprecating what had now become disgraceful. At this time the brains of the pro-slavery party had given up the fight, and the fortunate possessors thereof fraternized with any one who would come in to help build up the town, now striving against other new and flourishing places around it.

In an editorial, March 21, 1857, *Harper's Weekly* concluded "That we are not so great a country as we thought we were." We are told that Lawrence marks the point where successful agriculture will be found to have substantially reached the "western inland limit of the United States," and great distress is exhibited for fear of "the effect upon our institutions and our government." "Is the escape-valve so soon to be shut down? Is the refluent wave of population to be turned back thus early on the national heart?" These conundrums centered around Lawrence, a point which the same paper, June 6, 1857, places among the relics, as follows: "Fifty years hence, when the slavery question has come to be viewed as an interesting economical problem, like subsoil plows or the merits of guano, the Oread hill, with its old fort, will be as curious an object as the ax with which great men's heads were cut off in the Tower of London, or the Place de la Bastile, in Paris." There were wise men in the East in those days talking about Kansas.

There is no doubt but that each crisis in the march of time develops men and women capable of meeting it, but it is well for all who enjoy the fruits to consider profoundly the wise and heroic service of those who were charged with the duty of starting the state of Kansas. Not all of those who have gone before will ever receive due credit. I trust I have brought a few overlooked to life and light.

Pride in the past is essential to good citizenship. The territorial pioneers of Kansas are entitled to the gratitude of the people for all time to come. We should ever have consciousness and thoroughness in our knowledge of the state's history. The public schools of Kansas are now by law required to teach state history.

In closing, let me say a word in behalf of the Kansas State Historical Society. This Society and its work should be the pride of every citizen of

NOTE 32.—Webb Scrap-books, vol. 11, pp. 26, 37, 84.

NOTE 33.—Cutler's History of Kansas, 1883, p. 373.

NOTE 34.—The election of a free-state mayor, April 13, 1857, in Wilder's Annals, 1886, p. 160.

NOTE 35.—Cutler's History of Kansas, 1883, p. 372.

the state. The object of the Society "shall be to collect, embody, arrange and preserve books, pamphlets, maps, charts, manuscripts, papers, paintings, statuary, and other materials illustrative of the history of Kansas in particular, and of the country generally; to procure from the early pioneers narratives of the events relative to the early settlement of Kansas, and of the early explorations, the Indian occupancy, overland travel, and immigration to the territory and the West; to gather all information calculated to exhibit faithfully the antiquities and the past and present resources and progress of the state, and to take steps to promote the study of history by lectures and other available means."

It will be observed that one need not necessarily be an old man or an old woman to do this; on the contrary, it is to be regretted that a proper appreciation of such work seldom comes to men and women at a time in their lives when such a task would be easier of complete accomplishment. "The struggles of empires and the convulsions of nations," says a writer, "while they have much of sublimity, have also much of uncertainty and indistinctness." Important and instructive as is the narration of past events and the influence they have exerted on the world in civilization and refinement, history is seldom so interesting as when, descending from the loftier and more splendid regions of general narration, it dwells for a while in a humbler place, and delights in the details of events of every-day life and of the history of the people.

At the end of the year, June 30, 1904, the Historical Society has 10 life members, and 146 members who pay an annual fee of one dollar each. Besides these, all newspaper editors and publishers are members by virtue of the contribution of their publications. The collections of the Society have an intrinsic value beyond estimate, but, based on figures used by a corresponding institution, $200,000 would not replace it. Last summer I attended a meeting of the various historical associations in the Louisiana purchase. One man spoke and said: "My father was a life member of the Missouri Historical Society; I am a life member; and my son [pointing to a sixteen-year-old lad] is also a life member." Surely, if there is that much pride in Missouri, there ought to be as much, if not more, among Kansas people in a Kansas society of like nature.

To appear on the program of the semicentennial observance of such an event is an extraordinary privilege. I know of no way to compensate for the honor you have done me in your invitation but to pledge renewed zeal in caring for the records of this people committed to the society which I represent.

ADDRESS BY GEORGE R. PECK.[1]

Delivered at the Semicentennial Anniversary of the Founding of Lawrence, Kan., October 6, 1904.

Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen: It is hardly a figure of speech to say that memory is the motor of civilization. If you would know the secret of human progress, mark how tenderly, how proudly, how steadfastly the world clings to the annals of heroic deeds. Men go forward only by looking backward; and the great races which, like ours, have a history, are not so much led as they are pushed. Magna charta, the bill of rights, and the declaration of independence—firm set in the irrevocable past—are more potent with all who speak our tongue than the beckonings of any future that can come into our vision. Before us, always and always, are the struggles we know must come; but behind us are the strong impulsions of the immemorial years. In these autumnal days, tinged with a beauty seen nowhere else as it is in Kansas, where earth and air and sky are in perfect rhythm, it is most fitting that we should, if we may, touch hearts and hands with those brave yesterdays, in whose memory you make this a holy week.

Some are here, silver-touched, who remember them; who in the ardor of their young lives, wrought for the cause; and all, whether young or old, who join in these observances, are moved by the spell of those deep influences which are, as Wordsworth says, "felt in the blood and felt along the heart." Under these skies a drama was enacted, whose epic greatness is far more apparent now than it was then, and which will grow more and more sublime as the years go by. It is an imperial theme; and I know full well how little right I have to stand in its august presence. But you bade me come, because I, too, have lived in Kansas; have known the sweetness of a Kansas home, and have here breathed "an ampler ether, a diviner air." Kansas had little need of me; but all my life I shall feel a certain distinction in the fact that for a quarter of a century I was a citizen of this great commonwealth. And so I thank you, good people of Lawrence, old friends, true friends, that, as I have kept you in my heart, you have not forgotten me.

The building of states is not a trade. They are not constructed as houses are. No one consciously lays their foundations or uprears their walls.

NOTE 1.—GEORGE R. PECK was born May 15, 1843, in Cameron, Steuben county, New York. He is a descendant of William Peck, who emigrated from England in 1638 and was one of the founders of New Haven. His father, Joel Munger Peck, was born in Chenango county, New York, in 1799, and removed to Palmyra, Wis., in 1849. His mother, Amanda Purdy, was born in Norwich, Chenango county, New York, in 1804. George R. Peck was the youngest of ten children. He worked on a farm until he was sixteen years old. He attended the common schools during the fall and winter. For three successive winters he taught school. At the age of seventeen he entered Milton College. His parents determined to send him to an Eastern college, but on the day he was to start he changed his mind, and enlisted under Lincoln's call for 300,000 additional volunteers, in the First Wisconsin heavy artillery. In three months he was made first lieutenant of company K, Thirty-first Wisconsin infantry, of which he became captain. He was with General Sherman in many of his engagements, and was mustered out in July, 1865. He read law with Charles G. Williams, in Janesville, Wis., where he practiced for three years, and in the fall of 1871 changed his residence to Independence, Kan. January 14, 1874, he was appointed United States district attorney for Kansas by President Grant, and reappointed by President Hayes. He moved to Topeka and formed a partnership with Thomas Ryan. He became general solicitor for the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad Company in 1881, serving until August, 1896, when he was called to a similar position with the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul railway. He served many years as regent of the Kansas State University. He was married in 1866 to Miss Belle Burdick, of Janesville, Wis. They have three children

They grow; they rise out of hopes and aspirations, out of longings and faiths, and, alas! out of selfishness and the clashing of personal ambitions. We shall not find perfection in this world until the dross is wrung out of human hearts; and then the pen of history will have become dull and heavy, waiting for the everlasting rest.

Kansas, the beautiful, is like that stately pleasure dome of which Coleridge dreamed—not builded, but *decreed*. Here on the prairie she stands in her loveliness, with smiles and tears for the jewels that make her roof to shine and to be seen from afar. But, after all, a state, and especially such a state as Kansas, cannot be truly imaged as a structure. It is an organism; vital, sentient, pulsing with currents of life, and teeming with thoughts that, from day to day, take form and shape and become ideals established and secured in her rule and polity.

Half-centuries seem slow to those who have not tried them; but, for all of us, the shuttle flies more and more swiftly as the years are woven into the cloth of human destiny. Eighteen hundred and fifty-four was a memorable year. The fates were loosened; the map was waiting to be colored; the eyes of North and South were fastened upon this fairest region of the republic, which all men saw must be the arena for the deadly clutch of ideas. How tame, how commonplace, are our contentions of to-day! Tariffs and trusts seem almost grotesque in their littleness, when we think of freedom and slavery. Fifty years ago the sinews of men were strung to the ultimate pitch of endurance for a cause—for *the* cause. I wonder if we could bear such a strain to-day?

The Kansas-Nebraska bill, under which Kansas territory was organized, did not, as has sometimes been said, dedicate this soil to slavery. It did worse; it tore down the barrier which, since 1820, had stayed the northward advance of that institution, and said: "Freedom with her hands tied may—if she can—defend herself against slavery armed to the teeth, and with the panoply of the United States upon her." The chief iniquity of the bill was that it seemed so fair. It declared, with an appearance of judicial impartiality, that it was "the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any territory or state, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way."

Surely that sounded reasonable. What could be better? The people were to be left perfectly free to decide for themselves whether they would have freedom or slavery. Wise men have ever trusted the power of truth. Listen to the words of John Milton—words that once stirred the heart of Puritan England to its depths: "Though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so truth be in the field, we do ingloriously to misdoubt her strength. Let her and the falsehood grapple; who ever knew truth put to the worse, in a free and open encounter?"

Your eyes will flash as you note how Milton's grave and lofty eloquence assumed that the encounter between truth and falsehood should be "free and open." What it was in Kansas territory you know and the world knows. It was not "free and open," but was waged by the friends of freedom as best they could, in the imminent peril of the hour, against an enemy with the moral and, sometimes, with the physical assistance of the government at its back. And yet such is the power of truth, the people of this brave

city and this brave state are here to-day in peace and happiness, knowing how beautiful it is to have dreams come true.

Consider, if you will, that great struggle, with which Kansas and the people of Kansas are indissolubly connected. All the world loves a fair fight. Admiration for courage is a part of human nature. It is, perhaps, a relic of other days—days, not so enlightened and advanced as these—but there is in it a certain quality which, if it ever fails us, will leave us weak and withered. The world will not forget the story of the Kansas conflict. Freedom was here with her innocent smile, calm and confident, hoping all things and ready to endure all things; and what happened was this: They put gyves upon her wrists, and told her she might win—if she could. And she won.

It is very profitless to speculate upon what would have happened—if something else had not happened. But we cannot help prattling, as men and babes have prattled since language first touched human lips. It seems to be an intellectual necessity to repeat forever the obstinate questionings which begin with "if" and end only with other "ifs" that fail to bring an answer. I once heard Jeremiah S. Black declare that "if the battle of Tours had gone the other way the sign of the camel driver would have blazed all over western Europe." It seems to me—does it not seem to you?—that if the Kansas conflict had gone the other way—if slavery had triumphed and Kansas in her weeds of mourning had been brought into the Union a slave state—slavery would have become national, and freedom sectional, as Abraham Lincoln declared they would.

And still it was true, as we know it now, slavery was already a lost cause. The centuries had crept slowly along through darkness to the better light, and the intelligence of modern times had pronounced its doom. The wisdom of the world, ethical, economic, and religious, had said "No." Long before the civil war, where slavery made its final fight—so grand, so gallant, so magnificent—it was but a relic; an anachronism; an effort to maintain in the nineteenth century the ideas and the methods of the fifteenth. It died, as all things die, when the end comes. "The stars in their courses fought against Sisera."

It was perhaps ordained—who can tell?—that the free-state cause should have its pivot here by Mount Oread; and that those who struggled to make Kansas free should look this way always for encouragement, for light; and, more than all, for that wise counsel without which good causes languish and fail. Here was the citadel; and here was the intellectual center, which was, in that contest, as in all contests, the *real* center. Emerson asks: "Is not a man better than a town?" And we may well answer: "Yea, verily, if he be really so." There are men and there are towns; but here was that happy conjunction, in which town and men were fused and blended as if summoned by another Virgil, to another and better *Arma Virumque*.

When the Kansas-Nebraska bill became a law, in 1854, the great plain out of which the two territories were carved lay open to the sky, unknown, mysterious; waiting—as all things wait—for the event; and it came. The act was approved by President Pierce May 30, 1854, and from that date time, which seems so slow, rushed onward, always onward, to secession, to Sumter, and—beyond.

May 30—when spring and summer kiss each other under the blossoms—the act went into effect. Years afterward, when sorrow and pride selected

May 30 as the day for tears and flowers over the dust of those who died for that which never dies—they who chose it unconsciously set history to music.

Let us think of 1854; think what it was here by the Kaw, here by Mount Oread. New England, which undeniably is thrifty, is also, and has always been, prone to muse and meditate on things which do not show tangible rewards. They do and dare for the things which get a hearing in their minds. It was not for profit that Carver and Bradford sailed, or Putnam fought, or Warren died. And so it happened that when the question of slavery in Kansas came on, and slavery flung down her challenge, New England promptly picked it up, as her fashion has always been. Let us be fair. While New England certainly led in the Kansas struggle, she led by her ideas and her example as much, perhaps, as in any other way. Others were here, from Ohio, from Illinois, from Wisconsin, and from the entire North—men who had become weary of being smitten on the one cheek only to turn the other for a blow. When the roll is called, it matters little where was the birthplace or where the ancestral home of any who stand up to be counted. They came, not simply to make homes for themselves; that would be too narrow a view of the great movement which, against appalling odds, won freedom for Kansas, and, in a larger sense, for this nation. They came to make free homes for ALL; to establish here, in Kansas, towns and town meetings, district schools, the untrammeled vote of every citizen, and all the sanctions of an institutional government. Their zeal, tranquil and self-poised, was the zeal which had been in generations before them—generations that had crossed the ocean, and subdued the sternest soil upon this continent. Kansas was, of course, different from New England. The comparison was between a garden and a land of rocks. I pray you remember they were not mere adventurers; and remember, too, they were men who could follow a purpose wherever it might lead, asking only if it were right.

We often use the phrase: "The irony of fate." Here is the irony: The Kansas-Nebraska bill, passed by the votes of men who expected to see slavery made the corner-stone of the new territory, was the strongest influence which insured freedom here instead of slavery. They turned the question out of Congress—out to the free prairies, where truth can always find a chance. They blindly said: "You may fight it out." And so it happened the wretched measure, the fatal and perfidious bill, became a step in the march toward all for which the friends of freedom were praying. And they took care of this soil and made it free forever. Such is the irony of fate.

You who are young perhaps do not understand that the fight was not against slavery in the abstract, but against its extension. New England and the North said: "Slavery is wrong, but it is protected by constitutional and statutory guaranties, and we must let it alone where it is." But they said also: "Keep within your own limits; so far may you come, but no farther. Keep off the prairies." And then the prairies spoke out; for, in the cabins and on the claims, they knew they could hardly live themselves, and that the children could never thrive, if their toil was to be measured by the toil of slaves. It is an old economic truth that the good and valuable cannot compete with the bad and worthless. Slave labor will drive out free labor as the cheaper and baser metal will drive out the precious one. It was a perfectly simple proposition. Slavery was not only wrong, but it was destructive of their homes; the gardens, the flowers, the clambering wild

rose, the little cluster of buildings, the *lares* and *penates*, which they had cherished and brought with them to their rude Western habitations. Let slavery stay where it belongs—on the plantation, in the swamp, in the fields of rice and cane—but it shall not fasten its deadly fangs upon our free Western institutions. That was the issue; and it was here, good friends—here, where we now are, and out upon the virgin soil of Kansas—that the grapple came. In all those days and nights, Lawrence was the eye and ear of the cause.

How can I recite the story of this beautiful city, or tell the part she played in the struggle for freedom in Kansas? How can I tell you—you who are dwellers here—what relation she bore to the cause which in some form has always been in the hearts of men? Lawrence is distinctly a child of New England. And if that be not a lineage of which to boast, it is certainly a lineage of which you may well be proud. The love of liberty in any heart is a sacred, a solemn and an inspiring thing; and it is, ideally, as beautiful in one person or in one country or state as in another. It is the same passion in Holland or Switzerland as in Old England or in New England, and, like all that is most precious in human lives, is but a sentiment, impalpable and invisible, though as real and actual as the everlasting hills. In the teachings of the Master there is nothing more profoundly true than this: "The kingdom of God is within you." When Eli Thayer saw the approaching triumph of the slavery propagandists in the certain passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, he felt within him kingdoms and powers and hopes and faiths and the "quickening of the word." His eyes had never seen this land of surpassing beauty, but what of that? It is a narrow patriotism and a very scant philosophy which confines human effort to that which happens under our own eyes. Eli Thayer, with the soul of a poet and the brain of a New England Yankee, took time by the forelock and organized his company before the bill passed. That has been their way always. The genius of Puritanism means: "Here we are—Ready." And it means also, if absolutely necessary—"Fire!" And the Puritan, fellow citizens, takes his Cromwell and his Hampden with him to Kansas, and to any place upon this earth where he plants his feet. The United States of America, one and indivisible, is the product of New England ideas, mixed—a little—with other ideas. Without New England we should not be what we are, and what we expect to be—soon or late.

You have seen paintings of the Mayflower, and of the sad-faced Pilgrims who used to kneel upon her deck to pray for safety and deliverance. Some day artists will paint the men and women who came here, under an impulse as strong as that which filled the sails of the Mayflower, and then you will see that heroism is infinitely pervasive, and that it is, in Shakespeare's exquisite phrase, "as broad and general as the casing air." Some poet will, in good time, relate the story, which, however dumb the tongue may be that tells it now, is a true poem. And poetry is the highest expression of truth. The epic asks for something heroic, and the lyric for something sweet. Ah! what both really ask for is something *true*—and then they sing, under divine promptings, while the world listens and loves, and renews the consecrations of all the years.

Eli Thayer started his New England Emigrant Aid Company before the Kansas-Nebraska bill became a law. As Emerson says: "He saw—which means that he *fore*saw." When the bill was fastened upon the country—a

bad, wicked, false enactment—the "New England Emigrant Aid Company" was already a legal entity, with chartered rights and powers, and with something in the treasury to defray necessary expenses. I have read, and you have read, how the Pilgrim fathers organized their westward sailing; how Carver and Bradford and the others prevised what might happen, and —perhaps against the literal word of the Gospel—took thought of the morrow. In enterprises of great pith and moment wisdom means action—instant, immediate action—and so it was that Eli Thayer and his company were ready for the bill, and for all that it meant.

May 30, 1854, it came. The prairies were aflame; and the hearts of men were hot with the controversy. Could any one think for a moment that Kansas would be given up? And yet, why not? Why should men struggle for a mere idea; for ethical abstractions which they could very well live without? If the slave-drivers want the prairies why should they not have them? What difference does it make to us? Do we feel the shackles that bind the ankles of a slave? After all, what is there in this talk about right and wrong? Ah! there you have asked the ultimate question; you have touched the surest and most responsive spring of human motive. Down at the bottom, it was a question of right and wrong—and such questions cannot be compromised. It would be a tedious recital to tell how Missouri poured over the border, and how territorial governors came and went, vainly trying to do right, without being able to do exactly right. From the first the case was hopeless, for it was too large for politics. It was not only so great a moral question that it dominated all others, but as we see now, and as wise men saw then, it could neither be evaded nor put down. The sun and all the stars were shining upon Kansas, but they gave their beams alike for those who fought for slavery, and for those who fought against it. It is a romantic story; but history, when rightly told, is always romantic.

What eye it was that first saw the great possibility of Lawrence, and the beauty of its situation, I know not. But it is plain enough to those who see it now, that nature smiled upon the pioneers, and here gave them her sweetest welcome.

All that I have said, all that *can* be said about the conflict for freedom in Kansas, leads up to the part played by Lawrence in that immortal struggle. Here was the shrine; here freedom poured out her tears, and here she kept her constant vigil, undaunted by disaster and undismayed by fear. Instinctively, they who came to Kansas to make it a slave state hated Lawrence; and against this child of the Mayflower they garnered up their wrath. Out from the camps and settlements came wireless messages of good and evil import, from enemies and from friends alike; but in the cabins which clustered around Mount Oread the heart of the cause was bravely beating. On yonder hillside, and down by the banks of the river—sometimes joyous, sometimes despondent—the little homes gave back, to friend and foe alike, the one reply: "We are here—we are here to stay." It was something more than poetic fancy which made Keats sing: "Beauty is truth, truth beauty." The home-dwellers here, pinched and crowded, had beauty in their kitchens, and truth in their hearts—yea, in their very heart of hearts—*cor cordium*. Let us not forget that, in good and evil times, the soul of the home is the wife or mother who reigns under its roof.

Back of most great movements—when they become visible to the world—

is a sentimental question. It may be a stamp act; it may be tea in Boston harbor; but it is seldom a question of money. After all, what is there in this world worth fighting for which is not based on some deep consideration that will, when crowded to its uttermost, become profoundly spiritual? And such was the situation in 1854. You cannot choke a genuine aspiration by any appeal to consequences. When the Kansas-Nebraska act became a law, everybody—philosophers and fools alike—understood that it meant a fight to the finish. When the gauntlet was thrown down, they said in New England, and out on the prairies, "We will see about it." And they did.

Meanwhile, Lawrence was, in the language of science, being evolved. This day, tranquil and content, she looks back upon her sorrows, and forward to triumphs yet to come. But what a history it has been! When Eli Thayer organized his company, how little he dreamed of to-day! But such has ever been the way of the world. They who do great things—the things that make history radiant—can never foresee what will happen. It is doubtless better so; but think how beautiful it would be if, to the eyes of those who have done great deeds, there had come glimpses of the future! Columbus died not knowing he had discovered a continent, but believing only that he had found a new pathway to Cathay. The mind of Magellan never grasped the tremendous consequences of that marvelous voyage which showed that all the oceans are one. Eli Thayer probably did not see that with his emigrant aid company he was doing infinitely more than organizing a free Kansas. In the strife out upon the prairies the coming war was latent, waiting to be born when its time should come. Looking backward, everybody now knows that the civil war—big with the fate of free institutions—was but a continuance of the fight on the border. Already there were mutterings of Shiloh and Gettysburg and Appomattox. And thus it happened that Lawrence became a factor in the struggle that made things so different, the world over. That conflict was an elemental encounter. Here we are this day, peaceful and contented. Lawrence, sad-eyed daughter of misfortune, wears myrtle and ivy in her hair, and gives to all the greeting of one who is happy beyond words. But there are tears. Life is only such as it is, and whether we should be glad is never answered here. And yet, it is well to think that, where we now are, a great cause has been weighed and tested in the unerring scales of truth, and has come out with the seal upon it that lasts forever. No one can now say that it would have been better if slavery had succeeded in its efforts to seize this commonwealth.

Fifty years ago to-day the New England Emigrant Aid Company held a meeting here. The record does not tell us, but it was doubtless such a day as a Kansas October always has in store—like that which inspired the soul of dear old George Herbert, when he sang:

> "Sweet day, so cool, so calm, so bright,
> The bridal of the earth and sky."

There must have been many weighty matters under consideration, for, only a few hours before, a demand had been served upon Charles Robinson, who was the incarnate purpose of the New England company, to remove a certain tent in thirty minutes or suffer the consequences. The tent was not removed, but the company went serenely forward, in the New England way, with the business it had in hand. Mrs. Robinson, who gave to history an

invaluable service in her book, "Kansas, Its Interior and Exterior Life," made this entry in the record she kept of daily events:

"October 6. At a meeting of the association, it was decided that the town be named Lawrence, after Amos A. Lawrence, of Boston, who was doing much for the settlement."

It is a noble name, and not only fitly commemorates the Boston philanthropist who was so closely identified with this young city, but it is suggestive of the high and resolute spirit of those who chose it, that it had been borne by the brave sailor who died on the deck of the "Chesapeake," murmuring, with his departing breath, "Don't give up the ship!" And this city—another Sparta—turned always to her foes with the same brave look, which said: "You may hack, you may murder, you may burn—but here we are, and here we shall remain." Excepting only Plymouth—if, indeed, she ought to be excepted—there is no soil on this continent so sacred as that upon which we stand to-day. The currents of history, flowing downward from age to age and from generation to generation, meet Thermopylæ and Naseby and Bunker Hill, but here they touched a soil as sweet and classic as any in all the world.

In the wild, irregular outbreaks which always accompany great movements, when they leave the domain of thought for the trial of mere physical strength, it is inevitable that many excesses will be committed. And one of the best things in the history of Kansas is the wise and prudent moderation that always tempered passion when the advice of Charles Robinson was heeded. How true it is—

"The gods approve
The depth and not the tumult of the soul."

He was your first great citizen; calm, sagacious, and brave; so well tried in personal courage that he, of all others, could advise caution without reproach. He had that highest attribute of statesmanship, which, in his own language, strove always to "keep the record right." He would not go into any movement which could be counted as rebellion against the United States —against the government which, how far so ever it had drifted from its true course, was yet the formal, outward authority which good citizens must respect, or try to respect. In the Kansas struggle, the government, or perhaps it would be more correct to say the administration, was wrong, and it took a large man in such a crisis to see the distinction between the desirable and the possible. There is a maxim that has come to us from the French revolution, which declares that in troublous times it is "audacity, audacity, audacity" which wins. Yes, to-day. But true wisdom thinks of to-morrow. It is not audacity but cool, deliberate judgment which wins great causes. If the Kansas conflict had been French—if it had been a general uprising against the government—it would not have been what we know it was. The American people can never have need of revolution. Every right which they have ever claimed or desired is in the great organic law. And so it has always happened, that when the English-speaking people assert a grievance, it is not for the denial of some new privilege, but for the withholding of some ancient right. It is, of course, true that we know the history of our own breed and kin better than that of any other, but scholars and students the world over know the Anglo-Saxon story. It has been a forward race,

always in the advance, gathering to itself from traditions and ballads and stories; a creed, almost as much religious as it is political, which means only this: Liberty under the law.

What shall I say of Lawrence in history? The Quantrill raid is a part of it, but that was only a wild, sporadic outburst—the savage, cruel sequel of the free-state struggle. In it Lawrence was paying again the penalty of her devotion for freedom. When it was over she lifted once more her beautiful face, as in the old days, and, looking out serenely upon the future, uttered the words which more truly than any others tell the sad, brave story of Kansas: "*Ad astra per aspera.*" Truly, she had reached the stars through rough ways.

It is a strong, enduring tie, which here unites the city and university—the civic and the scholastic—in that high companionship which has so long identified them and made them one. The great institution which crowns Mount Oread is the pledge of high resolves, and each morning as it looks out upon the landscape such as cannot be seen elsewhere, they who give and they who receive know how truly they have been dedicated to freedom, and to the things for which Kansas suffered and strove in those brave days. Here let me express the hope and the faith that the Kansas State University will continue to be always, not only the seat of scholarship and learning, but of honor, truth, and freedom—the high ideals which, more than any others, join a university to the great common heart.

They greatly err who think that learning and patriotism do not go hand in hand, each helping, encouraging and sustaining the other. As a university town, Lawrence is dedicated to both; and from both has received blessings which cannot all be told, or estimated, or measured. I like to believe that this noble institution is kindred to all others, anywhere in the world, which keep burning the light of civilization, of science, of art, and of beauty. I like to believe that some day she will be another Oxford, at whose breast has been nurtured the best scholarship and the best thought of England—Oxford, "spreading her gardens to the moonlight and whispering from her towers the last enchantments of the middle age."

Fellow citizens, the high aim of all these ceremonies is neither to recall nor to exalt the mere founding or the mere naming of a city. Ah! there are larger cities—cities of greater commercial importance, of greater wealth; but nowhere, on any soil, are there memories more inspiring or which mean more to those who look back fifty years. I congratulate you, whose homes are here in this goodly Kansas, that peace with all her joys and consolations came long ago to take the place of sorrow and of strife. The old days were glorious, when the nerves were always attuned, and the men and women proudly confident of their cause. The constant watch, sleepless, habitual—because danger is the quickest of teachers—gave them what has well been called "the historic poise"—the serenity that rises above alarm and takes courage from its own unslumbering heart. And what of to-day? Let us think, and think—while we move forward. The place of Lawrence in history is secure forever.

> "There's not a breathing of the common wind
> That will forget thee; thou hast great allies;
> Thy friends are exultations, agonies,
> And love, and man's unconquerable mind."

III.

Missions Among the Indians in Kansas.

RIGHT REVEREND JOHN B. MIÈGE, S. J., FIRST CATHOLIC BISHOP OF KANSAS.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by JAMES A. McGONIGLE,[1] of Leavenworth.

JOHN BAPTIST MIÈGE was born in 1815, the youngest son of a wealthy and pious family of the parish of Chevron in upper Savoy. At an early age he was committed to the care of his brother, the director of the episcopal seminary of Montiers. At this time he manifested literary and religious qualities of the highest kind.

JOHN B. MIÈGE,
First Catholic Bishop of Kansas.

He completed his literary studies at nineteen. At first he desired to enter the army, but at his brother's suggestion he spent two more years at the seminary, in the study of philosophy, and after this his purpose was changed. On the 23d of October, 1836, he was admitted into the Society of Jesus by Rev. Father Puty, rector of the novitiate at Milan.

During the very first years of his spiritual life, spent under Father Francis Pellico, he gave evidence of his strong purpose and energy of soul. Broadest charity, profound humility, unflinching spirit of discipline and ardent devotion to his institute evidenced his vigor of character. Charity to his fellows was one of his very strongest characteristics, and one of his favorite themes for thought and discourse.

He pronounced his first vows on October 15, 1838, spent two years in

NOTE 1.—James McGonigle, the father of JAMES ANDREW McGONIGLE, was born four miles from Giant's Causeway, county of Derry, Ireland, July 31, 1786. When sixteen years old he was apprenticed for five years to learn the art of weaving by hand in the city of London-

literary studies, and was transferred to the boarding-school at Milan, where he was entrusted with the office of chief disciplinarian. Thence, in 1843, he was removed to Chambéry where his genial disposition and the wide sympathy of his heart gave him a large influence over the students. In September, 1844, owing to promise of future eminence, he was sent to Rome to be instructed by eminent masters. His talents were extensive and varied, but his bent of mind seemed to incline him especially to the most able solution of moral questions.

He was ordained priest in 1847, and in 1848 completed his theological studies. This very year the houses of the society were closed by the revolutionists, and, among others, Father Miège sought refuge in France. During the journey thither he took advantage of a most successful disguise to play the rôle of protector of the exiles, and his influence was such that he greatly contributed to make the journey rather pleasant than otherwise for the victims of the persecution.

In the midsummer of 1849, as the result of his long and earnest petition, he set sail for the Indian mission of North America, and reached St. Louis in the fall. He was appointed pastor of the little church in St. Charles, Mo. His pastoral duty included the charge of the mission of the Portage.[2]

Later he was removed to the house of probation at Florissant, Mo., where he taught moral theology. In 1851 he was sent to St. Louis University, Missouri. In the fall of this year he was appointed to the vicariate apostolic of all the territory from the Kansas river at its mouth north to the British possessions and from the Missouri river west to the Rocky Mountains, being about 650 miles from south to north line and 600 from east to

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derry, Ireland. May 10, 1813, he took passage on a sailing vessel, and arrived at Baltimore, Md., August 25, 1813, being three months and fifteen days on the way across. He settled at Hagerstown, Md., August 28, 1813, and immediately secured work at his trade and built up a successful business. He died November 28, 1858. He was married in Hagerstown, May 1, 1829, to Miss Susan McLaughlin. Mrs. McGonigle was born in the county of Derry, Ireland, June 3, 1805. She was the mother of six sons and two daughters. James Andrew McGonigle was born in Hagerstown, Md., February 8, 1834. He started to a subscription school when he was eight years old, and at the age of seventeen entered an apprenticeship of three years at the house-joiner trade. He worked for two years as a journeyman in Hagerstown, at $1.12½ cents per day of fourteen hours in summer-time, paying his board out of his wages. On the 26th of May, 1857, he arrived in Leavenworth, where he immediately went to work at three dollars per day of ten hours. In a few months he began contracting, which he has continued to this day, erecting some of the most important buildings in the country from Pennsylvania west to Colorado and New Mexico, among them the cathedral at Leavenworth. In 1861, associated with Gen. Daniel McCook,* he raised company H, First Kansas infantry. McCook was made captain and McGonigle first lieutenant, and Michael Bransfield second lieutenant. In the battle of Wilson Creek, because of the sickness of McCook, McGonigle had command of the company. McCook was one of the fighting family of McCooks, and remarked at enlistment that he would wear a colonel's epaulettes or fill a soldier's grave. When he died he was a brigadier-general. Company H, at Wilson Creek, lost nineteen killed and twenty-three wounded. Lieutenant McGonigle was wounded and taken to the rear, and later taken prisoner and sent to Texas. He was soon exchanged, and on his return, with a friend, called on General Price, at Springfield, Mo. Price inquired where they were from, and when each responded "Kansas," he said: "I am going to wipe out your state from one end of it to the other." Mr McGonigle was a member of the city council of Leavenworth in 1860 and again in 1865. He was a member of the second state legislature, in January, 1862. In politics McGonigle was a Democrat until 1896, since when he has voted the Republican ticket. He is a member of the Catholic church, belongs to the order of the Knights of Columbus and the Loyal Legion, in the latter having served a term as commander. February 2, 1864, he was married to Miss Margaret Gilson, whose parents moved from Pittsburg, Pa., to Leavenworth July 3, 1860. They have eight children.

NOTE 2.— Probably Portage des Sioux.

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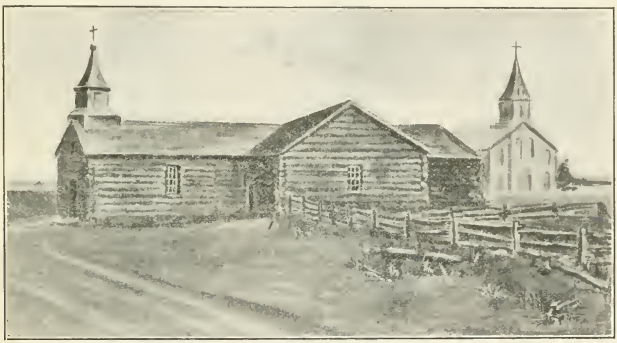
* Daniel McCook, captain of company H, First Kansas infantry, from 31st of May to 9th of November, 1861, was a brother of Alexander McDowell McCook, and son of Daniel McCook. He was born in Carrollton, Ohio, July 22, 1834; enlisted with the First Kansas; was made chief of staff in the first division of the army of the Ohio in the Shiloh campaign; colonel of the Fifty-second Ohio infantry July 15, 1862; and, for bravery displayed in the assault on Kenesaw mountain, which he led, was made brigadier-general July 16, 1864. He died on the 21st day of July, five days later, from wounds received in that battle.

west.[3] It required, however, the formal order of the Holy See to move him to accept the office. He was consecrated by Archbishop Kenrick on the 25th of March, 1851, in St. Xavier's Church, St. Louis, receiving the title of bishop of Messenia. He left St. Louis on the 11th of May following, and finally arrived at St. Marys, territory of Kansas. Here, in 1851, he built the first Catholic church in Kansas, of hewn logs.[4]

Here he began his life work as a missionary. The vast extent of his diocese rendered long and tedious journeys necessary, for he often visited its distant limits, traversing the then trackless wastes of Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, and the Indian Territory. He removed and established his see in Leavenworth in 1855, where he found seven Catholic families.[5]



FIRST CATHEDRAL IN KANSAS.
Erected at St. Marys, in 1851.

He commenced the erection of a church, size 24 by 40 feet.[6] The increase in the Catholic population was so fast that in 1857 he erected a larger church, it being 40 by 100 feet. In 1863 he erected a large episcopal residence.

In 1859 Bishop Miège, with Brother John, crossed the plains in his own

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NOTE 3.—The diocese comprised the greater part of what is now Montana, the Dakotas, Wyoming, Colorado, Nebraska, and Kansas.

NOTE 4.—"Church of St. Mary of the Immaculate Conception, which was the first cathedral of Bishop Miege (1851-'55) and the first church of any size in Kansas."—Rev. J. J. O'Meara, S. J., sketch of St. Marys, in *The Dial*, February, 1890, p. 6. In March, 1839, a log church was built on Sugar creek, Linn county, by the Pottawatomie Indians, under the direction of Father Hoecken. In 1840, several hundred more Indians having arrived from Indiana, a new church was built for their accommodation, and blessed on Christmas day of that year by Father Aelen.—Father Hoecken's diary, in *The Dial*, June, 1890, p. 2, and September, 1890, p. 1.

NOTE 5.—The membership of the cathedral congregation numbered 4000 persons in 1882. "The first mass in Leavenworth was said in 1854, by Bishop Miege, at the house of a Mrs. Quinn."—Cutler, History of Kansas, 1883, p. 431. "Leavenworth is the principal town of Kansas territory [1858]. It contains already about 10,000 souls, though it has sprung into existence within the last six years. It is beautifully and advantageously situated, on the Missouri river. It has a bishop, two Catholic churches, a convent, with a boarding-school and a day-school. There are already fifteen churches, twenty-three stations, sixteen priests, five religious communities, and four manual-labor schools for the Osage and Pottawatomie Indians, which are under the care of our fathers and religious ladies of different orders."—"Life, Letters and Travels of Father De Smet," Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 2, p. 720.

NOTE 6.—In 1855 the old cathedral was built; in 1857 there was also erected a priest's house.—Cutler's History of Kansas, 1883, p. 431.

conveyance to Denver to establish the organization of the Catholic church in Colorado.[7] A trip at that time was hazardous, as the hostile Indians were constantly scalping those whom they might come across on the plains.

About 1858 he established a Catholic church in Omaha, Neb.[8] In 1858 he invited eight members of the Sisters of Charity of the state of Tennessee to establish their order here, which they did. From the basis of eight members in 1858, they now number about 500, having academies and hospitals in Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, New Mexico, Wyoming, and Montana, where they have taught and dispensed charities to thousands of people. There is no order of sisters in the Catholic world that has done so much good as they.

Bishop Miège commenced the excavation for the cathedral at Leavenworth in the spring of 1864.[9] The corner-stone was laid in September, 1864, and the cathedral was completed and dedicated December 8, 1868. The question is often asked: "Why did the bishop erect such a fine cathedral at Leavenworth?" The reason was this: At that time the contest was between Kansas City and Leavenworth as to which would be the great city on the banks of the Missouri river. In 1863, and for many years after that, Leavenworth was very prosperous and everything indicated that it would be the large city. Bishop Miège was a strong believer in the great future of Leavenworth, and showed his faith by erecting such a cathedral. Each city was striving to become an important railroad point. Kansas City secured it.

The bishop possessed an artistic and architectural mind, which the great work he accomplished shows. The architectural proportions of the cathedral are perfect. The sanctuary is the largest of any cathedral in this country. He often remarked that he wanted a large one, so that the largest ceremonies of the church could be held with comfort. Bishop Miège secured the best fresco artist in the United States, Leon Pomrade. The figures in fresco are perfect, and even to-day the expressions and colors are good. The stained-glass figures show that they were made by a first-class artist, as the colors are as fresh and clear to-day as when executed, thirty-seven years ago. The cathedral is of the Romanesque style of architecture, and has no superior of that type in this country. The size of the cathedral is 94 feet front and 200 feet long and about 56 feet high to square of building. The towers, when completed, will be about 190 feet high.

After the dedication of the cathedral the prosperity of Leavenworth declined, which affected the financial support of the church. The indebtedness of the cathedral at that time was about $100,000.

Bishop Miège concluded a short time after the completion of the cathedral to make a trip to the South American states for the purpose of collecting funds to reduce the indebtedness. He was gone for a year or more, and

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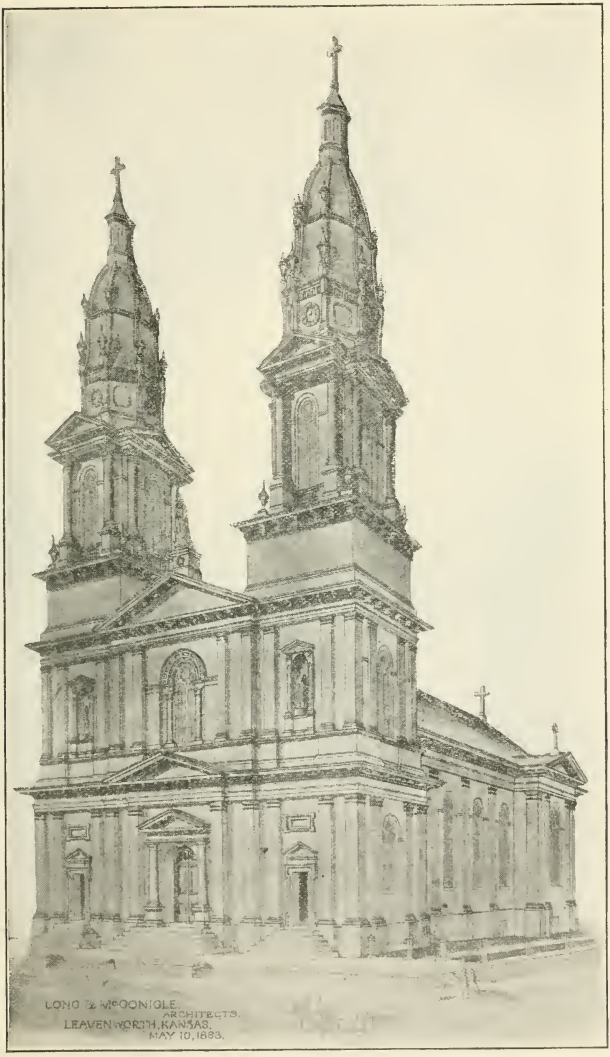
NOTE 7.—In 1859 or 1860 Bishop Lamy, bishop of Santa Fe, "received from Rome the jurisdiction of the new country called Pike's Peak" (see biography of Rt. Rev. J. P. Machebeuf, in History of Denver, Baskin, 1880, p. 525), and it is possible that Bishop Miege made this journey to Denver on business connected with the change in his diocese. See, also, Rocky Mountain Directory and Colorado Gazetteer, 1871, p. 138.

NOTE 8.—Bishop Miege placed Rev. Father Cannon, of the Benedictine order, in charge of the Omaha church, St. Philomena, in the fall of 1858, and in the winter of 1858-'59, the vicariate of Kansas and Nebraska was divided.—Andreas, History of Nebraska, 1882, p. 730. The vicariate Kansas and Nebraska was divided in 1857, and that of Nebraska and other territory in the Northwest was established January 6, 1857.—Catholic Directory, 1906, p. 494.

NOTE 9.—This cathedral of the Immaculate Conception cost $150,000.—Cutler's History of Kansas, 1883, p. 431.



CATHEDRAL OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION, LEAVENWORTH CITY, KAN.
Corner-stone laid September 16, 1864; dedicated December 8, 1868. Cost, $175,000.

solicited funds in all the states of South America, and suffered many privations and had many dangerous trips. He told me that in crossing the Andes mountains it was so dangerous that he was blindfolded, as also the mule he was riding, which was led by the guide. He returned to Leavenworth, having been quite successful in his mission. I am not quite positive, but I think he told me that he reduced the indebtedness about $50,000.

After reducing the debt, in 1874, with permission of the Holy See, he laid aside his dignity of bishop and retired to St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo. Thence he withdrew to Woodstock College, Maryland, where he acted as spiritual adviser. In 1877 he was sent to Detroit, Mich., to open a college of the society. Here he greatly endeared himself to the people. In 1880 he retired once more to Woodstock.

In 1883 he was stricken with paralysis. He lingered in this state a year, and underwent many sufferings. He died July 20, 1884, with all the comforts of the church.

His noble qualities were numerous, as a religionist, a priest, and a bishop. His virtue and genial disposition caused him to be regarded with confidence and affection by the young and with deepest veneration by the old. With the highest endowments of mind and character, he combined the most imperturbable modesty and humility. He had the rare gift of being able to adjust himself to humors and characters. But one of his finest characteristics was the depth of his sympathy, springing from a broad, warm, human heart.

There died a good bishop, a loyal Jesuit father, and one time a colaborer of the great Jesuit, Father de Smet,[10] in civilizing the Indians, who as a citizen of Kansas did more for its religious and material prosperity than any citizen of the state. The state of Kansas has a room in the capitol building at Topeka where the portraits of the distinguished men of Kansas are placed and cared for for all time to come. When the portrait of Bishop Miège shall be placed there it will represent the greatest of them all.

The territory of Kansas, by a law of the United States government, was thrown open to settlement in 1854, giving citizens the right to preempt 160 acres of land free of cost, under certain conditions. The white population in all that territory at that time, from the Kansas river, at its mouth, to the British possessions, and from the Missouri river to the Rocky Mountains, did not exceed 3000. At the end of fifty-two years, in the same territory, there are about 3,000,000. The growth of the Catholic population in the same territory and the same time is about 400,000.

In 1855 there was one Catholic bishop and one see in all that territory, with a population of 700 Catholics. At the end of fifty years there are nine bishops and nine sees, each see having its cathedral, colleges, convents, parochial schools, orphan asylums, and hospitals. The character and intelligence of the inhabitants in this territory cannot be excelled anywhere.

I have submitted only a few of the many good points of Bishop Miège. He laid a great many good foundations and left them to others who will follow to build the superstructure. He was a remarkably handsome man, with a commanding appearance, whose presence would attract attention. He possessed a fine mind, and was one of the most lovable of men. The most

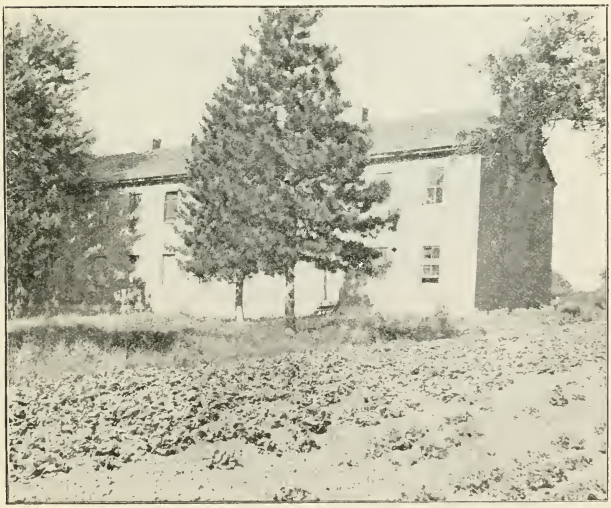
NOTE 10.—See Life, Letters and Travels of Father De Smet, Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, 4 v.

humble of his parishioners could always get his attention and be treated with the utmost courtesy and kindness.

I arrived in Leavenworth May 6, 1857, when I made the acquaintance of Bishop Miège, whose friendship was given to me, and which is one of the most pleasant memories of my life. My business association, consisting in the construction of the cathedral from the foundation to its entire completion, was mutually satisfactory. I had a strong affection for him when living, and his memory is cherished with great appreciation.

I am indebted to Reverend Father Corbette, S. J., Detroit, Mich., who was administrator of Leavenworth diocese during the absence of Bishop Miège in South America, for information of the early life of Bishop Miège. During Father Corbette's administration of the diocese he exercised great ability and sound judgment, and retired from his responsibility having given satisfaction to the priests and people of the diocese.

Father Corbette is the oldest living Jesuit father in the United States.



EAST SCHOOL BUILDING AT SHAWNEE MISSION.

Erected in 1839. This picture is as it appears now (1906). Boys' dormitory, chapel, and study rooms. In this building the territorial legislature held its sessions, in July, 1855.

(This building is referred to in the article that follows on next page.)

THE METHODIST MISSIONS AMONG THE INDIAN TRIBES IN KANSAS.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by Rev. J. J. LUTZ, of Eagle Lake, Minn.

THE only white men who inhabited what is now the state of Kansas prior to its territorial organization, besides the Indian agents and the attaches of the agencies, were traders and trappers, the soldiers in the forts, and the missionaries among the Indians.[1] The story of the missionary operations among the various tribes inhabiting what is now the great state of Kansas forms an interesting chapter in Kansas history.

The principal missions formed by the various denominations other than Methodist were the following: The Shawnee Baptist mission, 1831; Ottawa Baptist mission, by Rev. Jotham Meeker, 1837;[2] and the Kickapoo Catholic mission, 1836.[3] This denomination had two other important missions, that among the Osages, on the Neosho river, and that among the Pottawatomies, at St. Marys. The Shawnee Friends' mission was organized in 1834,[4] and that of the Sac and Fox, by the Presbyterian church, at Highland, Doniphan county, in 1837.[5]

Previous to the year 1824, the date of the establishment of the Osage Presbyterian mission by the Rev. Benson Pixley, there had been no missions among the Indian tribes of Kansas. The Missouri conference of the Methodist Episcopal church was held in St. Louis September 16, 1830, Bishop Robert R. Roberts presiding. The city at that time contained a population of but 5000. This session was memorable by reason of the action taken in regard to the mission work among the Indian tribes of Kansas. The missionary spirit and the missionary society in the conference received a wonderful impetus at this session. The following is the preamble to the constitution of the society as then formed:

"The members of the Missouri conference, considering the great necessity for missionary exertions, and feeling a willingness to aid in the great work of sending the Gospel among all people, form themselves into a missionary society of the Methodist Episcopal church," etc.

This was not a missionary society as we have it now, supported by the entire church; but the men of the Missouri conference, some of whom received less than forty dollars a year, resolved to contribute a part of their very limited means toward sending the Gospel to those who were in still greater need. The call to mission work among the Indians was heard and answered, and the devoted brothers, Thomas and William Johnson, entered

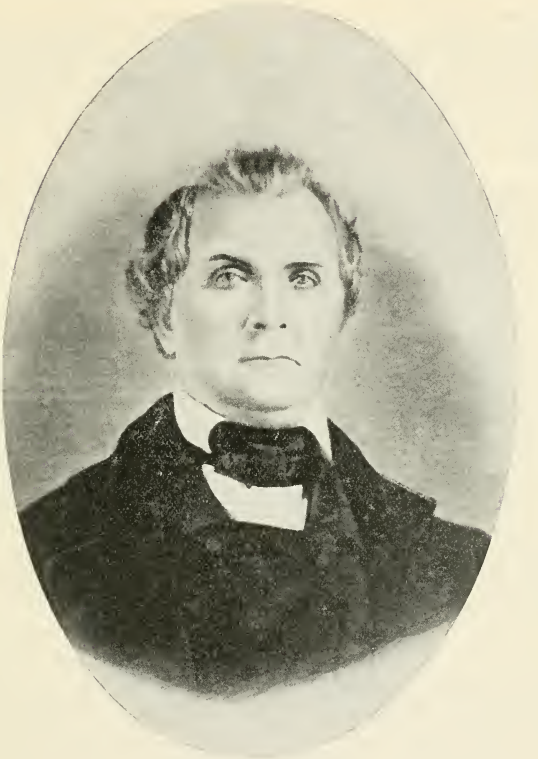
NOTE 1.—See T. S. Huffaker's letter of October 30, 1905, in this volume, p. 129.

NOTE 2.—Rev. Isaac McCoy's "History of Baptist Indian Missions," Washington, 1840; also his manuscript, diary, and correspondence, and the diary and correspondence of Jotham Meeker, both in the Historical Society's library; Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 1–2, p. 271.

NOTE 3.—See, also, this volume, p. 19; also vol. 8, p. 83.

NOTE 4.—See Kansas Historical Collections, vols. 7 and 8, indexes, for history of Friends' Indian missions in Kansas; also, Harvey's History of the Shawnee Indians, Cincinnati, 1855.

NOTE 5.—For other missions of this denomination, see note, p. 20, this volume; also, the Reports of the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and the files of the *Missionary Herald*, Boston, 1824–'37.



REV. THOMAS JOHNSON.

For twenty-six years missionary among the Shawnee and other Indian tribes of Kansas; one of the prominent names in American Methodism of his day.

what became their life-work among the Indians. The Missouri conference at this date contained but twenty-nine members.

The missionary appointments for the year 1830 read: "Shawnee Mission, Thomas Johnson,"[6] "Kanzas or Kaw Mission, Wm. Johnson." For the

NOTE 6.—Rev. Thomas Johnson was born in Virginia July 11, 1802. When comparatively young he came to Missouri. He entered the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal church in 1826, and was appointed to Mount Prairie, Ark. In 1828 he was received into full connection and was appointed to Fishing River. For the year 1829 he was on Buffalo circuit, and at the next conference, 1830, was appointed to the Shawnee Mission, which was in the Missouri district, Rev. Alex. McAlister, presiding elder. He served as superintendent of the Shawnee Mission till 1841, when he resigned on account of failing health. He moved with his family to Cincinnati, where he spent nearly two years under medical treatment, after which he returned to Missouri and secured a home near Fayette, Howard county. Having regained his health, he was, in the fall of 1847, reappointed to the manual-labor school, in which capacity he served till the breaking up of the school, in 1862. In 1858 he settled two miles east of Westport, Mo. In 1853 a territorial govern-

years 1832 and 1833 there were four Indian missions in Kansas, comprising the Indian missionary district. In 1833 and 1834 it was called the north Indian mission district; the southern district embracing the Indian missions in what is now Indian Territory. In the year 1832 missions were organized in four other tribes—among the Delawares, Peorias, Iowas, and Sacs and Foxes. In 1833 the Kickapoo mission was established, and in 1838 the Pottawatomie.

THE SHAWNEE MISSION.

We shall first describe the work among the Shawnees, as that was the most ambitious attempt of our church to care for the Indians of Kansas, and Shawnee Mission, by reason of its location at the entrance to the territory for emigrants from the East and the part it played in the territorial history, became a place of peculiar interest.

The Shawnee reservation embraced a tract of 1,600,000 acres, described in the treaty of May 10, 1854, as follows:

"Beginning at a point in the western boundary of the state of Missouri,

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ment was organized for Kansas and Nebraska, and in the fall of that year Mr. Johnson was elected as delegate to Congress by Indian votes. He went to Washington, but the territory was not organized and he was not received as a delegate. The Washington *Union* spoke of him as "Rev. Thomas Johnson, a noble specimen of Western man." In March, 1855, he was elected to the Kansas territorial council on the pro-slavery ticket, and on its sitting was elected president of the council. His son Alex. S. Johnson was elected a member of the house for the same legislature, and was the youngest member—only twenty-three years of age. While Mr. Johnson was Southern born and reared, and his ancestors Southern, it was natural that he should have Southern and pro-slavery sympathies, but when he was called upon to decide between union and secession Mr. Johnson's patriotism proved superior to all sectional and social ties, and he took his stand on the side of the Union. On the night of January 2, 1865, he was assassinated, at his home near Westport, by guerrillas. Mr. Johnson was married September 7, 1829, to Miss Sarah T. Davis, of Clarksville, Mo. Their son, Colonel Johnson, said, in an interview with Judge Adams, that his parents came to Kansas on their wedding journey. To them were born three sons and four daughters, Alexander Soule, who died recently, being the eldest; Andrew Monroe, whose death occurred more than three years ago; and William M., who lives at Red Clover, Johnson county, with post-office at Rosedale, Kan. Eliza married John Wornal, and has been dead about thirty years. Laura married Frank Waterman; she has been dead many years. Cora married Harry Fuller, and lives in Washington city. Edna married Wm. J. Anderson, and lives with her sister, Mrs. Fuller, in Washington city.]

Among William E. Connelley's papers is a manuscript interview with E. F. Heisler, of Kansas City, Kan., in which the story of the assassination of Thomas Johnson is told, as follows: "It is the common belief that Rev. Thomas Johnson was slain in his house at the Shawnee Mission, in Johnson county, Kansas, and that his assassins were Kansas red legs. Mr. Heisler has gathered the proof that this belief is not in accord with the facts, which are as follows: Johnson lived during the war in his house near Westport. It is now in the corporate limits of Kansas City, Mo., and not far from the magnificent home of William R. Nelson, owner of the Kansas City *Star*. He had a considerable sum of ready money, which he kept loaned out to his neighbors. When one loan of $1000 was about due, he went to the debtor and told him to have the money right on the day it was due, as he wished to use the money and must have it. The debtor had but $800, but he told Johnson he would pay the full $1000 the day it was due. He went about borrowing twenty-five dollars of one neighbor and fifty of another, always telling them he must have it to make up the $1000 he had to pay Johnson on a certain day. He made the payment promptly, and Johnson immediately loaned it to another man to whom he had promised a loan. No person other than Johnson and the person to whom he turned over the $1000 knew of this last transaction. The community supposed Mr. Johnson had the money in the house. That night, about eleven o'clock, he was called up by a 'hello.' Going to the door, he saw a group of horsemen in the road in front of his house. They said they wanted a drink of water. Johnson told them to go back to the kitchen, by the side of which they would find a well, and that a cup was hanging on a nail there; that they were welcome to help themselves. This did not satisfy them. They said they were cold and wanted to come into the house and get warm. Johnson told them the household had been in bed some time and that the house was cold, and that he did not wish to make a fire and disturb all the family. He then closed the door, when the ruffians began to shoot. The bullets went through the door, and one of them penetrated the abdomen of Johnson, who died in a few minutes. Johnson's son William was at home. Looking from the window of an upper-story he saw the horsemen and noted a white or gray horse. The family called out that Johnson was killed, and William Johnson fired on the murderers from the upper-story window. He heard one of the men say he 'believed Bill was at home and it would be useless to go in, for they probably would not get the money anyway.' The assassins then rode away. Some one had complained of William Johnson, and he was under orders from Major Ransom, Sixth cavalry, to remain at home until a certain day, when his matter would be inquired into. He went to Major Ransom on the day following the murder of his father and requested a body of soldiers and leave to go with them in search of the assassins. His request was granted, and he was directed to be back against a certain day to have his matter disposed of, which he agreed to do. Young Johnson had some idea who the murderers were. The soldiers went with him to the neighborhood of where the man lived who had made the payment

three miles south of where said boundary crosses the mouth of Kansas river;[7] thence continuing south and coinciding with said boundary for twenty-five miles; thence due west 120 miles; thence due north, until said line shall intersect the southern boundary of the Kansas reservation; thence due east, coinciding with the southern boundary of said reservation, to the termination thereof; thence due north, coinciding with the eastern boundary of said reservation, to the southern shore of the Kansas river; thence along said southern shore of said river to where a line from the place of beginning drawn due west shall intersect the same—estimated to contain sixteen hundred thousand acres, more or less."[8]

The tribe resided on the northeast corner of this vast tract, near Missouri and near the Kansas river. These lands lying in the vicinity of the larger streams afforded considerable bodies of good timber, interspersed with fertile prairies. This reservation had been assigned to the Shawnees by the treaty of 1825, and it would seem that the larger part of the tribe had congregated here by 1830,[9] their most populous settlement being in Wyandotte county south

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of $1000. There Johnson saw a white horse in a field that reminded him of the one he noticed in front of the house on the night of the murder. They went to the man having it in charge. He told a crooked story of his possession of the horse. One of the soldiers drew his pistol, and said to him: 'Tell us the truth; tell us all about this matter; tell us now. If you refuse I will kill you. If you fail to tell the truth I will kill you when I return.' The man then said that the horse had been left there by a certain person he named; that there were with him certain other persons, whom he named; that the horse gave out and could go no further; that they left it there and took one of his; that they made it plain that they would kill him if he made these things known. They also told him where they had been and what they had done, saying that if it became known that they had done this deed it would be by his telling it, and he would be killed. With this information the soldiers went in pursuit of the assassins. All of them were killed except one. They had to return to Johnson's trial before the last one was found. They were citizens of Jackson county, Missouri, and some of them were Quantrill's men. The whole matter was planned to get that $1000. William Johnson told these facts to Heisler. There can be no reasonable doubt of their accuracy."

NOTE 7.—This small piece of land south of the Kansas river, now a part of Kansas City, Kan., lying between the Missouri line and the Kansas river, which here makes an abrupt and irregular bend north before entering the Missouri river, was reserved, Wm. E. Connelley says, by the government for a military or other purpose, evidently at the time of Langham's survey of the eastern portion of the Shawnee reservation boundaries, in 1828. Silas Armstrong afterwards covered the whole with his float, a diagram of which may be found in a book of the original surveys of Wyandotte county, the property of Mr. Connelley, on two pages, entitled "Map, being cause No. 1066, Wyandotte county district court."

NOTE 8.—Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties, vol. 2, p. 618.

NOTE 9.—The following sketch of the Shawnee Indians is extracted from the article by F. W. Hodge, of the Smithsonian Institution, in the Encyclopedia Americana, 1904, vol. 13: "Shawnee Indians (contracted from the Algonquian *Shawanogi*, 'southerners'), an important tribe of the Algonquian stock of North American Indians, who, according to the best evidence, were originally an offshoot from the Lenape or Delawares, which migrated southward; hence their popular name. It is believed that they entered the present limits of the United States from the territory north of the great lakes via the lower peninsula of Michigan, various bands or divisions settling in southern Illinois, southern Ohio, and (the larger part) on Cumberland river. A portion of the latter drifted southeastward to the head waters of the Savannah, where they came in contact with the Cherokees and Catawbas, who forced them northward into Pennsylvania by 1707, while those remaining on Cumberland river were driven away by combined Cherokees and Chickasaws. They were first mentioned under the name *Ouchaouanag*, in 1648, as living to the westward of Lake Huron; later in the century they were found by La Salle in northern Illinois, while others were settled along the Ohio and the Cumberland, and, indeed, had extended into Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, and even as far south as Mobile, Ala., in the country of the Creeks. They were at war with numerous tribes at various periods, as well as with the French, and later with the United States, from the beginning of the French and Indian war until about 1795, during which time they had concentrated north of the Ohio river. Anthony Wayne's victory, followed by the treaty of Greenville, in 1795, terminated the hostilities of the Indians of the Ohio valley region, a considerable part of the Shawnees moving to Missouri, within Spanish territory, while a few years later others migrated to White river, Indiana [Missouri?], on invitation of the Delawares."

The history of the removal of the Shawnees to Kansas has never been fully written, but the following notes and extracts throw some light on their emigration:

The treaty of 1825, though providing for the entire Shawnee nation, was made with the Cape Girardeau band of Shawnees, who moved to Kansas as soon as their lands were selected, in the winter of 1825–'26, settling in Wyandotte county, south of the Kansas river. Mrs. Jackson, grandmother of Mrs. David C. de Shane, made this statement to Wm. E. Connelley, in January, 1897. She was then living, at the age of 125 years, as she claimed, bedfast, in the family of David C. de Shane, on the mixed Seneca and Shawnee reserve, about two miles from Seneca, Mo. She said the Delawares and Shawnees began crossing the Mississippi river when Pontiac was fighting at Detroit. They gradually increased by emigration until the Spanish governor at St. Louis

of the Kansas river. Among the earliest comers appears to have been the prophet,[10] brother of the great Tecumseh, who made his home near the present town of Turner.

In the year 1835 the Rev. Isaac McCoy describes the condition of the Shawnees as follows:

"Generally their dwellings are neat, hewed log cabins, erected with their own hands, and within them a small amount of furniture. Their fields are enclosed with rail fences; are sufficiently large to yield them corn and

allotted them land near Cape Girardeau, where they continued to live for some time, when, because of hostile whites, they abandoned the reservation to live with the Delawares, on the James river, in what is now the southern part of Greene county, Missouri, from whence they moved to Kansas. She, being a widow with children, waited until 1828, in order that the first emigrants would have corn grown.

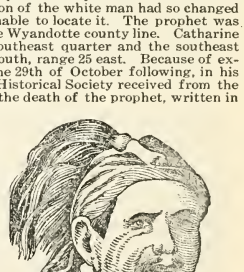
"In 1824 proposals were made by the United States commissioners to the Shawanoes of Wapaughkonetta, in Ohio, to move westward of Mississippi river. These proposals were not acceded to at the time. Nevertheless, without any special interference of our government, and it is believed contrary to the advice of white men who might be supposed to have considerable influence among them, and whose private interest it was that the Indians should remain in Ohio, about one-third part of them moved off in a body, in October, 1826, to the Western country which had previously been offered them."—McCoy's Remarks on Indian Reform, Boston, 1827, p. 37; see, also, Howe's Historical Collections of Ohio, vol. 1, p. 294.

"The Wapaughkonetta band moved from Auglaize county, Ohio, to Kansas in 1832, in care of James B. Gardiner, leaving their old homes September 20," and reaching the Shawnee reservation in Kansas about Christmas time, having suffered much from cold and hunger. The Hog Creek band were moved from the same locality to Kansas in the summer of 1833, under the care of Joseph Parks, in safety and without suffering.—Henry Harvey's History of the Shawnee Indians, 1855, pp. 230-233.

"Latterly they had chiefly congregated at and near Wapaughkonetta, twenty-nine miles north of Piqua, from whence they finally emigrated southwest of Missouri in 1826 and 1833. The Shawanese were divided into four tribes, viz., the Chillicothe, Mequochake, Piqua, and Kiscopokee. Tecumtha was of the last-named tribe, and, on account of their restless, warring propensities, this tribe numbered very few fighting men when they left Ohio. The prophet, Elsquatawa, was a twin brother of Tecumtha, a man void of talent or merit, a brawling, mischievous Indian demagogue."—Col. John Johnston, in Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, 1845, vol. 2, p. 242.

NOTE 10.—In the month of September, 1897, the Rev. Charles Bluejacket visited Wyandotte county for the purpose of searching for the grave of the prophet. Bluejacket had been absent twenty-five years, and the growth of trees and the cultivation of the white man had so changed the face of the country that after hours of effort he was unable to locate it. The prophet was buried a mile or so south or southwest of Argentine, near the Wyandotte county line. Catharine Prophet, probably a daughter, had for her allotment the southeast quarter and the southeast quarter of the northeast quarter of section 32, township 11 south, range 25 east. Because of exposure at the time, Bluejacket caught a cold, and died on the 29th of October following, in his eightieth year. Among the papers which the Kansas State Historical Society received from the family of the Rev. Isaac McCoy is the following account of the death of the prophet, written in 1837, by Dr. J. A. Chute, of Westport, Mo.:

"In Nov. last there died in the country of the Shawnees, a few miles from this pt., the Shawnee prophet Tensqu[atawa], generally reputed to be a twin brother of Tecumseh. He had [been] sick several weeks, when he sent for a gentleman [connec]ted with the Baptist mission to visit and prescribe for him. At the [same time with] this gentleman I also called to see him. I went ac[compani]ed by an interpreter, who conducted me by a winding path th[rough t]he woods till we descended a hill, at the bottom of which, s[eclud]ed apparently from all the world, was the 'Prophet's town' [ ], or [47] huts, built in the ordinary Indian style, constituted the entire settlement. The house of the prophet was not distinguished at all from the others. A low portico covered with bark, which we were obliged to stoop to pass under, was erected before it, & [a] half-starved dog greeted us with a growl as we entered. The interior of the house, which was lighted only by the half-open door, showed at the first view the taste of one who hated civilization. Two or three platforms built against the wall served the purpose of bedsteads, covered with blankets & skins. A few ears of corn and a quantity of dried pumpkins (a favorite dish of the Indians) were hanging on poles overhead; a few implements of savage domestic [ ], as wooden spoons & trays, pipes, &c., lay scattered about the floor, [every]thing indicating poverty. One corner of the room, cl[ose to an] apology for a fireplace, contained a platform of split [ ], elevated about a foot from the floor and covered with a blanket. This was the bed of the prophet. Here was fallen, savage greatness. I involuntarily stop[ped] for a moment to view in silence the spectacle of a man whose wo[rd] was once law to numerous tribes, now lying on a miserable pallet, dying in poverty, neglected by all but his own family. He that exalteth himself shall be abased. I approached him. He drew aside his blanket and discovered a



TEN-SQUA-TA-WA.
The prophet.

culinary vegetables plentifully. They keep cattle and swine, work oxen, and use horses for draught; and own some plows, wagons, and carts."[11]

It was to the vicinity of the prophet's town that the Rev. Thomas Johnson followed the Indians, built a log house, and began his work as a missionary among the sons of the forest, in 1830. The following letter, addressed to the Rev. Jesse Greene,[12] presiding elder of the Missouri district,

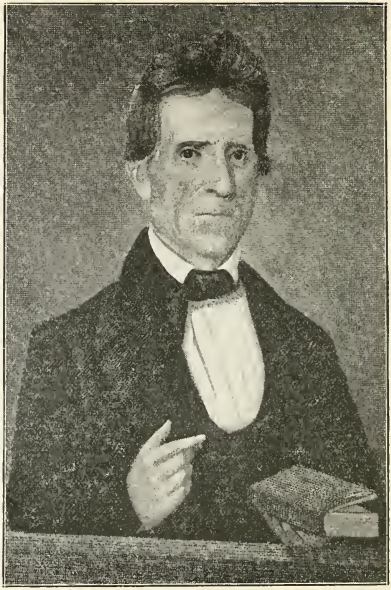
form emaciated in the extreme, but the broad proportions of which indicated that it had once been the seat of great strength. His countenance was sunken and haggard, but appeared — it might have been fancy — to exhibit something of the soul within. I thought I could discover, spite of the guards of hypocrisy, something of the marks which pride, ambition and the workings of a dark, designing mind had stamped there. I inquired of his symptoms, which he related particularly, & then proposed to do something for his relief. He replied that he was willing to submit to medical treatment, but was just then engaged in contemplation, or 'study,' as the interpreter called it, & he feared the operation of medicine might interrupt his train of reflection. He said his 'study' would occu[py] three days longer, after which he should be glad to see me again. Accordingly, in three days I repaired again to his cabin, but it was too late. He was speechless and evidently beyond the reach of human assistance. The same day he died. The hist[ory] of the prophet until the late war has been often told. When, in conjunction with his brother Tecumseh, he was plotting a union of all the Indian nations of the continent against the growing pow[er of] the U. S., & preached, as he alleged, with a direct communication [from] heaven, his influence was almost unbounded. Many tribes beside [the] Shawnees believed in him, but the charm was in a great [measure] broken by the disastrous result of the battle of Tippecanoe. The Indians engaged in this battle with all the enthusiasm that [superst]ition could inspire, assured by the prophet that he had power to change the powder of the whites to ashes. Tensquatawa, who possessed in an eminent degree that part of valor called prudence, placed himself [on] an eminence out of harm's way and encouraged his men, singing and dancing to conciliate the favor of the G. S. [Great Spirit]. But all was vain. The Indians were killed in great numbers, and the reputation of the prophet sank, never again to rise. Since the war the prophet has not figured at all. He seems to have lived in obscurity, always keeping a small but decreasing band around him. He maintained his character to the last, professing to hold continual intercourse with heaven, and opposing every encroachment of civilization upon the venerated customs of his forefathers. He hated the whites, their language, their religion, and their modes of life. He understood [English], it is said, but would never speak it. Nothing vexed him [more t]han the operations of the missions and their success in introduc[ing the] Christian religion & civilized arts. He was frequently known, [when] an assembly had met for worship, [to] stand before the door and interrupt the meeting by noise [some]times sinking the dignity of the prophet in very unbecoming acts to effect this purpose. Among his pretensions was that of skill in medicine, or rather in healing; for I believe his means of cure was mostly conjuration and ceremonies deriving their efficiency from divine interposition. A Shawnee of intelligence and piety, yielding to the importunity of friends who had faith in the prophet, once called on him to administer relief to two of his children. Tens. told him he would visit them, but he must first take time to dream. Accordingly he retired to his pallet, & after a nap, in which he communed with the Great S., he hastened to communicate the results of this revelation, assuring the parents that the prescriptions of the Deity himself must infallibly succeed. The children, however, died, & the parents' faith in the prophet was probably buried with them. He always maintained that he should never die. Several times during his last sickness he swooned & was thought to be dead. He took advantage of these occasions and assured his followers that he actually died temporarily but was restored again by divine power. Why he should seek the aid of a white physician in his sickness seems rather mysterious. Perhaps, & I have thought it probable, the near approach of death caused his own spirit to quail, and pride for once gave way to fear, but further reflection on his weakness induced him to discard aid offered by one of a race he so heartily detested. The prophet held the rank of chief, and was regarded by his countrymen as a man of talents, aside from his religious pretensions. All agree, however, in ranking him below Tecumseh, whose memory is still venerated by the Sh. [Shawnees] as the pride of the nation. Tensquat. was considered a good councillor, but I have frequently heard the Indians complain that he made too long speeches. They sometimes threw out remarks rather derogatory to his char. for sourcery, and some even openly call him a [fraud]. Some historians have said that Tecumseh & the prophet were twin brothers; others that they and [a] third, called Kum. [Kumskaukau], were of one birth. But the true account, as I have derived it from some old S. [squaw?] who certainly must have known, is that Tecumseh was the oldest of the family, and that between him and Tens., who was one of *two* at a birth, a sister intervened."[a]

NOTE 11.—Isaac McCoy's Annual Register of Indian Affairs, vol. 1, 1835, p. 23.

NOTE 12.—The establishment of missions among the Indian tribes of Kansas by the Methodist church was largely due to the efforts of Mr. Greene. If he was not the founder of the Shawnee and Kaw missions, in 1830, he was an important factor in their organization, being presiding elder of the district bordering on Kansas from 1828 to 1836. The organization of the missionary society of the Missiouri conference was largely due to Mr. Greene. His death occurred in 1847. He is buried at Drake's chapel, Henry county, Missouri. Mrs. Greene died March 21, 1893. One of the teachers at Shawnee Mission deserving notice is Mary Todd, who was born in Bristol, England, December 11, 1812. When six years of age she emigrated with her parents to America. They settled in New York city, where they united with the old John Street Methodist Episcopal Church, the cradle of American Methodism. In 1838 she was appointed by the New York conference as a missionary to the Shawnee Indians. After a midwinter trip alone by stage she reached the old Shawnee Mission, a stranger in a strange land. While engaged in teaching in the mission she met Rev. Jesse Greene, presiding elder of the district, which included parts of Missouri, Iowa, and Arkansas. At the mission, in June, 1839, in the presence of no white people save the mission family, but surrounded by her Indian pupils, she was married to Rev. Jesse Greene.

by Indian Agent Vashon, tells something of the inception of our first Indian mission in Kansas:[13]

"INDIAN AGENCY, near Kansas, July, 1830. *Reverend Sir*—I have the pleasure now to make the communication which I promised when I had the happiness of conversing with you at my office on the subject of establishing a mission for the instruction of the children of the hapless portion of the human family entrusted to my care in this part of my agency. I have been informed by Rev. Mr. Dodge, whom I had the pleasure to meet with a few days ago, at Harmony Mission,[14] that the American Board of Foreign Missions will not have it in their power to comply with the application which I made through him for a missionary establishment at or near this place in less time probably than two or three years, as they have a great many more applications than they can possibly comply with, and he therefore solicited me to request your earnest attention to the subject without delay. And I now have the pleasure to inform you that I have this day been requested by Fish, a Shawnee chief, also Wm. Jackson, a white man, raised with the Shawnees, to make application for the establishment of a mission among them



REV. JESSE GREENE.
One of the founders of the Indian missions, and for fourteen years connected with the mission work.

NOTE 13.—"As we passed through the Shawanoe settlements adjoining the line of the state of Missouri, through the politeness of Maj. John Campbell, United States Indian agent, acting for the Shawanoes and Delawares, I had an interview in council with upwards of twenty Shawanoes, on the subject of establishing a mission among them. The celebrated Shawanoe prophet, the brother of Tecumseh, who figured in the last war, was present, and, in behalf of the rest, responded to my remarks, professedly approving the proposition, though no doubt he secretly was opposed to everything like education or religion. They were desired to reflect on what I had proposed, and to be prepared to answer me, as I would repass their place on my way home.

"A white man by the name of Fish, who had lived with the Shawanoes from a small boy, and was in all respects identified with them, had become a principal of a clan which had lived many years in the state of Missouri, and which was in a good degree civilized. I took Fish to the house of Capt. Anthony Shane, a half-breed, and who was the United States interpreter; and on his informing me that he and his party desired a school for the instruction of their youth, I assured him that he should be furnished with one; and that, whatever might be the answer of the rest of the nation to my proposals, he might rely upon the establishment of a school for his party. I would immediately begin to make preparation for it, and on my return his wishes should be met with as little delay as possible. Two others of the party at the same time urged me to establish the school.

"On the 22d of November I returned to this place, when Captain Cornstalk and Capt. William Perry, chiefs, met me, to deliver the decision of the nation, which was favorable to the establishment of the school proposed. These chiefs, however, and most of the Shawanoes, consented to my propositions rather through courtesy than on account of a desire really to enjoy the advantages of education. Like most Indians not much advanced in civilization, they felt little de

NOTE 14.—This mission was established in 1821 among the Osages, in Vernon county, Missouri.—See Vernon County History, 1887, p. 144.

MRS. MARY GREENE.
For two years a teacher, and for many years connected with missionary work.

for the education of their children, and I most earnestly solicit your attention to the subject.

"Fish, the Shawnee chief, has a son by the name of Paschal, who was put to school when he was a boy. He can speak English very well. He is a sober, steady, moral, good man. He has an Indian family, and is industriously employed in farming, and I think he would make the most efficient male interpreter that could be procured. Captain Shane, the Shawnee interpreter, has a stepdaughter by the name of Nancy, who is a widow with one child. She speaks English very well, and is a woman of most excellent character, and, I think, much disposed to be pious. She has been brought up in the habits of civilized life entirely from her infancy, and I think better qualified for all the various duties of a female interpreter than any other that I know of, and, if I am not greatly mistaken, will devoutly rejoice to have an opportunity of living once more under the influence of the Gospel. Captain Shane also has a son, who has been six months at the Choctaw academy in Kentucky, where I expect he will be again sent.

"The vicinity of the smith shop, I think, would be the most judicious location that could be selected for the establishment of the missionaries. Mr. Harmon Davis, the smith for the Indians, is a man of most excellent moral character; he is a member of the church, and has a large and amiable family. His children are mostly daughters and nearly all grown. I feel convinced that no other situation in the country possesses as many advantages. I therefore recommend it, in the strongest possible light, as the most judicious location that can be selected. . . . GEO. VASHON."

Of the first mission, established on the bluffs of the Kansas river, we have been able to learn but little. Joseph S. Chick, a prominent business man of Kansas City, Mo., and a son of Col. Wm. M. Chick, one of the pioneers of Kansas city, in a recent letter to Rev. Joab Spencer, of Slater, Mo., says:

"I was at the old Shawnee Mission about three weeks, but failing to have

sire for schools, and still less to hear preaching. With Fish and his party it was otherwise; they appreciated in a good degree the former, and were favorably inclined to the latter, and through them I had hoped that access could be successfully obtained to the main body of the nation. But, unfortunately for my plan, while I had been absent in the wilderness, the Rev. Mr. McAllister and the Rev. Thomas Johnson, of the Methodist denomination, visited the Shawanoes, and made similar propositions. The main body of the Shawanoes objected, 'because,' they said, 'they intended to accept the proposals I had made them.' The result, however, was an agreement that the Methodists should establish a school with Fish's party. In this matter I felt a disappointment which I could not remedy; but I was still resolved to carry out the design of establishing a mission in the nation."—Isaac McCoy's History of Baptist Indian Missions, 1840, p. 404.

school, I went home. The building as I remember was a two-story, double log house, with rooms about twenty feet square, with outhouses, smokehouse, chicken-house, etc. There was no teacher there at that time. There was a man by the name of Waugh [15] that had been a teacher, and was staying there at the time, but I do not recall any other."

Rev. Lorenzo Waugh was appointed as missionary to the Shawnees, with Rev. Thomas Johnson, for the years 1837 and 1838; so this was about the time that Mr. Chick was at the old Shawnee Mission school. It was at the old Shawnee Mission that the late Col. Alexander S. Johnson was born, July 11, 1832. His father, Rev. Thomas Johnson, was born in Virginia exactly thirty years before, July 11, 1802.

At the conference of 1832 the first fruits of the two missions were reported by the Johnsons, nine white and thirty-one Indian members, which was considered an encouraging beginning; so that the sum of $4800 was appropriated that year to the Indian missions within the bounds of the conference.

In the month of August, 1833, Bishop Soule had, on his way to the Missouri conference, held at Cane Hill, Ark., visited our Indian missions among the Delawares and Shawnees. The bishop spent a few days with Thomas and William Johnson in surveying the ground, with a view of extending the mission work, and as a result he determined to establish two additional stations, one among the Peorias and the other among the Kickapoos. The conference report for the year 1834 shows a total of 11 white and 380 Indian church members, in the four Indian missions in Kansas—the Shawnee, Delaware, Peoria, and Kickapoo. The report of the missionary society for 1834 [16] has this to say of the Shawnees:

"Some of the leading men who had considerable opposition to the Gospel are now cordially united in the work of reformation and the prospect is truly flattering. Upwards of sixty church members, some of whom are able to instruct their brethren in the things of God—school prospering."

The following letter, written by Rev. Thomas Johnson to Rev. Jesse Greene, is full of encouragement:

"SHAWNEE MISSION, February 17, 1834.

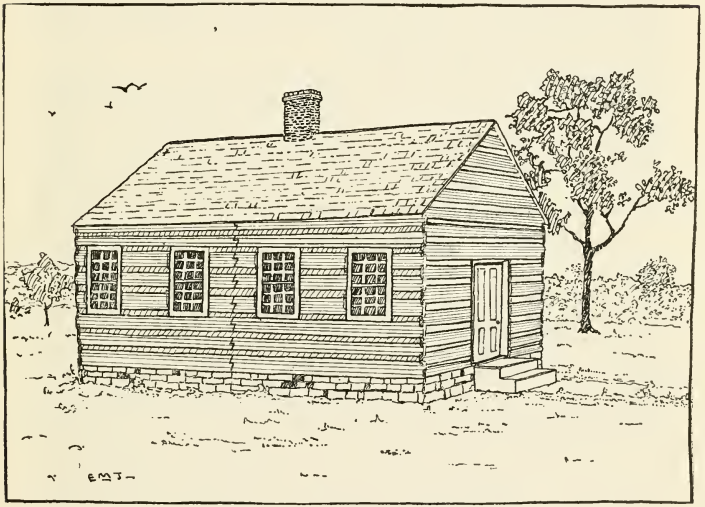
"DEAR BRO. GREENE: We have great excitement in the Indian country; some of the leading men of the Shawnee nation have lately surrendered their prejudices; twelve or fourteen have lately joined our society. The Peoria nation has submitted to the yoke of Christ—forty of them joined last Sabbath week. Write to us and let us know when you will come to see us. I will try to be at home. Yours in haste, THOMAS JOHNSON."

At the conference of 1832 the Kansas Indian missions were formed into a separate district, called the Indian Mission district, and Thomas Johnson appointed superintendent, which position he held till 1841, when he was compelled to resign because of ill health. Up to 1836 the appointment of the missionary was to "mission and school," and he had charge of both religious and educational work, under the direction of the superintendent. When the manual-labor school was opened a minister was placed in separate charge of that institution. At the conference of 1842 the office of "superintendent" gave way to that of "presiding elder." Prior to the establishment of the manual-labor school, mission schools were conducted in each

NOTE 15.—Autobiography of Rev. Lorenzo Waugh, 1884, chapters 7 and 8.

NOTE 16.—During the year 1834 Rev. William Johnson and wife are mentioned as assistants at the mission; scholars, 27; hopeful native converts, 40; other natives, 34; white members, 4. —McCoy's Annual Register, January, 1835, pp. 23, 24.

tribe, the missionary securing some lady to do the teaching. This lady was often the wife of the missionary. The salary of the missionary was the regular disciplinary allowance of $100 per annum for himself, and the same for his wife, and there was very little money with which to equip the station. Rev. Joab Spencer, surviving missionary to the Shawnees, writes that in the early days Rev. Thomas Johnson received a call from one of the church officials, and that Mrs. Johnson desired a better equipment for her table than they had ordinarily, but Mr. Johnson said that the official must put up with their plain fare. So he, like the rest, ate from a tin plate. Mr. Johnson had no horse, and sometimes in making his trips had to ride an ox instead.



SHAWNEE INDIAN CHURCH.

From a drawing made from a description furnished by Rev. L. B. Stateler, who was missionary to this tribe, and erected it in 1840–'41. It was sometimes used as council-house.

The church building belonging to the Shawnee Mission was located [17] in a beautiful grove on a country road leading from Westport into the Indian country, and was about four miles west of the manual-labor school, and about six miles southwest of Kansas City. The manual-labor school was

NOTE 17.—The following location of mission sites among the Shawnees was given the secretary by Rev. Joab Spencer, under date of February 17, 1906:

Shawnee Mission, established 1830, located on the northeast quarter of the southwest quarter section 24, township 11, range 24, Wyandotte county.

Shawnee manual-labor school, built in 1839, southwest quarter section 3, township 12, range 25, Johnson county.

Shawnee church, north half of southeast quarter section 11, township 12, range 24, Johnson county.

The prophet's town, northeast quarter of southwest quarter section 32, township 11, range 25, Wyandotte county.

Quaker mission, northeast quarter section 6, township 12, range 25, Johnson county.

Baptist mission, northeast quarter section 5, township 12, range 25, Johnson county.

not erected on the old mission premises, but was four miles south of the original site of Turner. The church building was constructed of hewn logs, and was about 20 x 40 feet, plain and old-fashioned, and faced to the north, a door in the south end of the building opening on the camp-ground and cemetery. The date of its erection was about 1840, services before this having been held in the school building. Quite a number of whites attended the services, which consisted of preaching, morning and evening. Class-meetings were held at private houses. Love-feasts were held in connection with quarterly meetings and camp-meetings, the latter being held annually on the grounds near the church, and were attended by Methodists from other tribes. A parsonage was connected with the church. This historic old meeting-house stood till the latter part of the war, when it was torn down and used for fuel. A part of the time it was loopholed and used by the Kansas militia as a fort. Nothing is left but the little reservation of five acres used for a burying-ground.

The conference of 1835[18] appointed Rev. William Ketron as missionary to the Shawnees. Mr. Ketron was a Southerner, having joined the Holston conference on trial in 1825, and was transferred to the Missouri conference in 1829. He served but one year in the Indian mission in Kansas. His assistants in the school and mission work were Mrs. Ketron, his wife, Mrs. Miller, Rev. David G. Gregory, and Mrs. Gregory. They had thirty-four scholars under their instruction, who were instructed in English gratuitously. Nineteen of the pupils were supported by the mission, and lived in the mission family; the others received one meal a day at the mission house, and were otherwise supported by their parents. It seems that the industrial feature which Mr. Johnson inaugurated upon such a large scale a few years later was introduced at this time, as five of the boys were learning cabinet-making and two shoemaking. The missionaries taught some of the Shawnees to read in their native language, and some of these in time became teachers of others. Instruction in Indian was placed under the immediate notice of native class-leaders of the church. A small book in the Shawnee language, on religious subjects, and some hymns, was published by the missionaries, and introduced among the people with good effect.[19] Some of the native church members, who numbered 105 at this time, took active part in public religious exercises, and had prayer in their families. The next year, 1836, Rev. Thomas Johnson was assisted by Mrs. Johnson, Rev. N. T. Shaler, Rev. D. G. Gregory, and a Mr. Holland.[20]

The year 1838 dates a new era in the history of the Methodist Indian missions in Kansas — the establishment of the Shawnee manual-labor school.[21] This meant the discontinuance of the separate Methodist schools

NOTE 18.—Isaac McCoy's Annual Register of Indian Affairs, January, 1836, pp. 24, 25.

NOTE 19.—Mr. McCoy mentions, January, 1836, that advanced school-books had been printed on the Baptist press by Jotham Meeker — two for the Baptists and one for the Methodists; also, a small monthly periodical entitled *Sanwaunowe Kesauthwau* or *Shawanoe Sun.*—Register, p. 25.

NOTE 20.—Isaac McCoy's Annual Register of Indian Affairs, May, 1837, p. 27.

NOTE 21.—Mrs. Julia Ann Stinson, of Tecumseh, widow of Thomas Nesbit Stinson, made the following statement, April 21, 1906, regarding the building of the Shawnee manual-labor school: Her grandfather, Henry Rogers, was a white man, stolen from his home in Virginia when a child, for Blackfish, a Shawnee Indian chief in Kentucky, who had lost his son. He grew up in Blackfish's family and married his daughter. Here he became quite a wealthy man. Mrs. Stinson did not remember when her grandfather started west, but said that he sold out in Kentucky and came to Missouri with his family and slaves, to where, her grandmother told her, were great barracks, where they staid quite a while, and her grandfather died. Mrs. Rogers came

among the tribes and the education of the children at this central institution. At the general conference of 1836 Rev. Thomas Johnson induced that body to vote $75,000 for the establishment of the Indian manual-labor school, and the government at Washington granted him 2400 acres of the finest land for his Indian mission.

This amount alleged to have been voted is so large as to raise a question, which resulted in the following correspondence with the missionary society of the Methodist Episcopal church:

"MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH,
150 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, April 24, 1906.

"*Rev. W. C. Evans, D. D., Topeka, Kan.:*

"MY DEAR DOCTOR EVANS—Yours of April 9, addressed to Doctor Leonard, has been handed to me for reply. I have been compelled to make some delay because of absence from the office in visiting conferences, making it impossible for me to search the records for the facts concerning which you inquire. I do not find any action of the board taken in 1836 that appropriated money for the Shawnee school. At the meeting held November 16 of that year I find this record, which possibly is the origin from which emanated the statement to which you refer, viz., that $75,000 is appropriated for the Shawnee school: 'The treasurer also stated that he had received from the War Department $750, being one-fourth of the funds set apart for education and for missions by the treaty with the Ottawas and the Chippewas.' I find several items in the records of the board for 1838 that relate to the Shawnee industrial-training school. I send you these quotations, thinking that they may be of value to you in furnishing the information desired by the Kansas State Historical Society.

Yours sincerely, S. O. BENTON."

[From the records of the board of managers of the missionary society of the Methodist Episcopal church.

April 13, 1838: "It was mentioned that Brother Johnson, presiding elder and superintendent of the Shawnee Mission, with an Indian of that nation, would attend our anniversary. A committee was ordered to be appointed to to take charge of the missionary lyceum; Nathan Bangs, David M. Reese and George Coler constitute the committee."

May 16, 1838: "Certain documents from the Shawnee Mission having been read, they were on motion referred to a committee of five, viz.: Rev. Dr. Bangs, Rev. Dr. Luckey, Joseph Smith, Stephen Dando, and B. Disbrow."

May 30, 1838: "Doctor Bangs, from the committee appointed at the last meeting, made the following report, which was adopted:

'The committee appointed to take into consideration certain documents presented to the board of managers respecting the necessity and expediency of establishing a large central school for the benefit of Indian children and youth north of the Cherokee line, southwest of the Missouri river, and east of the Rocky Mountains, have had the same under consideration, and beg leave to present the following as the result of their deliberations:

'For several years past our missionaries have had schools upon a small scale among the Shawnee and other tribes of Indians in that region of country who have become in part Christianized; and though these schools have exerted a salutary influence upon those who have attended them, yet, being small, and divided among so many distant tribes, they are necessarily limited in their influence, expensive in their support, as well as difficult of management.

'It appears, moreover, that this being a part of the country ceded by the United States to the Indians for the perpetual possession, other tribes are moving into the neighborhood, to whom it is desirable to impart the benefits of religious, moral, and intellectual, as well as mechanical and agricultural instruction, that they may in due time be exalted to the benefits and immunities of a Christian and civilized community, and this is most likely to be accomplished by the employment of suitable and efficient means for the education of their children and youth.

'From the humane policy of the general government of the United States, in the efforts they made to rescue the savages of our wildernesses from their state of barbarism, by means of schools, we have reason to believe, if it be determined to establish a school of a character contem-

on to Kansas, bringing with her twenty slaves, who, Mrs. Stinson thought, were the first ever brought to Kansas. Later, Thomas Johnson borrowed $4000 from her grandmother, Mrs. Henry Rogers, and with this money built the Shawnee manual-labor school, his second mission building. Mr. Johnson repaid the money later. Mrs. Stinson's parents, Polly Rogers and Mackinaw Boshman, were married about 1824 or 1825, as their oldest child, Annie (Mrs. N. T. Shaler), was at least eight years older than Mrs. Stinson, who was born in March, 1834.

plated in the documents above referred to, that pecuniary means may be obtained from the government to carry the plan into effect, and also an annuity for its support from year to year.

'Under these views and impressions, the committee submit the following resolutions for the concurrence of the board:

'*Resolved, 1,* That it be, and hereby is, recommended to the Missouri annual conference to adopt such measures as they may consider suitable for the establishment of a central manual-labor school for the special benefit of Indian children and youth, in such place and under such regulations as they may judge most fit and proper.

'*Resolved, 2,* That whenever the said conference shall so resolve, this board pledge themselves to cooperate with them in carrying the plan into effect; provided, that a sum not exceeding $10,000 shall be drawn from the treasury of the missionary society of the Methodist Episcopal church for any one year for the support of the schools so established.

'*Resolved, 3,* That, with a view to secure the aid of the government of the United States in furnishing the pecuniary means necessary for the establishment and support of such a school as is contemplated, our corresponding secretary, or Dr. Samuel Luckey, be, and hereby is, requested to accompany our brother, the Rev. T. Johnson, to the city of Washington, and lay before the proper officer or officers having the superintendence of Indian affairs, or, if need be, submit to Congress, the plan of the contemplated school, and solicit aid in such way and manner as may be judged most suitable for the establishment and support of said school.

All which is respectfully submitted. N. BANGS, *Chairman.*'

"The presiding bishop (Soule), in alluding to the call for the present meeting, gave his views fully in favor of the establishment of a central school in the Indian country. The bishop had himself been in this country, and was intimately acquainted with the tribes over whom Brother Johnson has the superintendence.

"Bishop Andrew concurred in the remarks of the presiding officer, so far as his knowledge went.

"Brother Johnson also gave his opinion as to the wants of the tribes in the Southwest, their present condition and prospects.

"Letters were read from Major Cummins, the Indian agent, fully according with the representations made in the documents which have been read to this board.

"Doctor Bangs offered the following resolution, which was unanimously passed:

'*Resolved,* That our treasurer be authorized to pay to Brother Johnson the amount of his traveling expenses to and from this place, and that Brother Johnson be requested, on his return, to stop at as many of the principal places as his other engagements will allow, hold missionary meetings and take up collections for the missionary society, and account with the treasurer for the amount of said collections.'"

June 20, 1838: "Doctor Luckey stated that he had just returned from his mission to Washington city in behalf of the Southwestern Indians, and that success had attended his mission. A full report would be hereafter presented."

July 13, 1838: "Doctor Luckey presented the report of his doings at Washington, as promised at the last meeting. See documents, 'Report of Delegation on Indian Affairs,' and accompanying documents 1, 2."

"I am unable to find the documents referred to in this last action. It may be that they are in some inaccessible place, stored with old papers belonging to the missionary society, or it may be that they have been lost in some of the removals of the headquarters of the missionary society.

S. O. BENTON."

At the conference session which met at Boonville, September 26, 1838, it was decided to build a manual-labor school, which was to be patronized by the six tribes among which the church labored. This school was in operation a year after action was taken. The report of the mission committee at this conference session may be regarded as the foundation of the Shawnee manual-labor school, and reads as follows:

"WHEREAS, The board of managers of the missionary society of the Methodist Episcopal church have recommended to the Missouri annual conference to adopt such means as they consider suitable for the establishment of a central manual-labor school for the benefit of Indian children and youth in such place and under such regulations as they may judge most fit and proper; and

"WHEREAS, The government of the United States has stipulated to aid

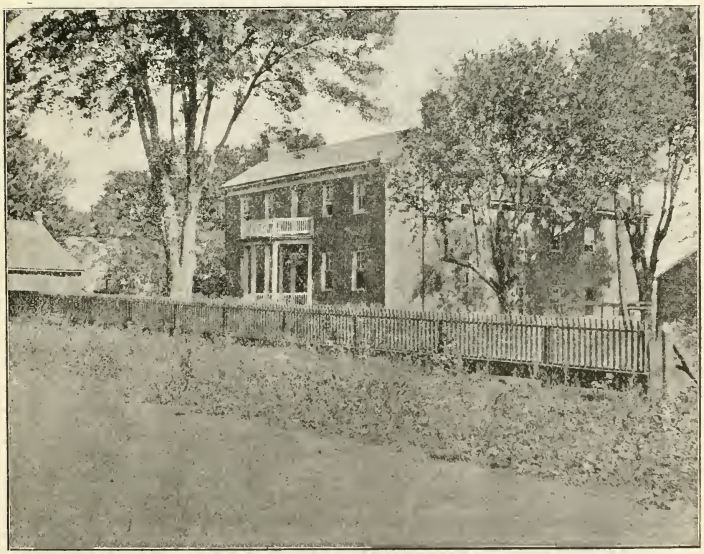
liberally in the erection of suitable buildings for said school, and also to aid annually in its support; and

"WHEREAS, The Shawnee nation of Indians in general council assembled, and in compliance with the wishes of the government have consented to the establishment of such school on their lands near the boundary of the state of Missouri, which is deemed a most eligible situation: therefore,

"*Resolved*, 1, That we, fully concurring with the board of managers of the missionary society of the Methodist Episcopal church, do hereby agree to establish a manual-labor school for the benefit of Indian children and youth on the Shawnee lands near the boundary line of the state of Missouri, to be called ——.

"*Resolved*, 2, That a committee of three be appointed, whose duty it shall be to erect suitable buildings for the accommodation of the proposed school; secondly, to employ competent teachers, mechanics, a farmer, and such other persons as may be necessary; thirdly, to exercise a general supervision over the institution and report to this conference annually.

"*Resolved*, 3, That the above-named committee be and are hereby instructed to erect, for the accommodation of said school, two buildings, to serve as school-houses and teachers' residences, each to be 100 feet long and 30 wide and two stories high, with an ell running back, 50 feet by 20, and two stories high; thirdly, buildings for four mechanics, with shops; fourthly, such farm buildings as they may judge necessary; provided, however, that if, in the judgment of the committee, the expenses of the above-named buildings are likely to be greater than such a sum as may be estimated by the missionary committee of this conference, they may make such changes as they may think proper."



HOME OF MISSIONARY AND TEACHERS AT SHAWNEE MISSION.

Erected in 1839. This picture is as it appears now (1906). Mrs. Bishop Hendrix, of Kansas City, Mo., was born in this building, while her father, Doctor Scarritt, was a teacher in the manual-labor school.

(See school building on page 159.)

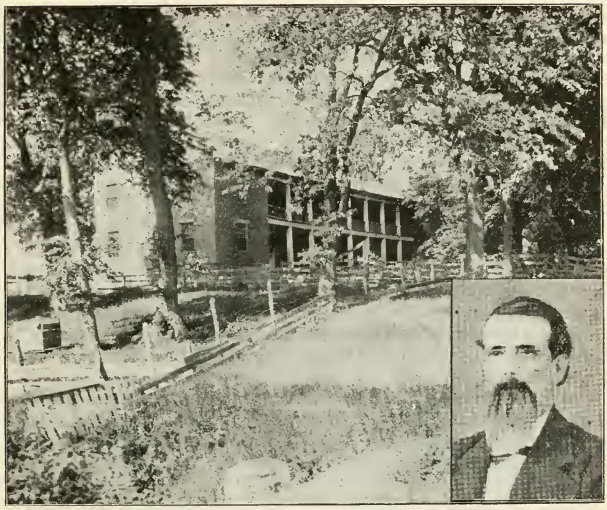
The location selected for the manual-labor school was in a beautiful little valley about three miles southwest of Westport, Mo., and on the California road. Work on the new buildings was begun by Mr. Johnson about the first of February 1839.[22] At this time he had 400 acres of land enclosed, 12 acres of which was planted in apple trees, it being the first orchard set out in Kansas, and 176 acres were planted in corn. Upward of about 40,000 rails were made in a short time by the Shawnee Indians. About forty hands were employed, and the buildings were soon under way. Brick-kilns were put up for the burning of brick, while some were shipped from St. Louis, and lumber from Cincinnati. The two large brick buildings erected at this time were on the south side of the California road. The building farthest east was 110 by 30 feet and two stories high. It was used as the schoolhouse and dormitory for the boys and the home of the superintendent. The chapel was on the first floor of this building. This is one of the most historically interesting buildings in the state of Kansas and one of its territorial capitals.[23] Here the first territorial legislature of Kansas, which was called the "bogus" legislature, met and passed laws. Rev. Thomas Johnson, a Virginian by birth, who very naturally sympathized with the South, was chosen president of the council, or upper house of the legislature. The building just west of this one was built of brick and was 100 by 30 feet, with an ell. It served as the boarding-house, with a large dining-hall and table capable of accommodating between 200 and 300 people at a time. These two large buildings were within 100 yards of each other. Between them, and near the road, was a fine spring. Log houses and shops went up all over the place. Blacksmith shops, wagon shops, shoemaker shops, barns, granaries and tool-houses were erected; and a brick-yard, a sawmill and steam flour-mill were added to the mission. The latter was capable of grinding 300 bushels of wheat per day.

The school was opened in the new building in October, 1839. The report of the first year of the school by the superintending committee, Rev. Thomas Johnson, Rev. Jerome C. Berryman, and Rev. Jesse Greene, made in September, 1840,[24] shows that the new project was a success. The report shows that seventy-two scholars were in attendance during the school year, which opened in October, 1839, and closed in September, 1840. The most of these were permanent scholars, though some stayed but a short time. None were counted unless they stayed a month. The different tribes patronizing the school were represented as follows: Shawnees, 27; Delawares, 16; Chippewas, 2; Gros Ventres, 1; Peorias, 8; Pottawatomies, 7; Kansans, 6; Kickapoos, 3; Munsees, 1; Osages, 1. The mission at this time was incomplete, and had house-room for only eighty children. Work and study alternated, the children being employed six hours a day at work and six hours in school. The girls, under the direction of their teachers, did the cooking for the entire school and for about twenty mechanics and other hands employed about the institution. They also made not only their own clothes, but those of the boys and some of the mechanics and others. Bishop Jas. O. Andrew once visited the school, and the Indian girls pre-

NOTE 22.—These statistics are found in the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1839, p. 433.

NOTE 23.—See "Shawnee Mission Capital," in volume 8 of Historical Society's Collections, p. 333.

NOTE 24.—Report of the United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1840, p. 147.



GIRLS' BOARDING-HOUSE.

Also home of the superintendent, matron, and teachers. For a time the home of Governor Reeder and other territorial officials; erected in 1845.
The portrait is Col. A. S. JOHNSON, first child born at the old Shawnee Mission.

sented him with a pair of trousers, all the work of their own hands. They were also taught to spin and weave, while the boys were taught farming, carpentering, shoemaking, and brickmaking.

Four teachers[25] were employed the first year—two to teach the children when in school and two to teach them when at work. A farmer was employed to take charge of the farm and stock, and his wife to superintend the cooking. The principal of the institution was a practical mechanic, and conducted the building operations during the year. The crop report for the first year shows that 2000 bushels of wheat, 4000 of oats, 3500 of corn and 500 of potatoes were raised. Upon the farm were 130 cattle, 100 hogs, and 5 horses. Later three native buffalo were added.[26]

The daily routine of the pupils at the manual-labor school was as follows: At five A. M. they were awakened by the ringing of a bell, when in summer-time they performed light work about the farm until seven o'clock, when they breakfasted, a horn being blown by way of signal before each meal. In winter-time their morning work, before eating, was confined to the preparation of fuel, milking the cows, some thirty or forty in number, and feeding the stock. At nine the school-bell summoned them to their studies,

NOTE 25.—John B. Luce, who visited the school in 1840, and made quite a lengthy report to the commissioner of Indian affairs, mentions Mr. Browning, principal, and Mrs. Kinnear, as a teacher of the boys' school.—Id., p. 163.

NOTE 26.—Report of the United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1840, p. 148.

which were kept up, with a short interval for recess, till twelve M. They dined between twelve and one o'clock and then resumed their studies until four. Their hour for tea was six P. M. Their evenings were spent in the preparation of their lessons for the ensuing day until eight o'clock. They were then alloweu to indulge themselves in indoor recreation until half-past eight, when they were sent to their dormitories for the night. The only religious services which were held during the week were the reading of a chapter in the Bible, followed by prayer, just before the morning and evening meals. Saturday forenoon was devoted to work and the afternoon was given them as a holiday. Saturday evening was spent in the bath-room in cleaning up for Sunday.

The children paid seventy-five dollars a year each to the superintendent, as a receipt in full for board, washing, and tuition.[27] The first task of the instructor was to teach the children English, which they soon learned to speak well, yet a slight foreign accent was usually noticeable. The children, as a general thing, were docile, teachable, and good-natured, and, when well, of a playful disposition, but when sick they were usually stupid and silent. They were not quarrelsome. As to mental capacity, they compared favorably with white children.

At the conference of 1841 Rev. J. C. Berryman was appointed to take charge of the manual-labor school, to which position he was also appointed by the succeeding conferences. Mr. Berryman was, like his predecessor, a man of great energy and ability. His report for 1842 is interesting and is as follows:

"From experiments already made, we are fully satisfied that there is no essential difference between white and red children; the difference is all in circumstances.

"There are difficulties, however, very great difficulties, to be surmounted in the education of Indian youth. The ignorance and prejudice, instability and apathy, of the parents, and all the little whims that can be imagined as being indulged in by so degraded a people, combine to hinder us and retard their own advancement in civilization; and one of the greatest hindrances to the success of our efforts to impart instruction to the children we collect here is the difficulty of keeping them a sufficient length of time to mature anything we undertake to teach them; especially if they are considerably advanced in age when they commence. We have found that the labors bestowed upon those children taken in after they had reached the age of ten or twelve years have, in most cases, been lost; whereas, those taken in between the ages of six and ten, have in a majority of cases done well. This is chiefly owing to the older ones having formed habits of idleness, so that they will not bear the confinement and discipline of school. Another thing in favor of receiving these children at an early age is, that they acquire our language more readily and speak it more correctly. They also more easily adopt our manners and habits of thinking.

J. C. BERRYMAN,
Superintendent Manual Labor School."

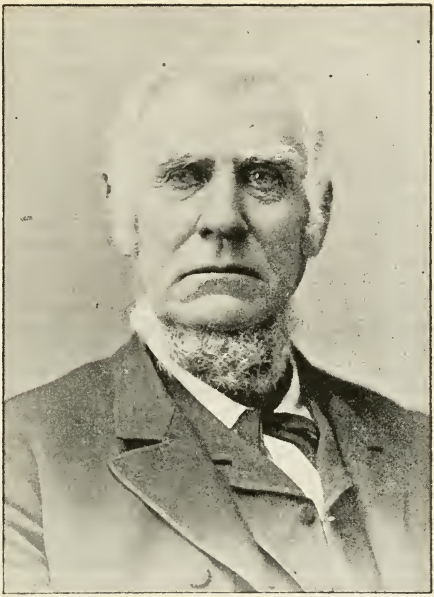
"We concur in this report:

N. M. TALBOT,
E. T. PERRY [Peery],
Members of Superintending Com.

(Report United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1842, pp. 114, 115.)

The school opened September 15, 1843, with 110 scholars. The church

NOTE 27.—This charge of seventy-five dollars per annum was probably made at a later date, as Mr. Berryman, in his report for 1842, says: "The children are boarded, clothed, lodged and taught free of any cost to their parents, except in a single instance, in which the parents clothe the child."—Report of the United States Superintendent of Indian Affairs, 1842, p. 115.



REV. JEROME C. BERRYMAN.

For twelve years missionary to the Indians. He died May 8, 1906, at Caledonia, Mo., in the ninety-seventh year of his age. For seventy-seven years a minister of the Gospel.

statistics for this year report ten colored children as members of the mission. The conference minutes would indicate that they lived at the manual-labor school. These colored children belonged to the slaves which Rev. Thomas Johnson had brought into the territory, and who worked on the mission premises.[28] The increase of members in our mission this year was 210.

In the month of October, 1844, Bishop Thomas A. Morris, in the course of an episcopal tour through the Southwest, visited the Shawnee manual-labor school. The trip from St. Louis, where he presided at the Missouri conference, to what is now Kansas City, was made by boat. The water in the Missouri river was at a low stage, so that navigation was extremely difficult. A safe landing was however made one mile below the mouth of the Kansas, on the 10th of October, between sunset and dark. The ten or twelve preachers who had started from St. Louis in company with the bishop had all left the boat at different points for their circuits, so that he found himself entirely alone on the border of the Indian country, without guide or

NOTE 28.—In April, 1895, Col. A. S. Johnson dictated a lengthy and very interesting statement relative to his father's slaves, which is among his papers in the Historical Society's Collections.

acquaintance, with lodging to hunt amid the deepening shadows of night. Shouldering his baggage, he ascended a steep hill, on the summit of which he found a new cabin, occupied by Colonel Chick,[29] who, having been washed out by a late freshet,[30] had sought a new home above high-water mark. The bishop was very cordially received, and kindly entertained by the colonel and his family until the next morning.

Bishop Morris then started on horseback for the manual-labor school, seven miles distant, where he had appointed to meet a party of missionaries, to proceed together through the Indian country to the Indian Mission conference to be held at Tahlequah, Cherokee nation. Bishop Morris witnessed part of the examination exercises at the close of the regular term. "Their performance," he says, "in spelling, reading, writing, geography, composition and vocal music was such as would do credit to any of our city schools in the United States."

On Monday, October 14, the bishop and his company started for the Indian Mission conference. The company consisted of himself, Rev. L. B. Stateler, missionary to the Shawnees; Rev. Thomas Hurlburt, missionary among the Chippewas, and Rev. E. T. Peery, superintendent of the manual-labor school. They followed the old military road through the territory. They got a late start the first day, and after traveling about twenty-five miles camped for the night. Their tent was made of domestic cotton, circular, in the style of the northern Indian habitations, supported by a center pole, and the base extended by cords and pegs. In this, with buffalo skins for beds and buggy cushions for pillows, they slept comfortably and securely.

The next day they journeyed about thirty-eight miles, camping for the night on the south bank of the Marais des Cygnes in a quiet, pleasant place, where the only interruptions of their slumbers were the noises which arose now and then from a camp of Pottawatomie Indians. The next day they overtook the Rev. Thomas H. Ruble, missionary among the Pottawatomies, and a son of Chief Boashman, a young Indian who had been educated in the manual-labor school and had become a Christian, and was then acting as an interpreter. Thus reenforced, the three carriages formed quite a respectable procession. Early in the afternoon they were caught in a northeastern rain-storm, accompanied with high winds, but they pushed on, and late in the evening they reached the Marmaton river, near Fort Scott, where fuel and water could be procured, and where they pitched their tent for the night. Calling at the fort next morning, they laid in a supply of horse provender, having been notified that this would be the last opportunity for the next

NOTE 29.—William M. Chick was born in Virginia in 1794. Came to Saline county, Missouri, about 1822. Moved to Howard county in 1826, thence to Westport in 1836, and to Kansas City in 1843. He died April 7, 1847, in Kansas City. His wife, Ann Eliza Chick, was a teacher in the Shawnee Mission in 1851. She died in Kansas City in 1875. The children were: Mary Jane, married to Rev. Wm. Johnson, afterwards to Rev. John T. Peery; William S. Chick; Virginia, wife of John C. McCoy; Sarah Ann, Polk, Washington Henry (born in Saline county in 1826), Joseph S., Martha Matilda, Scarritt, Pettus W., and Leonidas. It was in the cabin of Col. Wm. M. Chick that the first Methodist preaching service was held in Kansas City. This was in 1840, and the preacher Rev. James Porter. In 1845 this same local preacher organized the first Methodist class, the services being held in a log schoolhouse at the present crossing of Missouri avenue and Delaware street in that city. The weather being warm, the service was held in the shade of the forest-trees. At the conclusion of the preaching service, the preacher requested those who wished to join to take their seats on a log near where he stood. Five came forward and took their seats accordingly, viz.: Colonel Chick and wife, James Hickman, a Mrs. Smith, and Jane Porter. These, with the preacher, constituted the first class in Kansas City. His son, J. S. Chick, of Kansas City, was born in Howard county, August 3, 1828.

NOTE 30.—This was the great flood year in the Kansas valley, 1844, the water exceeding in depth that of 1903.

fifty miles. That day the air was very chilly and traveling across the prairies anything but pleasant. When they finally reached the last skirt of timber, on the Drywood fork, though early in the afternoon, it was too late to attempt to cross the big prairie, twenty-three miles across, and they halted for the night.

The next day they set out early, in a driving snow-storm. On Saturday, the 19th, they passed through the Quapaw lands and the Little Shawnee village, and in the evening arrived at Mrs. Adams's, in the Seneca nation, where they were kindly received, and spent the Sabbath. The religious services held in the house of this excellent lady were peculiarly impressive. The congregation of some sixty persons contained Senecas, Stockbridges, Shawnees, Cherokees, Africans, Canadians, and citizens of the United States. Here the Rev. N. M. Talbot, missionary among the Kickapoos, joined the party, and all proceeded together Monday morning to conference.

The school report for the year 1845 shows 137 scholars in attendance. During this year the erection of another large brick building, 100 feet in length and 20 feet in width, and two stories high, was begun. It was located on the north side of the road, the three large buildings forming a triangle, but not joining each other. This building had a piazza the whole length, with the exception of a small room at each end taken off the piazza. This building served as the girls' home and boarding-school. The superintendent and his family also occupied this building. Governor Reeder and staff and other territorial officials were quartered here in 1855, when Shawnee Mission was the capital.[31]

In 1845 the Methodist Episcopal church was rent asunder, as the result of differences of opinion on the slavery question. At a convention which met May 1, 1845, in the city of Louisville, Ky., the Methodist Episcopal Church South was organized.[32] The Kansas missions, which at this time were embraced in the Indian Mission conference, fell into the Church South. The Indian Mission conference for the year 1845 was held at the Shawnee Mission, Bishop Joshua Soule presiding. Bishop Soule was one of the two bishops who adhered to the Church South. The other was Bishop James O. Andrew, a native of Georgia. Bishop Soule was a Northern man by birth and rearing, having been born in Maine, August 1, 1781. He died at Nashville, March 6, 1867.

Rev. Wm. H. Goode, one of the early missionaries among the Choctaws in Indian Territory, was a delegate with Rev. E. T. Peery from the Indian Mission conference which met at Tahlequah October 23, 1844, to the convention held at Louisville in May, 1845, at which the M. E. Church South was

NOTE 31.—A fine picture of this building, taken in 1897, is given in the Coates Memorial, opposite page 114; see, also, Report of the United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1845, p. 539.

NOTE 32.—A very interesting account of the part taken by Missouri in the organization of the Southern conference may be found in a little volume in the Historical Society's library, entitled "History of the Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church South," Nashville, 1845. Missouri was represented in the Louisville conference by the following delegates: Andrew Monroe, Jesse Greene, John Glanville, Wesley Browning, William Patton, John H. Lynn, Joseph Boyle, Thomas Johnson. J. C. Berryman was chairman of the Indian Mission conference. The Historical Society has also a little pamphlet, of which a few pages are lacking, published in 1847 or 1851, being the "Defense of Rev. Lorenzo Waugh against the M. E. Church South, of Missouri." The twenty-first and twenty-second chapters of Father Waugh's autobiography also relate to the division.

organized. He has this to say in his "Outposts of Zion" concerning the division:

"The influence of the large mission establishment at the manual-labor school was strong. There were few to counteract or explain; and at the separation the main body of our Shawnee membership was carried, *nolens volens*, into the Church South. They have a large meeting-house and camp-ground, and exert a powerful influence over the tribe. Our membership is reduced to about twenty—a faithful band."[33]

The manual-labor school was thus for the next seventeen years under the supervision of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. In 1845 and 1846 Rev. William Patton was superintendent. The concluding portion of his report for 1846 to Hon. William Medill, commissioner of Indian affairs, is as follows:

"Our mills and shops are doing well, affording considerable assistance to the Indians around in various ways. The shops furnish the more industrious and enterprising with wagons, and such like, by which they are enabled to make for themselves and families something to subsist upon. Of the mills I must speak more definitely. There has nothing been done for the Indians in all this section of country, in the way of improvements, which is of equal importance, or anything like equal importance, with the erection of the steam flouring- and sawmill at this place. Here, the Indians from several tribes around get a large quantity of their breadstuffs, such as flour and corn-meal. But this is not the only advantage derived—the sawmill furnishes them with lumber for building and furnishing their houses; and, what is of still greater importance to them, the mills, and especially the sawmill, offer to them inducements to industry. We purchase from the Indians all our sawlogs, our steam wood, etc., thus giving them employment and furnishing in return flour, meal, sugar, coffee, salt, and such other things, in a dry-goods line, as they or their families may need, and those things which, in many instances, they could not have without these facilities, at least to any considerable extent.

. . . . . .

"I have the honor to be, dear sir, your obedient servant,

W. PATTON."

(Report 1846, p. 365.)

In 1847 Thomas Johnson was returned as superintendent of the manual-labor school, which position he held till the school was discontinued. The school report for this year shows 125 scholars in attendance, 78 males and 47 females.

The crops for 1848 were a partial failure, by reason of a prolonged drought of two years—very little rain falling in that time. The springs began to fail, the pasture suffered greatly, and they were compelled, in the summer of 1848, to haul water a distance of two miles in order to keep the steam flour-mill running.[34]

This year, 1848, Mr. Johnson decided to organize a classical department in connection with the school. In the conference minutes it is called the Western Academy. Rev. Nathan Scarritt,[35] father-in-law of Bishop E. R.

NOTE 33.—Outposts, p. 295.

NOTE 34.—Report United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1848, p. 450.

NOTE. 35.—Bishop E. R. Hendrix, Kansas City, Mo.: One of the men closely identified with the early history of Kansas, and especially with missionary work among the Indians on the reservation, was Rev. Nathan Scarritt, whose name is held in grateful remembrance by the descendants of the Shawnees, Delawares, and Wyandots, as well as the early settlers of eastern Kansas. Doctor Scarritt was born April 14, 1821, in Edwardsville, Ill., was educated at McKendree College, Lebanon, Ill., where he graduated as valedictorian of his class in 1842, and spent the rest of his life in teaching and as a preacher of the Gospel in Missouri and Kansas. In 1845

Hendrix, of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, whose episcopal residence is in Kansas City, Mo., was selected to take charge of this new department, in which he served three years. Mrs. Hendrix was born at the Shawnee Mission. Mr. Scarritt says, in a manuscript left by him, that the school was then in a flourishing condition, and that the new department which he was called upon to take charge of proved a decided success. He says:

"A score or more of young gentlemen and young ladies from across the line, and some, indeed, from more distant parts of Missouri, were admitted into this department. This brought the whites and Indians into close competition in the race for knowledge, and I must say that those Indian scholars whose previous knowledge had been equal to their competitors were not a whit behind them in contest for the laurels of scholarship." [36]

Doctor Scarritt attributed the success of the school chiefly to the wise, judicious and able management of the superintendent, Rev. Thomas Johnson. Doctor Scarritt spent a considerable part of his time in preaching among the different tribes, through interpreters. He became so interested in mission-

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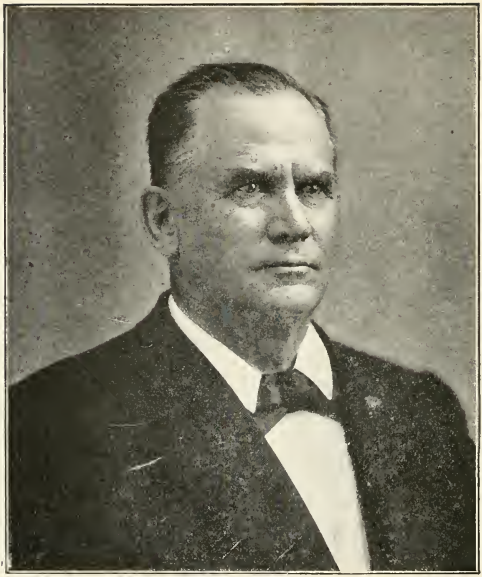
he removed to Fayette, Mo., where he joined with Prof. Wm. T. Lucky in establishing a high school, out of which has grown Central College and Howard Female College. In 1846 he was licensed to preach, and joined the Missouri conference, but for two years his appointment was to Howard high school. After some four years at Fayette, Mo., in Howard high school, he was called to take charge of the high school or academic department of the Shawnee manual-labor school, under the general superintendence of Rev. Thomas Johnson, an early missionary to the Shawnees, as his brother, Rev. Wm. Johnson, was to the Kaws. All the tribal schools were merged into this institution, which was located some two miles from Westport. Here are still found the substantial buildings erected some sixty-five years ago for school and chapel purposes and for the homes of the missionaries. While instruction was given in brickmaking, carpentering, wagon-making, farming, and the girls taught all kinds of domestic pursuits, much attention was given to work of a high-school grade. Here the Indian youth came in contact with the children of the pioneer whites and were taught in the same classes. At least one United States senator received instruction in those early days from the lips of Doctor Scarritt. He was married April 29, 1850, to Miss Martha Matilda Chick, daughter of Col. Wm. M. Chick. She was the mother of nine children, six of whom are still living. She died July 29, 1873.

In the fall of 1851 he was appointed missionary to the Shawnee, Delaware and Wyandot Indians, and, later in the year, was stationed at Lexington, Mo. In 1852 he was appointed to Kansas City and Westport. In 1854-'55 he was principal of the Westport high school. Then he was transferred to the Kansas Mission conference, and appointed presiding elder of the Kickapoo district. He was soon afterward elected president *pro tem.* of Central College. In 1858-'59 he was appointed to the Shawnee reserve, and for the next two years presiding elder of the Lecompton district. In October, 1874, he was married to Mrs. Ruth E. Scarritt, the widow of his brother Isaac. He was a member of several general conferences. His death occurred in 1890. The sketch of Thomas Johnson in Andreas's History of Kansas was written by Doctor Scarritt.

While engaged in teaching, Doctor Scarritt found great joy in preaching to the Indians, and soon had regular appointments among them. Doctor Scarritt gave all together some seven years to work among the Indians and whites in eastern Kansas. Speaking of the Indians, he says: "The effects of divine grace upon the minds and hearts of these uncultured heathen were to me a marvel." While his work was not continuous, as would have been his preference, being called twice to other work in Missouri, where he had begun his ministry, and where he was always held in great esteem as a preacher and an educator, yet his years given to Kansas form an important chapter in its early history. A pioneer in spirit, he delighted to build on no other man's foundation. Speaking of those seven years, he says: "I traveled wherever settlements were planted, preaching to the people, visiting pastorally, and organizing churches. The Indian tribes still occupied the reservations, and all the white settlements were in their most primitive and inchoate state. This condition of society, together with the extent of country over which I had to travel, and the total want of roads, bridges, etc., between settlements, rendered my labors during those years of the most arduous character. My exposures were often severe and, sometimes, hazardous. Sometimes I would have to swim swollen streams, lie out all night upon the ground, even in cold and stormy weather, with nothing but my saddle-blanket for my bed, and go fasting for twenty-four to thirty hours at a time. But though my travels were often hard and hazardous, yet I greatly enjoyed myself in them, for by nature I was always fond of life amid such scenes. The welcome hospitalities I received in the cabin of the frontier settler, and even in the Indian's wigwam, however rude and meager may have been the accommodations, were always enjoyed by me with a genuine heart zest."

Doctor Scarritt was closely identified with Kansas from 1848 to 1861, with the exception of two or three years, when he yielded to the call of his church for special service in Missouri. Much of his life was spent in what is now embraced in the corporate limits of Kansas City, where he founded "The Scarritt Bible and Training School for Missionaries." His noble wife, a daughter of Col. Wm. M. Chick, cordially seconded him in all his labors. Her sister was Mrs. William Johnson, who was in deep sympathy with her husband in his missionary work among the Kaws, and she often served as an interpreter, because of her acquaintance with their language. A memorial window in White Church, Wyandotte county, Kansas, perpetuates the names of some of these pioneer missionaries, but their true record is kept on high.

NOTE 36.—Cutler's History of Kansas, 1883, p. 300.



REV. NATHAN SCARRITT, D. D.,
Principal of classical department in the manual-labor school, and missionary.

ary work among the Indians that at the end of his three years' professorship he entered that work exclusively. This was in the fall of 1851, when he was appointed to take charge of three missions—the Shawnee, the Delaware, and the Wyandot, with Rev. Daniel D. Doffelmeyer and several native helpers as assistants. He says that the Indian converts were as a rule consistent in their Christian conduct, and that they would compare favorably in this particular with the whites. He says: "The older Christians among them especially would manifest in their public exercises, their exhortations and prayers a degree of earnestness, pathos and importunity that I have seldom witnessed elsewhere." Of the interpreters he says: "Charles Bluejacket was our interpreter among the Shawnees, Silas Armstrong among the Wyandots, and James Ketchum among the Delawares. They were all remarkable men, all intelligent, all truly and deeply pious, yet each was unique in some prominent characteristic."

Charles Bluejacket was born in Michigan, on the river Huron, in 1816, and came with his tribe to Kansas when a boy. His grandfather, Weh-yah-pih-ehr-sehn-wah, or Bluejacket, was a famous war-chief, and was in the battle in which General Harmar was defeated, in 1790. In the battle in which Gen. Anthony Wayne defeated the northwest confederacy of Indians,

REV. CHARLES BLUEJACKET,
Shawnee chief and interpreter.

in 1794, Captain Bluejacket commanded the allied forces. According to Charles Bluejacket, his grandfather, had been opposed to the war, which had for some time been waged against the whites, but was overruled by the other war-chief. After the defeat, which rendered the cause of the Indians hopeless, Captain Bluejacket was the only chief who had courage to go to the camp of General Wayne and sue for peace. The battle was fought in 1794, and a permanent peace was made in 1795. Charles Bluejacket's ancestors were war-chiefs, but never village or civil chiefs until after the removal of the tribe to the West. His father was probably the first civil chief of his family. When Charles was a child his parents moved to the Piqua Plains, Ohio. In 1832 they removed to their reservation near Kansas City, Kan. He was then a youth of sixteen years.

Charles inherited all the noble traits of character of his grandfather. He was licensed to preach in 1859, and continued till the time of his death. Rev. Joab Spencer, in a sketch of this famous Indian, says: "In 1858, when I made his acquaintance, he was forty-two years old, and as noble a specimen of manhood as I ever saw. I lived in his family for two months, and saw him at close range. An intimate acquaintance of two years showed

him in all walks of life to be a Christian gentleman of high order. In looking back over all these years, I can think of no one who, taken all in all, had more elements of true dignity and nobleness of character. He was my interpreter, and I never preached through a better. A favorite hymn of Bluejacket's, and the one which was largely instrumental in his conversion, was the familiar hym of Isaac Watts:

"Alas! and did my Saviour bleed,
And did my Sovereign die,
Would He devote that sacred head
For such a worm as I."

Following is the verse in the Shawnee language:

"Na-peache mi ce ta ha
Che na mo si ti we
Ma ci ke na mis wa la ti
Mi ti na ta pi ni."

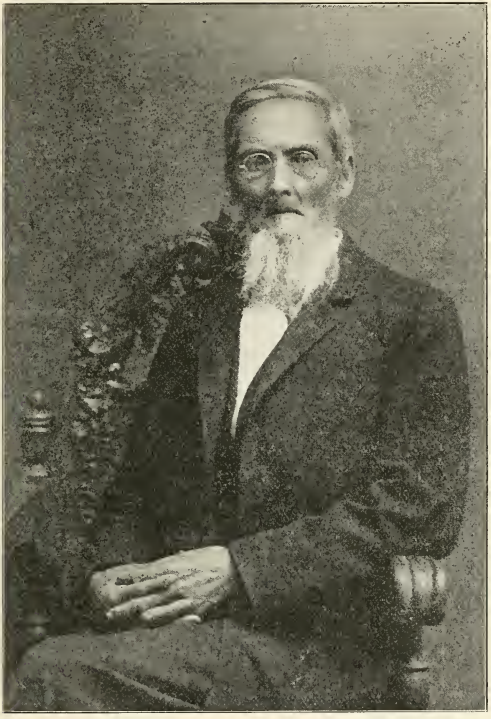
No history of the Shawnee Mission would be complete that omitted the names of Bluejacket, Paschal Fish, Tooly, Black Hoof, Pumpkin, Silverheels, and Capt. Joseph Parks. All the above were half, and in some cases more than half, white blood."

Bluejacket died October 29, 1897, at the town of Bluejacket, Indian Territory, whither he moved in 1871, from the effects of a cold contracted the preceding month, while searching for the Shawnee prophet's grave, in Wyandotte county, Kansas. He was married three times, and twenty-three children were born to him. Mr. Spencer officiated at the wedding of one of his daughters, who married J. Gore.

Rev. Joab Spencer,[37] a missionary among the Shawnees from 1858 to 1860, gives some interesting features of the work, and says in regard to the results of our missionary labors among the Kansas tribes:

"Methodism did not accomplish much for any of the tribes except the Shawnees, Delawares, and Wyandots. A good beginning was made among the Kickapoos, but for some reason the work did not prosper, though when we abandoned them there was a band of about twenty-five faithful members. The Indians made a treaty in 1854, taking part of their land in severalty and selling the balance to the government. Each Indian received 200

NOTE 37.—REV. JOAB SPENCER was born in Delaware county, Indiana, March 10, 1831. His great-grandfather, Ithamar Spencer, was a native of Connecticut. He was a captain in the war of the revolution, and with his oldest son, Amos, spent the entire seven years in that struggle. Joab Spencer's father and grandfather were natives of New York. In 1842 his father moved to Andrew county, Missouri, included in the Platte purchase, and just opened to white settlers. School advantages were limited, and Mr. Spencer did not attend school to exceed three years. At the age of thirteen he united with the Methodist church. He was licensed to preach in the spring of 1855, and in the fall of the same year admitted on trial in the Missouri conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. After spending three years in the work in Missouri he was appointed to the Shawnee Indian mission, in 1858, serving two years. August 20, 1860, Mr. Spencer was married to Miss Mary C. Munkres, a niece of T. S. Huffaker. Their family consists of five daughters, two of whom are graduates of the Missouri State Normal and one of the Ohio Wesleyan University. The only son died at the age of twenty-six. The son was part owner of the daily and weekly *Mail*, at Nevada, Mo. In the fall of 1860 he was appointed to the Paola, Kan., circuit, and in 1861 presiding elder of the Council Grove district, but did not go on to the district till the spring of 1862, but was prevented by war troubles from doing any work; so he opened a high school at Council Grove. He remained at or near Council Grove for twelve years, teaching, farming, and merchandising. In 1864 he was elected to the state legislature from Morris county. In 1874 he was transferred to the Missouri conference, and served the following charges: California, Otterville, Clifton, Cambridge, Independence, and Warrensburg, the latter for more than six years continuously. Mr. Spencer has been active in Sunday-school work, and is the author of a work, "Normal Guide No. 1," and for a number of years edited the home Sunday-school course in the St. Louis *Christian Advocate*. He is now living at Slater, Mo., the surviving missionary among the Indians in Kansas, and has recently published in the St. Louis *Christian Advocate* a history of the "Kansas Mission Conference," of great interest in connection with this subject.



REV. JOAB SPENCER,
At this date (May 15, 1906), the only surviving missionary to the Shawnee Indians, living at Slater, Mo., in his seventy-sixth year.

acres, I think, and $110 cash a year for a number of years—ten, I think.[38] This gave the Indians a large sum, and was the means of bringing among them a large number of base men, who sold them mean whisky, and robbed them in many ways. When I was appointed to the mission, in 1858, I found a bad state of things as a result. Many of the members had lapsed, and the presence of the white people in the congregation kept many away from the church service. Then the example of the whites, including some church members, had a very bad influence on the Indians; besides, the mother church had evidently lost much interest in the work, as the results had been disappointing. I held two camp-meetings during my two years, at which a number were converted, but very little was accomplished in the way of building up. At this time, 1858–'60, all features of manual training had ceased. There were twenty or thirty children—all, or nearly all, Shawnees—in the

NOTE 38.—For the exact terms of these treaties, see Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties, vol. 2, p. 618, Washington, 1904.

school, taught by a young lady, another young lady being matron. But our work as a church was done. How much of it abides, we cannot know. Few of the Indians, especially women, could converse in English. In my pastoral work I carried an Indian hymn-book containing many of the old favorites, which I learned to sing in their language. After spending a short time in the family, I would select and sing a hymn in which all would join; then, after prayer and hand-shaking, would leave. In this way I have witnessed many pleasant and touching scenes. Many of the members were excellent and stable Christians."

One very important official connected with the missions was the interpreter, as the preaching was mostly done through this medium. Rev. G. W. Love, M. D., who was a missionary for nearly three years among the Peoria, Pottawatomie and Kaw Indians, has left some brief reminiscences, which are interesting. Doctor Love emigrated to western Missouri from Tennessee in 1836, and died in Westport, Mo., October 20, 1903, at the age of eighty-seven. In his reminiscences he says:

"I have preached through Capt. Joseph Parks, who was in command of a company of Shawnee Indians who fought for the government against the Seminoles in the Florida war. Afterwards he was the principal chief of the Shawnee nation. I also preached through Henry Tiblow, who received his education at the Shawnee Mission school. He was employed by the government as interpreter for the Shawnees and Delawares. I also preached through Bashman [Mackinaw Beauchemie],[39] while I was with the Pottawatomies."

Capt. Joseph Parks was a half-breed, and a prominent character among the Shawnees. His wife was a Wyandot. He owned slaves, and had a well-improved farm, with an elegant, well-furnished brick house, and in the treaty was well provided for by the grant of lands immediately upon the Missouri state line. Captain Parks lived for many years, when young, in the home of Gen. Lewis Cass. After the Shawnees came to Kansas he went to Washington, where he spent many years as agent of his tribe, in order to recover the money taken from them as stated on page 78 of volume 8, Kansas Historical Collections. Parks told Rev. Joab Spencer that it was through General Cass that he secured the money, because he had lived in the Cass family and the good reputation he sustained. He was, for many years, leader and head chief of his nation. He died April 4, 1859, and was buried from the old log meeting-house.[40]

Another prominent man of this tribe was Rev. Paschal Fish. He was a local preacher, and his brother, Charles Fish, acted as interpreter. For a few years after the division Paschal Fish served appointments in the Shawnee and Kickapoo missions under the Church South—then returned to the old church, remaining firm in his allegiance in spite of persecution. While fairly well educated, it appears that he was unable to write his name, as I have seen a document signed as follows: "Paschal Fish, his × mark."

Another interpreter connected with Shawnee Mission was Matthias Split-

NOTE 39.—Is this the "Bossman" whose name is attached to the Pottawatomie treaty of 1846 at "Pottawatomie creek, near Osage river, June 17, 1846"?—Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties, vol. 2, p. 560.

NOTE 40.—"Monday, 4th April, 1859. Capt. Parks died about 6 o'clock last night. He was tho't to be about 66 years old. He has been for several years head chief of the Shawnees, but General Cass, who employed him as interpreter when in the Indian service, stated in a speech in the U. S. senate, in 1853, while a Shawnee claim was under discussion, that Parks, then in Washington, was a pure white man and had been captured by the Indians when very young. But among the Shawnees he claimed to be of Shawnee extraction, and the claim was universally acknowledged."—Extract from the journal of Abelard Guthrie, in Connelley's Provisional Government, p. 120.

log. He was a Cayuga-Seneca by descent, having been born in Canada in 1816. He married Eliza Carloe, a Wyandot, and came west with the Wyandot nation. He made his home in the Seneca country when the Wyandots moved to the Indian Territory. Here he erected a fine church building. He died there in 1896. An interesting sketch of his life is found in Connelley's Provisional Government, p. 34.

During the year 1851 the Shawnee manual-labor school still continued to prosper. It suffered some little embarrassment from 1849 to 1851 by reason of the prevalence of cholera in the community. The subjoined statement is interesting in giving the name, age, the tribe to which each pupil belonged, the date of entrance, and the studies pursued. The roll contains many very picturesque names.

SHAWNEE INDIAN MANUAL-LABOR SCHOOL.

STATEMENT No. 1, showing the condition of Fort Leavenworth Indian manual-labor school for the current year, ending September 30, 1851:

Male Department.

Teachers—A. Coneatzer, T. Huffaker, W. Luke, S. Huffaker.

Names.	*Age.*	*Tribe.*	*Entered.*	*Studies.*
Levi Flint	17	Shawnee	Nov., 1842	Latin, English, grammar, geography, arithmetic, philosophy, penmanship, declamation, etc.
Robert Armstrong	14	Wyandot	Sept., 1850	
Henry Garrett	16	"	" 1850	
Lagarus Flint	15	Shawnee	Aug., 1842	Grammar, arithmetic, geography, reading, writing, spelling, declamation, etc.
Mebzy Dougherty	15	"	Nov., 1848	
John Paschal	16	Peoria	Jan., 1841	
John Mann	14	Pottawatomie	" 1841	
Thaxter Reed	13	Ottawa	Mar., 1849	
Alpheus Herr	15	"	Sept., 1849	
William Fish	14	Shawnee	May, 1849	
John Anderson	15	Pottawatomie	Sept., 1848	
Robert W. Robetalle	11	Wyandot	Nov., 1849	
Jacob Flint	10	Shawnee	July, 1848	Arithmetic, reading, spelling, writing, and declamation.
Stephen Bluejacket	13	"	June, 1847	
Moses Pooler	12	Ottawa	Mar., 1849	
Francis Pooler	11	"	" 1849	
Solomon Peck	12	"	" 1849	
Robert Merrill	12	"	" 1849	
Ephraim Robbins	11	"	" 1849	
James Hicks	15	Wyandot	April, 1851	
William Barnet	15	Shawnee	" 1851	
Jacob Whitecrow	15	Wyandot	Mar., 1851	
Peter Anderson	12	Pottawatomie	Oct., 1848	
Peter Mann	13	"	Jan., 1848	
Peter Sharlow	13	Wyandot	Mar., 1851	
Robert Bluejacket	12	Shawnee	Sept., 1849	From the alphabet to reading, spelling, and writing.
Thomas Bluejacket	10	"	June, 1847	
Cassius Barnet	14	"	Mar., 1849	
Samuel Flint	12	"	May, 1851	
Lewis Hays	17	"	July, 1850	
William Flint	15	"	April, 1851	
George Sharlow	15	Wyandot	" 1851	
Anson Carryhoo	15	"	" 1851	
Thomas Huffaker	10	"	" 1851	
Eldridge Brown	7	"	" 1851	
John Solomon, 1st	17	"	" 1851	

George Big River	12	Wyandot	Oct.,	1850	
Henry Lagotrie	11	Pottawatomie	April,	1860	
John Solomon, 2d	6	Wyandot	"	1860	
Francis Whitedeer	9	Shawnee	June,	1850	
James Baltrice	13	"	Sept.,	1848	
William Deskin	8	"	June,	1850	
Robert Sergket	16	"	"	1850	
Nathan Scarritt	12	"	Mar.,	1849	
Edward Scarritt	10	"	"	1849	From the alphabet to reading, spelling, and writing.
John Charles	16	Wyandot	Oct.,	1850	
John Coon	16	"	"	1850	
Charles Barnet	9	Shawnee	Feb.,	1850	
Joe Richardson	7	Ottawa	Oct.,	1850	
George Williams	16	Wyandot	"	1850	
Isaac Frost	20	"	Jan.,	1851	
Albert Solomon	11	"	Mar.,	1851	
George Luke	12	Delaware	Oct.,	1850	

Female Department.

Teachers—Mrs. M. J. Peery and Mrs. A. E. Chick (the wife of Col. Wm. M. Chick).

Names.	*Age.*	*Tribe.*	*Entered.*		*Studies.*
Stella A. Harvey	12	Omaha	Sept.,	1846	
Sally Bluejacket, 1st	15	Shawnee	Feb.,	1849	
Mary A. Anderson	11	Pottawatomie	Oct.,	1848	
Elizabeth Johnson	15	Shawnee	May,	1847	
Emily Bluejacket	12	"	June,	1844	Grammar, arithmetic, geography, reading, writing, and needlework.
Sophia Green	11	Ottawa	Oct.,	1847	
Susan Bluejacket	10	Shawnee	Mar.,	1849	
Hannah Wells	13	"	Dec.,	1847	
Rosalie Robetaille	10	Wyandot	Jan.,	1851	
Margaret Peery	13	Delaware	Aug.,	1844	
Sarah Driver	15	Wyandot	Feb.,	1851	
Sally Bluejacket, 2d	8	Shawnee	Mar.,	1849	
Caty P. Scarritt	8	"	Oct.,	1848	
Catharine Donaldson	10	"	"	1848	
Rebecca Donaldson	7	"	"	1848	
Nancy Green	11	Ottawa	"	1849	Arithmetic, geography, reading, writing, and needlework.
Susan Wolfe	11	"	April,	1849	
Elizabeth Robbins	10	"	"	1849	
Louisa Shigget	15	Delaware	July,	1850	
Sarah Sarahas	13	Wyandot	Sept.,	1850	
Elizabeth Robetaille	7	"	"	1850	
Mary A. Wolfe	16	Ottawa	April,	1851	
Ellen Miller	7	"	July,	1850	
Eleanor Richardson	6	"	"	1850	
Sarah Armstrong	12	Wyandot	"	1850	
Eliza Armstrong	10	"	"	1850	
Mary Armstrong	8	"	"	1850	
Mary Solomon	8	"	Sept.,	1850	
Susan Buck	10	"	Feb.,	1851	
Frances Williams	14	"	Sept.,	1850	From the alphabet to reading, spelling, and needlework.
Sarah Sharlow	6	"	Mar.,	1851	
Philomene Lagottrie	9	Mohawk	"	1851	
Rosalie Lagottrie	6	"	"	1851	
Susan Driver	14	Wyandot	April,	1851	
Ella Dougherty	8	Shawnee	Oct.,	1849	
Mary Hill	9	Wyandot	"	1850	
Sarah Hill	11	"	"	1850	
Emma Williams	12	"	"	1850	
Mary Williams	16	"	"	1850	

Sally Bluejacket, 3d...	6	Shawnee.....	Sept.,	1850	From the alphabet to reading, spelling, and needlework.
Mary L. Scarritt.....	6	"	May,	1849	
Anna Scarritt.....	4	"	Sept.,	1850	
Nancy Barnet.....	6	"	May,	1849	
Mary J. Owens.....	10	"	Sept.,	1850	
Caty Whitedeer.....	7	"	July,	1850	
Mary E. Ward.....	7	Peoria.....	Sept.,	1849	
Susan Miller.....	13	Ottawa.....	April,	1849	

Total number in the female department..... 47
Total number in the male department..... 53

Total number in both departments..... 100

(Report Unites States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1851, pp. 87, 88.)

The report for the year 1854 shows that 105 children were in attendance, divided among the tribes as follows: Shawnee, 49; Delaware, 19; Wyandot, 14; Ottawa, 23, but none from the Kickapoo, Kaw, Pottawatomie or Peoria tribes.[41] The treaty was made this year, and the manual feature closed. The shops were disposed of and disappeared. In 1858 a brick one was still standing, and used as a stable. The report of 1855 shows that but two tribes besides the Shawnees sent children to the school, the Ottawas 22, and the Wyandots 10. Two Spanish boys, rescued from the Cheyennes by General Whitfield,[42] were in attendance; also one small Sioux boy—122 in all. The report indicates progress, and notices a disposition among the Shawnees to improve and fit themselves to live among the white people.[43]

Thomas Johnson's last report as superintendent of the institution is headed "Shawnee manual-labor school, Kansas, September 6, 1862," and is addressed to Maj. James B. Abbott, Indian agent. It contains the following information: During the past year, closing with the present month, fifty-two Shawnee children were in attendance—twenty-six males and twenty-six females—ages from seven to sixteen; taught ordinary English branches; health unusually good. The parents and guardians manifest interest in the children. The average attendance has been thirty. Among the names are those of Wm. M. Whiteday, John Bigbone, Hiram Blackfish, Martha Prophet, Wm. Prophet, and Emma Chick (Emma Chick Moon, daughter of Wm. Chick, of Glenwood, Kan.) Major Abbott gives the following account of his visit to the school:

"I found the children tidy, well clothed, and apparently well fed. Their head teacher, Mr. Meek, appeared to possess their confidence and affection. They appeared happy and contented, take a deep interest in their studies, and will compare favorably with white scholars. This school is sustained entirely out of the Shawnee school fund."[44]

The school was abandoned soon after, perhaps the following year. Major Abbott, in his report for 1864, says:

"There are no regular missionaries in this agency, but there is preaching almost every Sabbath from the Methodist denomination. There are also three or four Shawnees who preach occasionally to their brethren in their own language."

NOTE 41.—Report United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1854, p. 316.

NOTE 42.—Gen. John W. Whitfield was in charge of the Upper Platte agency in 1855.

NOTE 43.—Report United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1855, p. 413.

NOTE 44.—Id., 1862, pp. 111, 113.

Thus came to a close the most prominent Indian mission established by the Methodist church in the territory of Kansas. The mission had a duration of about thirty-three years, a school being maintained during that period, and the manual-training school for a period of fifteen years. The Indian school at Lawrence, the magnificent Haskell Institute, which I have had the pleasure of visiting, is in its system of work and its various departments of manual training, very similar to the manual-labor school established by Thomas Johnson at Shawnee Mission nearly half a century before.

This manual-labor school is said to have been the initiation of the effort to teach industrial pursuits to Indian children, which, being followed by other societies and by the government of the United States, to-day constitutes so prominent a feature in the work of Indian civilization. Finley with the Wyandots and McCoy with the Pottawatomies had used similar methods of instruction.

It has been said that, when the Church South abandoned Shawnee Mission, although the government had granted the land to the church, the title had been made out in Rev. Thomas Johnson's name, so that he possessed himself of all the mission grounds and divided it among his children before his death.

Rev. Joab Spencer, who was a very close friend of Mr. Johnson, makes the following explanation:

"In the treaty of 1854, the Shawnee Indians gave one section of their land to Thomas Johnson, and two sections and $10,000 in ten annual payments to the church, for the education, board and clothing of a certain number of children for the term of ten years. For prudential reasons the treaty shows that all three sections were granted to the church, but with the understanding that the church was to deed one section to Mr. Johnson. After the treaty, Mr. Johnson proposed to the mission board to do the work named in the treaty for one section of the church's land and $1000 a year, thus leaving one section to the church clear of all trouble and expense. He carried out the contract with the church and government for five or six years, and then the war closed the school, though A. S. Johnson continued to live there.

"When I went there, in 1858, there were about twenty-five or thirty children in the school. A. S. Johnson[45] was in charge of the farm and school. Miss Mary Hume was teacher and Miss Anna Shores matron.

"The war came, and the government decided to confiscate the whole tract—all three sections. The Johnsons were at a heavy expense defending. They were loyal, and, on establishing valuable and acquired interest, through the influence of Senator James H. Lane, they succeeded in having all three sections patented to them. To save the church's interest, Mr. Johnson secured patents to all and settled with the church for its interest, paying, I think, $7500."

It remains only to tell of the old mission as it stands to-day. The old

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NOTE 45.—COL. ALEXANDER SOULE JOHNSON was born at the old Shawnee Mission, in Wyandotte county, Kansas, July 11, 1832. When twenty years of age he was married to Miss Prudence C. Funk, of St. Joseph, Mo. Two boys and two girls were born of the marriage, all of whom are dead except Mrs. Charles E. Fargo, of Dallas, Tex. Colonel Johnson made his home in Johnson county till 1870, when he moved to Topeka. His first wife died in 1874, and in 1877 he married Miss Zippie A. Scott, of Manchester, N. H. Colonel Johnson was a member of the lower house of the first territorial legislature, when his father was president of the council. Colonel Johnson was the youngest member, being but twenty-three years old.

Alexander S. Johnson was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of the Thirteenth infantry, Kansas state militia, October 13, 1863, and served in the Price raid, in October, 1864. He organized company D, Thirteenth Kansas state militia, at Eastport, Johnson county, September 19, 1863, of which he was captain.—See Adjutant-general's Report, 1864, 1st pt., pp. 103, 104.

In 1866–'67 Colonel Johnson served in the state legislature as a member from Johnson county. In 1867 he was appointed land commissioner of the Fort Scott & Gulf road. He remained in that position till the spring of 1870. He entered the land department of the Santa Fe road in 1874. In 1890 he resigned this position and retired from active business. Colonel Johnson died at Dallas, Tex., December 9, 1904. His remains were brought to Topeka.

building with the white posts, on the north side of the road, has been entirely remodeled inside, but the outward appearance of the place remains the same. In front of it is one of the most picturesque, old-fashioned yards to be found in the state. The trees, the shrubbery and the shape of the yard are all old-fashioned. Up from the gate to the wide porch that runs along the entire south side of the building is a walk made of stone slabs. It is uneven still, though the thousands of feet that have trod its stones have worn down the sharp points. Many moccasined feet, and many feet shod with boots and shoes, and some unshod, have passed over it in the sixty-seven years of its existence. The two large buildings on the south side are still standing. The plaster has fallen in spots from the ceilings and walls, disclosing the laths beneath. These laths were all hewn with hatchets and knives from the saplings of the forests. They were about twice the thickness of the modern lath, and far more substantial. The old spring is still there, and flows with undiminished volume to this day. Fragments of the iron pipe which conveyed the water from this spring yet remain.

The mission cemetery is a place of interest. It stands on the top of the hill, a quarter of a mile southeast of the mission buildings. The place may be found by the clump of evergreens and other trees that mark it. It is enclosed by a stone wall which Joseph Wornal and Alex. S. Johnson put up some years ago. To this place the body of Rev. Thomas Johnson was brought for burial, after his foul assassination by bushwhackers in 1865. His wife and a brother and seven of his children and some of his grandchildren are buried here. Outside the wall were other graves, some marked and some unmarked. Many of the stone and marble slabs have toppled over and are being buried underneath the soil. Among the graves outside the wall is that of Mrs. J. C. Berryman.

Among the graves, that of Rev. Thomas Johnson is the most conspicuous. It is marked by a marble shaft which was put up by his family shortly after the war, and which bears this inscription:

"Rev. Thomas Johnson,
The Devoted Indian Missionary.
Born July 11, 1802.
Died Jan. 2, 1865.
He built his own monument, which shall stand in peerless beauty long after this marble has crumbled into dust—
A Monument of Good Works."

THE SHAWNEE MISSION REORGANIZED BY METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

At the time of the division of the church, in 1845, as already stated, all its Indian missions were carried into the Methodist Episcopal Church South, notwithstanding the fact that Kansas was not slave territory, and that the Indians had little to do with slavery. The location of the missions were mostly contiguous to pro-slavery communities, thus making it difficult for the Methodist Episcopal church to exert much influence. It, therefore, suspended its operations in Kansas from 1845 to 1848. A convention was called at Spring river, December 25, 1845, Anthony Bewley, chairman, to decide what could be done for the few who remained in Missouri faithful to the Methodist Episcopal church. After the organization of the Missouri conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, in 1848, an effort was made to reestablish our work among the Shawnees. The veteran pioneer, Rev.

Abraham Still,[46] although a Southerner by birth and rearing, remained true to the church, and was appointed to the charge. A site was selected upon the Wakarusa,[47] near the mouth of that stream which gives name to the first war in Kansas history. Some progress was made in preparing a farm, and cheap buildings were erected and a small school opened. The appointments for 1849 read: "Platte Mission district, Abraham Still, presiding elder: Indian mission, Thomas B. Markham and Paschal Fish." In 1851 Henry Reeder and Paschal Fish were appointed. In 1857 the work of our three Indian missions—Wyandot, Delaware, and Shawnee—seems to have been combined and four preachers appointed to serve them, viz., Abraham Still, M. T. Klepper, Paschal Fish, and Charles Ketchum. In 1853[48] the appointments were the same, except that J. M. Chivington took the place of M. T. Klepper.

In 1854 Kansas became a territory, and Rev. W. H. Goode was appointed to the Kansas and Nebraska district and Shawnee Mission. In "Outposts of Zion," p. 279, he says:

"It was accordingly arranged that I should, in addition to the general charge [of the work among the white settlers], be appointed to the Shawnee mission, thus giving me the occupancy of the mission farm and buildings upon Wakarusa, already described, with a young man as my colleague who should make his home with me and perform the principal labors of the mission."

The young man sent was Rev. James S. Griffing,[49] whose son, Wm. J. Griffing, still lives at Manhattan, where I became acquainted with him some years ago, and who is an honored member of the Historical Society.

It was in October, 1854, that Mr. Goode received this appointment, which proved to be a disappointment. Mr. Goode continues (on page 286):

"Here (at Hannibal, Mo., the seat of the conference) a disappointment met me, rarely equaled in my life. The understanding already had for our occupancy of the mission premises among the Shawnees has been stated. Toward that point I was tending. On reaching Hannibal I learned that the title of the farm and improvements had been transferred to an Indian, who wished to lay his large claim or head-right, under the late treaty, so as to embrace these premises. It had been sold and his notes taken; possession to be given in the spring. Here I was brought to a stand, on my way with a large family to the frontier—winter just at hand, and no shelter in view."

Mr. Goode applied to the Wyandots for a home among them, visited the council-house, obtained a hearing, and the chiefs, after a brief consultation,

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NOTE 46.—ABRAHAM STILL was born in Tennessee in 1792, entering the Holston conference in 1819. He moved to Missouri in 1837, and entered the Missouri conference. He died December 13, 1869, at Centropolis, Kan.—Goode's Outposts of Zion, p. 253; Autobiography of A. T. Still.

NOTE 47.—The site was on section 8, town 13, range 21, in the northeastern part of Douglas county.—Oscar J. Richards, of Eudora.

NOTE 48.—Dr. Andrew T. Still says that in May, 1853, he and his wife, Mary M. Vaughn, to whom he was married January 29, 1849, by Lorenzo Waugh, moved to the Wakarusa mission, six miles east of Lawrence. Here his wife taught the Shawnee children, while he attended to the mission farm, breaking ninety acres of land before August. He also assisted his father, Rev. Abraham Still, in doctoring the Indians, some of whom had the cholera. Mrs. Still died September 29, 1859.—Autobiography of A. T. Still, Kirksville, Mo., 1897, p., 60.

NOTE 49.—A biographical sketch of Mr. Griffing will be found in Kansas Historical Society Collections, vol. 8, p. 134. Mrs. J. Augusta Griffing, the widow of Rev. James S. Griffing, died at Manhattan, Kan., February 21, 1906. She was the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Silas Goodrich, of Owego, Tioga county, New York, and was born January 26, 1829. She was married to Rev. James S. Griffing in Owego, September 13, 1855, and came to Kansas immediately, locating on a claim two miles east of Topeka, that her husband had preempted the year before. She was a cheerful helpmeet in the labors of an itinerant Methodist minister.

gave their consent. He rented for a year a small farm in the heart of the tribe, with a brick house, orchard, and other accommodations. The owner was a blind Indian, of the Zane stock.

In 1855 only two missions were supplied by the Methodist Episcopal church — the Delaware and Wyandot — served by J. H. Dennis, Charles Ketchum, and one supply.

Among the many traditions held by the Shawnee Indians was one about the creation. In all essential points it agreed well with the account given in Genesis, up to the flood. Soon after Rev. Thomas Johnson began his work at the mission, at a meeting of their council a committee of leading Indians was appointed to hear him preach, and report to the next council. Accordingly the committee were at the next Sunday service to hear the missionary. Knowing of this tradition, Mr. Johnson preached on the creation. When the committee made their report, it was that the missionary knew what they knew, only much better, and the council decided to receive the missionary and his message.[50]

Early in his operations he began the translation of parts of the Gospel into the Shawnee language. This work had to be done through native interpreters, though not Christians. Mr. Johnson said that the first thing that seemed to make a deep impression on them, and especially on Paschal Fish, who afterwards became a leader in Christian work and a missionary to other tribes, was the parable of the rich man and Lazarus.

Many of their traditions have so striking a resemblance to Bible narratives and customs, that Captain Parks, head chief, seemed to think they had descended from the Israelites. He was a Freemason, and he told Rev. Mr. Spencer, missionary, that the Indians had always had a form of Masonry almost exactly like ours.

THE KAW MISSION.

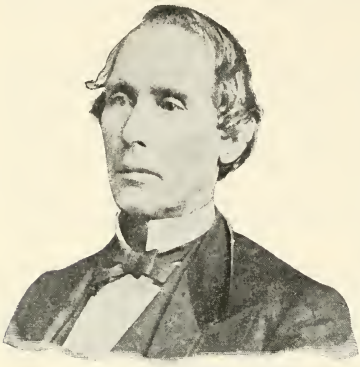
The following extract from a letter of Rev. Alexander McAlister, presiding elder of the Cape Girardeau district, to Rev. Jesse Greene, presiding elder of the Missouri district, which embraced the western portion of Missouri and the Indian country, will exhibit the inception of that enterprise for the education of the Indians on our western frontier. Says McAlister, under date of April 2, 1830:

"I have just time to write a few lines by Brother Peery, in which I wish to call your attention to the Kaw Indians on your frontiers. Col. Daniel [Morgan] Boone, who is the government's farmer among those Indians, married Mr.[51] McAlister's sister, which circumstance has led to a correspondence between him and myself and the government's agent of those Indians. Boone is among them, perhaps thirty or forty miles from Fort Osage. He promises to do all he can for the support of a school among that tribe. The agent also promised to assist as far as he can, and informs me that the Kaw Indians, according to the provisions of a treaty with the

NOTE 50.—"Considerable stress has been laid upon the traditions of the Indians, some of which have been thought to favor the idea of their descent from Israel; but it is probable that none have ever become acquainted with the traditions of any tribe until after the tribe had derived some notions of Christianity from white men."—Isaac McCoy, History of Baptist Indian Missions, 1840, introductory remarks, p. 14.

NOTE 51.—It is possible that this should read "Mrs." McAlister's sister, as Mr. Cone says, in *Capital* article of August 27, 1879, "Col. Daniel M. Boone was married to Sarah E. Lewis in 1800."

government, have a considerable sum of money[52] set apart to support schools among themselves, and the agent advises us to get in there immediately and secure that fund, and improve it to their benefit. I think you might visit them and know all about it soon, and perhaps get some pious young man to go and commence a school among them before conference."



REV. JOHN THOMPSON PEERY,
For eight years missionary to the Indians.

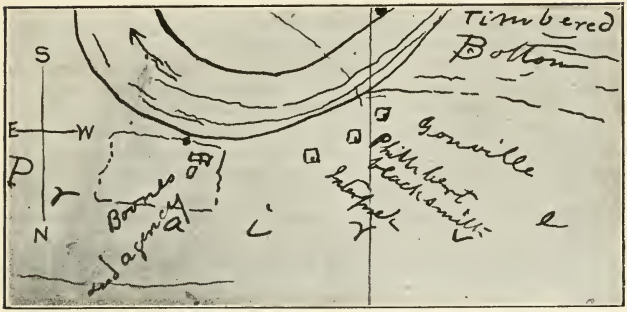
The Brother Peery by whom this letter was sent to his presiding elder was Rev. E. T. Peery, who at this time had charge of the Missouri circuit. At the conference held in St. Louis the September following, two missionary appointments for Kansas, as we have already stated, were made—Rev. Thomas Johnson to the Shawnees, and Rev. William Johnson to the Kaws. Rev. William Johnson was born in Nelson county, Virginia, February 2, 1805, and removed with his father to Missouri in 1825, the year in which the Kaw reservation was laid out on the Kansas river.

Just previous to the appointment of Mr. Johnson as missionary to the Kaws, the main body of that tribe was living in a large village on the north side of the Kansas river directly below the mouth of the Big Blue, in Pottawatomie county. Five years before, their lands had been curtailed, the eastern boundary had been placed sixty miles west of the Missouri state line. By the same treaty twenty-three half-breed Kaw children were each given a mile square of land fronting on the north bank of the Kansas river, and running for length eastwardly from the Kaw reserve proper, now the western boundary of Soldier township, Shawnee county, to about four miles east of the Delaware, in Jefferson county. The same treaty provided a blacksmith and farmer for the tribe, who, together with the agent, located, about 1827, on what they probably thought was the easternmost half-breed allotment, No. 23, but they were really situated just east of the line, on land which had been given the Delawares. By 1830 quite a little settlement had grown up here and in the neighborhood, of agency officers, half-breed families and a few Indians, among the last was the family of White Plume, the head chief of the tribe, while Fred. Chouteau's trading-post was just south of the river. It was at this settlement,[53] it has been suggested, that Mr. Johnson began his first missionary work, in December, 1830.

NOTE 52.—"Out of the lands herein ceded by the Kanzas nation to the United States, the commissioner aforesaid, in behalf of the said United States, doth further covenant and agree that thirty-six sections of good lands on the Big Blue river shall be laid out under the direction of the president of the United States, and sold for the purpose of raising a fund, to be applied, under the direction of the president, to the support of schools for the education of the Kanzas children within their nation."—Article 5, treaty with the Kansa, 1825, in Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties, 1904, vol. 2, p. 223.

NOTE 53.—Regarding the situation of the first Kaw agency, Daniel Boone, a son of Daniel Morgan Boone, government farmer to the Kaws, says, in a letter to Mr. W. W. Cone, dated Westport, Mo., August 11, 1879: "Fred. Chouteau's brother established his trading-post across the river from my father's residence the same fall we moved to the agency, in the year 1827. The

MAP DRAWN BY JOHN C. McCOY.
Observe that this map is drawn upside down. Top is south.



Kaw agency, 1827.
Section 4, township 12, range 19 east.

Kaw half-breed allotment No. 23, of
Joseph James, 1825.
Thos. R. Bayne, 1854.

"The situation was somewhat as above — I mean of the agency."

This same year the Kaw Indians removed from their old village at the mouth of the Blue and located in three villages, each named for its own chief, a little east of the present post village of Valencia, in Shawnee county, one north and the other two south of the Kansas river, near Mission creek. Here Fred. Chouteau moved his trading-post the same year. Mr. W. W. Cone, of Brandsville, Mo., to whom I am greatly indebted, says in his splendid article entitled "The First Kaw Indian Mission" (published in volumes 1 and 2 of the Kansas Historical Society's Collections), that William Johnson pursued his mission work among the Indians of these three villages from 1830 to 1832. He cannot quote his authority for this statement, but thinks it is based on sufficient grounds for belief. The fact, however, that "seven whites" appear to have attended the mission school during that period, and

land reserved for the half-breeds belonged to the Kaws. The agency was nearly on the line inside the Delaware land, and we lived half-mile east of this line, on the bank of the river."

Survey 23, the property of Joseph James, was the most easterly of the Kaw half-breed lands. The first Delaware land on the Kansas river east of this survey is section 4, township 12, range 19 east; hence the site of the old agency. August 16, 1879, Mr. Cone and Judge Adams, piloted by Thos. R. Bayne, owner of survey No. 23, visited the site of the agency. In the Topeka *Weekly Capital* of August 27 Mr. Cone says: "We noticed on the east of the dividing line, over on the Delaware land, the remains of about a dozen chimneys, although Mr. Bayne says there were at least twenty when he came there, in 1854."

John C. McCoy, in a letter to Mr. Cone, dated August, 1879, says: "I first entered the territory August 15, 1830. . . . At the point described in your sketch, on the north bank of the Kansas river, seven or eight miles above Lawrence, was situated the Kansas agency. I recollect the following persons and families living there at that date, viz.: Marston G. Clark, United States sub-Indian agent, no family; Daniel M. Boone, Indian farmer, and family; Clement Lessert, interpreter, family, half-breeds; Gabriel Phillibert, government blacksmith, and family (whites); Joe Jim, Gonvil, and perhaps other half-breed families. . . . In your sketch published in the *Capital* you speak of the stone house or chimney, about two miles northwest of the Kansas agency. That was a stone building built by the government for White Plume, head chief of the Kanzans, in 1827 or 1828. There was also a large field fenced and broken in the prairie adjoining toward the east or southeast. We passed up by it in 1830, and found the gallant old chieftain sitting in state, rigged out in a profusion of feathers, paint, wampum, brass armlets, etc., at the door of a lodge he had erected a hundred yards or so to the northwest of his stone mansion, and in honor of our expected arrival the stars and stripes were gracefully floating in the breeze on a tall pole over him. He was large, fine-looking, and inclined to corpulency, and received my father with the grace and dignity of a real live potentate, and graciously signified his willingness to accept of any amount of bacon and other presents we might be disposed to tender him. In answer to an inquiry as to the reasons that induced him to abandon his princely mansion, his laconic explanation was simply, 'too much fleas.' A hasty examination I made of the house

the further fact that no white families were located at the upper villages, would indicate that his work was done at the Kaw agency, in Jefferson county. Though he had no good interpreter, and the Indians could speak but little English, some good impressions were made. Three white persons were brought to a knowledge of the truth, and those who attended the mission school, nine Indians and seven whites, made a good beginning in leaning to spell and read. Mr. Johnson strove hard to learn their language. He spent nearly two years in this mission, when he was sent as a missionary to the Delawares.

In 1835 Maj. Daniel Morgan Boone, son of the Kentucky pioneer, opened two farms near the Kaw villages.[54] It was this year that the Rev. Wm. Johnson, having married Miss Mary Jane Chick, at her father's home in Howard county, Missouri, May 24, 1834, received a second appointment from the conference as a missionary among the Kaws. During that summer

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justified the wisdom of his removal. It was not only alive with fleas, but the floors, doors and windows had disappeared, and even the casings had been pretty well used up for kindling-wood.

Mr. Cone gives the following description of White Plume's stone house in his *Capital* article of August 27, 1879: "Mr. Bayne showed us a pile of stone as all that was left of that well-known landmark for old settlers, the 'stone chimney.' It was located fifty yards north of the present depot at Williamstown, or Rural, as it is now called. Mr. Bayne, in a letter dated August 12, says: 'The old stone chimney or stone house to which you refer stood on the southwest quarter of section 29, range 19, when I came here, in 1854. It was then standing intact, except the roof and floors, which had been burnt. It was about 18 x 34 and two stories high. There was a well near it walled up with cut stone, and a very excellent job.'"

John T. Irving visited Kansas in the fall of 1833, and gives this entertaining account of his accidental visit to White Plume's residence, and the first Kansas Indian agency:

"We emerged from the wood, and I found myself again near the bank of the Kansas river. Before me was a large house, with a court-yard in front. I sprang with joy through the unhung gate, and ran to the door. It was open; I shouted; my voice echoed through the rooms; but there was no answer. I walked in; the doors of the inner chambers were swinging from their hinges, and long grass was growing through the crevices of the floor. While I stood gazing around an owl flitted by, and dashed out of an unglazed window; again I shouted; but there was no answer; the place was desolate and deserted. I afterwards learned that this house had been built for the residence of the chief of the Kanza tribe, but that the ground upon which it was situated having been discovered to be within a tract granted to some other tribe, the chief had deserted it, and it had been allowed to fall to ruin. My guide waited patiently until I finished my examination, and then again we pressed forward. . . . We kept on until near daylight, when we emerged from a thick forest and came suddenly upon a small hamlet. The barking of several dogs, which came flying out to meet us, convinced me that this time I was not mistaken. A light was shining through the crevices of a log cabin; I knocked at the door with a violence that might have awakened one of the seven sleepers. 'Who dare—and vot de devil you vant?' screamed a little cracked voice from within. It sounded like music to me. I stated my troubles. The door was opened; a head, garnished with a red nightcap, was thrust out, and, after a little parley, I was admitted into the bedroom of the man, his Indian squaw, and a host of children. As, however, it was the only room in the house, it was also the kitchen. I had gone so long without food that, notwithstanding what I had eaten, the gnawings of hunger were excessive, and I had no sooner mentioned my wants than a fire was kindled, and in ten minutes a meal! I don't exactly know whether to call it breakfast, dinner, or supper) of hot cakes, venison, honey and coffee was placed before me, and disappeared with the rapidity of lightning. The squaw, having seen me fairly started, returned to her couch. From the owner of the cabin I learned that I was now at the Kanza agency, and that he was the blacksmith of the place. About sunrise I was awakened from a sound sleep, upon a bearskin, by a violent knocking at the door. It was my Indian guide. He threw out broad hints respecting the service he had rendered me and the presents he deserved. This I could not deny; but I had nothing to give. I soon found out, however, that his wants were moderate, and that a small present of powder would satisfy him; so I filled his horn, and he left the cabin apparently well pleased. In a short time I left the house, and met the Kanza agent, General Clark, a tall, thin, soldier-like man, arrayed in an Indian hunting-shirt and an old fox-skin cap. He received me cordially, and I remained with him all day, during which time he talked upon metaphysics, discussed politics, and fed me upon sweet potatoes."—Indian Sketches, 1835, vol. 2, pp. 264–268.

NOTE 54.—". . . The Kaw Indians had their village at the mouth of the Big Blue, where it empties in the Kaw river. After I removed the trading from the south side of the Boone farm [Kaw Indian farm in Jefferson county] and went and built below the mouth of American Chief creek, then the Kaw came down near the trading house. The Fool chief built on the north side of the river, the Hard chief on the west side of the river about two miles then above the mission, the American chief on the creek. That was in 1832. As for the village you speak of, about fifteen miles above Topeka on the north side of the river, there never was any village there. The agent had 300 acres of land broke, fenced and planted for them [there] in 1835, and the Fool chief's village would go and camp there for a month, dry corn and also pumpkins, and gather their beans. I went with the agent and selected the most suitable place for a field. Also there was 300 acres selected on this side of the river for the Hard chief village, between Hard chief and the American Chief creek. . . . P. S.—I omitted to mention the name of the agent that I went with to select the most suitable ground for a field was R. W. Cummins."—Letter of Frederick Chouteau to W. W. Cone, dated Westport, May 5, 1880.

The following extracts from Father De Smet's "Indian Sketches" are found in an account

he erected the mission buildings on the northwest corner of section 33, township 11, range 14 east.

The main building was a hewed-log cabin, thirty-six feet long and eighteen feet wide, two stories high, divided into four rooms, two above and two below, with a stone chimney on the west end of the building on the outside, the style of architecture peculiar to the people of the South. There were also a log kitchen, smoke-house, and other outbuildings. Mr. and Mrs. Johnson moved into this house in September, 1835, and for the next seven years labored faithfully among this tribe. They both learned to speak the language of the Kaws. Mrs. Johnson was a daughter of Col. William M. Chick. She died November 22, 1872.

Early in March, 1842, Rev. William Johnson, accompanied by his wife, went to Independence, Mo., to attend a quarterly meeting, where he was taken sick with pneumonia. He recovered in about three weeks, having been cared for at the home of Rev. Thomas B. Ruble, visited Westport and Shawnee Mission, and then returned to his station at the Kaw mission. In April he made a business trip to the Shawnee Mission. The fatigue and exposure of the trip of sixty miles caused a relapse of the disease, pneumonia. He became rapidly worse, and died April 8, 1842. An Indian messenger was dispatched to the Kaw mission to inform Mrs. Johnson of the illness of her husband. About twenty of the most prominent men of the tribe accompanied her. Mrs. Johnson arrived an hour after her husband's death. The Indians, having pushed on ahead, arrived a short time before the death of their beloved teacher. Mr. Johnson was buried at the Shawnee Mission. The funeral sermon was preached by Bishop Roberts, at the conference at Jefferson City, in August, 1842. No children were born to Mr. and Mrs. Johnson. In person Rev. Wm. Johnson was above medium height and well formed. He had great influence with the Kaw Indians. They regarded him with veneration. It was through his influence that the Kaws permitted their children to attend the manual-labor school, and after his death the children were taken from the school.[55] Soon after the death of

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of his visit made to Fool chief's village, in May, 1841: "As soon as the Kanzas understood that we were going to encamp on the banks of the Soldier's river, which is only six miles from the village, they galloped rapidly away from our caravan. . . . . As for dress, manners, religion, modes of making war, etc., the Kanzas are like the savages of their neighborhood, with whom they have preserved peaceful and friendly relations from time immemorial. In stature they are generally tall and well made. Their physiognomy is manly; their language is guttural and remarkable for the length and strong accentuation of the final syllables. Their style of singing is monotonous, whence it may be inferred that the enchanting music heard on the rivers of Pa aguay never cheers the voyager on the otherwise beautiful streams of the country of the Kanzas. "With regard to the qualities which distinguish man from the brute, they are far from being deficient. To bodily strength and courage they unite a shrewdness and address superior to other savages, and in their wars or the chase they make a dexterous use of firearms, which gives them a decided advantage over their enemies. When we took leave of our hospitable hosts, two of their warriors, to one of whom they gave the title of captain, escorted us a short distance on the road, which lay through a vast field which had been cleared and planted for them by the United States, but which had been ravaged before the harvest-home."

NOTE 55.—"There has been considerable exertion made by myself and the Rev. Wm. Johnson, late a missionary among them, to get them to turn their attention to agricultural pursuits. I visited them in March last, in company with Mr. Johnson, who resided for several years among them, understood and spoke their language well, had become personally acquainted with, and, from a correct, honorable, firm course of conduct, he had secured to himself almost unbounded influence among them. We stayed several days among them; most of that time we spent in council with the whole nation, trying to get them to raise corn, etc., enough to subsist them during the year. They made very fair promises, and I think that they intended to comply with them at the time, but, unfortunately, Mr. Johnson, on his way down to the manual-labor school, with eleven Kanzas boys, in company with me, at the crossing of the Wakarusa, where we encamped for the night, was taken sick, of which he never recovered. The death of this man, whom I considered one of the best men I ever became acquainted with, was, I believe the greatest loss the Kanzas Indians ever met with. His last services expired when he returned the eleven Kanzas boys to the manual-labor school, part of which he rendered in great pain. The Kanzas render

Mr. Johnson Rev. G. W. Love was appointed to take charge of the mission, but he remained only part of the year. He preached through an interpreter, Charles Fish, an educated Indian belonging to the school, and employed by the government as blacksmith for the Kaws.

From the reports made to the conference, it would seem that our mission had but ill success among the Kaws; no members are reported for the year 1835, but one white and one Indian for the year 1836, and for 1837 three whites and one Indian.

MRS. MARY JANE JOHNSON-PEERY, *nee* CHICK,

For seven years teacher and matron in the Kaw mission school, and other years at the manual-labor school.

In 1844 Mrs. Wm. Johnson was married to Rev. J. T. Peery,[56] and early in the spring of 1845 Mr. Peery was sent to the mission for the purpose of establishing a manual-labor school among the Kaws. I make the following extract from a letter of Mr. Peery to W. W. Cone, dated "Miami, Saline county, Missouri, December 30, 1880," describing the mission premises:

"On the southwest was a small garden, enclosed, as was the yard, with split palings. We had a good horse-lot on the east; south of the house was a field, but no fence about it, perhaps twenty acres.[57] The spring was very wet and unfavorable, and we failed to raise a good crop. The first year I had in my employ a young man by the name of James Foster, a good young man, and others not necessary to mention. The next year I was appointed farmer for the Kaws. We had about 115 acres of corn. We herded our stock, and put them in pens at

many excuses for not turning their attention to agricultural pursuits the present year; the principal one is, they say they were afraid to work for fear the Pawnees would come on them and kill them all off." RICHARD W. CUMMINS, Agent.—Report Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1842, p. 63.

NOTE 56.—REV. JOHN THOMPSON PEERY was born in Tazewell county, Virginia, February 18, 1817. He was converted in 1834, and came with his father's family to Grundy county, Missouri, in the following year. In the winter of 1835 he taught school in Clay county, Missouri. He was licensed to preach in 1837. He labored among the Kansas Indians during 1845 and 1846, when he was sent to the Cherokees. The next year, 1848, he was appointed missionary to the Wyandots, and, in 1849, was at the Shawnee manual-labor school, according to the list of conference appointments. In 1860 he was transferred to the Kansas conference, and stationed at Leavenworth. Mr Peery was unanimously elected chaplain of the Kansas territorial house of representatives on July 16, 1855, the first day of the adjourned session at the manual-labor school.—House Journal, 1855, p. 34. Three days later the council resolved, "That the president of the council [Rev. Thomas Johnson] be instructed by the council to invite Rev. Mr. Peery, or some other minister of the Gospel, to open the daily sittings of the council by prayer."—Council Journal, 1855, p. 39. He was one of the leading men of the Missouri conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. He died January 5, 1890, and is buried at Drake's chapel, Henry county, Missouri. He spent thirty-eight years in the ministry.

NOTE 57.—DANIEL BOONE, son of the Kaw farmer, wrote Mr. Cone, August 18, 1879: "I also broke twenty acres of the land referred to by you on Mission creek," the field mentioned by Mr. Peery.

night. I employed a young man by the name of Clark to attend to the farming business. I also employed a young man by the name of S. Cornatzer,[58] who proved himself to be a true and useful man. He still lives in Kansas, I believe. We raised a very large crop. The agent gave us a part of the crop."

Mr. and Mrs. Peery kept a few Indian children at the mission and taught them through the first year. The school was then discontinued.[59]

An account of the conversion of Fool Chief is given in the Kansas Historical Society Collections, vol. 8, p. 426.

It appears that Rev. Thomas Johnson kept a journal of at least a part of the period of his ministry spent in Kansas. This journal, covering an account of a tour of visitation of several of the missions, was sent to the corresponding secretary of the mission society of the Methodist Episcopal church, under date of August 11, 1837. The first entry is May 4, 1837, and tells of a visit to the Kaw Mission:

"May 4th [1837]. Set out for the Kanzas mission, in company with the Rev. N. Henry, of Independence circuit, Major Cummins, Indian agent, and Mr. Cephas Case. The wind blew very hard in the prairie, which rendered it very unpleasant traveling. We stopped early in the evening to camp, as there was no good camping-ground in reach had we rode until night.

"5th. Started early, rode hard all day, and got to the mission a little before night. We met some 400 or 500 of the Kanzas Indians going to the white settlements to beg provisions, for they had nothing to eat at home. And those who had not gone to the white settlements to beg provisions were nearly all scattered over the prairies, digging wild potatoes.

"6th. The agent called the principal men together and spent the day in counseling with them relative to the various interests of the nation. The prospect of these people is very gloomy; and it seems nothing can save them from starvation, unless we can get them to adopt the habits of civilized people; and this is not likely to be done, unless they can be brought under the influence of the Christian religion—and this cannot be done at present, for the want of suitable means of access to them. Oh, that God may open the way, and speedily give us access to these people! We made arrangements to take a few children into the mission family, and gave each of the chiefs the privilege of furnishing one, either his own son or some other boy whom he may select.

"7th. Bro. Henry preached for us an interesting sermon.

"8th. Started for home, rode forty miles, and encamped at the same place where we camped as we went up. I slept quite comfortably, notwithstanding the ground was my bed, having but one blanket to cover me.

"9th. Got home and was glad to find my family well.

"13th. Met the school committee at the Shawnee Mission to organize our school for another year. All appear to act in harmony, and sustain the school. It is, certainly, a great help in an Indian school when we can get a judicious committee of natives to take the responsibility of making the rules for the government of the Indian children, and then to see that the children attend the school.

"June 6th. Bro. A. Monroe, presiding elder of the Missouri district, arrived, having been appointed at our last conference, in connection with Bros. Redman and Henry, to visit our missions.

"7th. We set out for the Peori mission. Had a pleasant time in traveling through the prairie and talking over our various matters relative to the state of the church in the Missouri conference. A little before night we

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NOTE 58.—SAMUEL CORNATZER was employed a while as a laborer at the Shawnee Mission, and also had charge of the Kaw mission after the death of the Rev. Wm. Johnson. About 1850 he married an Indian girl who had been educated at the Shawnee Mission. He then built a house and opened a farm near the point where the Santa Fe road crosses 110 Mile creek, Osage county. He died a few years ago in the Cherokee nation, Indian Territory.

NOTE 59.—Cutler's History of Kansas, 1883, p. 60.

arrived at the Peori mission, and met with Bros. Redman, Henry, and Ashby, who had gone another route and got there before us.

"8th. Held meeting twice; had a very interesting meeting in the evening. We were very busy all day in attending meeting, making out an invoice of mission property, etc.

"9th. We rode to Shawnee Mission. Spent the principal part of the day discussing various questions relative to the financial part of our missions, to see if our plans could be improved. These discussions caused the time to pass off much more pleasantly than it generally does while traveling through these extensive prairies alone.

"10th. We met the Saganaw mission; but few attended until late in the evening. They then crowded the house, and we had a pleasant time.

"11th. The Sabbath. We held a love-feast in the morning. Each related the dealings of God with his own soul, in his own language. At eleven o'clock Bro. Monroe preached, and then administered the sacrament. We took up a collection for the poor and sick of the church—it amounted to twenty dollars. At the close of the sacramental services a call was given for mourners to come forward, and a considerable number came; we found it expedient to close, and meet again at four o'clock P. M. We met again in the evening. I have no doubt that this two days' meeting will prove a blessing to the Shawnees and Delawares.

"14th. Met with the Delawares. After preaching we had class-meeting. We were much edified in hearing the Delawares tell the state of their souls. What they said was interpreted into English, so that our visiting brethren could understand it.

"17th and 18th. Held a two days' meeting with the Kickapoos. On the Sabbath we held a love-feast in the morning and administered the sacrament at noon. More than 200 communed, and 400 or 500 were present; nearly all appeared affected. It was to me a time of unusual interest, to see and hear the Christian Indians of different nations, speaking different languages, all uniting their petitions at a throne of grace, and all wrought upon by the same spirit.

"20th. Brs. Monroe, Redman, and Henry, having closed the labors for which they were appointed, left us, and started for their different fields of labor. We have no doubt but their visit to the missions will be attended with much good; for 1st, it is well calculated to strengthen the hands of the missionaries to have their brethren visit them occasionally, and unite with them in their labors, aid them by their counsels, and report the true state of our missions to the conference and to the world, and thus save the missionaries from the embarrassment of always being compelled to report their own work. 2d. It will, we have no doubt, be a lasting blessing to the brethren thus sent. They will, from their own observations, be much better prepared to plead the cause of missions in their respective charges. 3d. It will be a help to the Indians to know that our brethren feel so much interest in their welfare; that they have been influenced to visit our missions and unite with the missionaries to promote the cause of religion among their people."

"In a further report, which is full and satisfactory, Mr. Johnson states:

'1st. The Shawnee Mission went on as at the time of the last report. Pastoral labor was becoming more arduous and difficult. That the crops were short from drought. Hoped they should have a sufficiency.

'2d. The Delaware mission was prospering. The Christian party was likely to be strengthened by emigrants. That they were repairing buildings, organizing schools, and anticipating good results.

'3d. Peori mission. The principal men appeared to remain firm, though some appearances of a loss of zeal and animation among professors. The native leaders faithful, and worthy to be taken as examples by the whites. A small school kept up. The missionaries preach to different bands connected with this mission. Many in the church who would do no disgrace to any church, but are worthy to be copied.

'4th. Kickapoo mission. Doing well; their number diminished by the Pottawatomies who were among them removing to their own lands. School

doing well. The work increases in importance, and many going forward in labors of love.

'5th. Kanzas mission. The missionary had visited the Osage nation in hopes of finding a good interpreter to aid in preaching to the Kanzas. A few children under instruction.

'6th. Potawattamy mission. More than 100 of Pottawatomies joined at Kickapoo mission and have recently removed to their own lands, requesting a missionary may reside among them. The Rev. Dr. Leach appointed. He sees little prospect of success until they get settled.'"—History of Am. Missions to the Heathen, Spooner and Howland, 1840, pp. 543–545, in back of volume.

The report of the mission society, from which the above extract is made, shows that for the entire Kansas mission district there were six stations, employing twelve missionaries and five school-teachers. There were 397 members of the church, 23 whites and 374 natives, and 78 scholars. The report says: "These have already made delightful progress in learning. The people are advancing in agriculture and the arts. Let the friends of the missions bless God and take courage."

In 1846 the government made another treaty with the Kaws, by which they relinquished their rights to the lands on the Kansas for another location at Council Grove, where they received a grant of 256,000 acres.[60] A few months previous to the removal of the Indians to Council Grove, Mr. Peery was appointed missionary to the Cherokees, and Mr. Mitchell, government blacksmith for the Kaws, moved into the mission buildings, and resided there till the spring of 1847. Then Isaac Mundy, blacksmith for the Pottawatomies, occupied it until the spring of 1850. At this time a half-breed Pottawatomie, Joseph Bourassa, moved into it, and remained there till 1853, when he tore the buildings down and removed the logs about one mile north, and there erected another residence. It is to be regretted that pictures of our mission buildings, with two exceptions, are not in existence.

In 1847 the Kaws moved to their new reservation. The mission building, a picture of which appears elsewhere in this volume, was erected in 1850 by the Methodist Episcopal Church South. Funds[61] were paid annually by the government for the support of the school. The walls of the building are of stone, quarried out of the bluffs near by. The woodwork is from the native timber of the grove. It is now altered, and occupied as a residence. Originally it had eight rooms in the main part, and there were some outbuildings. At each end there are two large, projecting fireplace chimneys. The building is a stone structure and is yet in good repair.

The mission and school at Council Grove were in charge of T. S. Huffaker and Rev. Henry Webster, the latter a Methodist minister from some place in Massachusetts. Mr. Webster had charge of the farming and stock and Mrs. Webster presided over the culinary department. The school was in charge of Mr. Huffaker, who had previously been employed several years as teacher in the Shawnee manual-labor school. The school was attended almost entirely by Indian boys. George P. Morehouse writes me that—

"The Indians were never in sympathy with the movement and never al-

NOTE 60.—"Twenty miles square."—John Maloy, History of Morris county, ch. 2, published in *The Cosmos*, Council Grove, March 5, 1886.

NOTE 61.—The treaty of 1846, article 2, says: ". . . One thousand dollars of the interest thus accruing shall be applied annually to the purposes of education in their own country."—Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties, Washington, 1904, vol. 2, p. 553. Mr. Huffaker says that the mission building at Mission creek was built by the government. When the Kaws moved it was sold, and the money applied towards the new school building at Council Grove.

lowed their girls to enter the school. Indian girls are betrothed by their parents (in fact, sold) when they are very young. They regarded education and adopting the ways of the white man degrading and beneath true Indian caste and character. With this opposition, the school was principally composed of orphan children. The interpreter was 'Wm. Johnson,' a rather smart, good-looking Indian, named after Rev. Wm. Johnson, the first missionary to the Kaw or Kansas tribe. I have been told that Mr. Johnson, on his death-bed, after reviewing his seven years' labor among the Kaws, said that it had accomplished little, as he knew of but one truly converted Indian, Sho-me-kos-see (the wolf). I understand that he advised against further work among them.[62] While missionary work here at Council Grove was not productive of much visible good along religious lines, yet when I recently asked Mr. Huffaker what his judgment was, he said it was difficult to see much improvement in them as the results of missions and schools, except literary improvement. The Kaws were a peculiar tribe, very heathenish and superstitious, and not nearly as susceptible to education and religious instruction as most of the other tribes."

Mr. Huffaker has furnished me the following account of the mission and its work:

"The school for the Kansas Indians at Council Grove was established in the year 1851. The building was erected in 1850. The fund for the building and maintenance of the school was furnished by the government out of funds due the Indians and held by the government in trust for this purpose. Rev. Thomas Johnson, of the Shawnee Mission, was authorized by the board of missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church South to contract for the buildings and for the management of the school. I, with H. W. Webster, took the contract for the management of the school and farm. Webster was married; I was single. Webster and family remained one year; he in charge of the farm, I in charge of the school. His family became dissatisfied so far from civilization and society, and returned to their adopted state, and I continued the school until 1854. There was during this period a blacksmith for the Indians named E. Mosier. The school averaged about thirty pupils, all boys. The Indians did not receive any religious instruction at this time—I mean the tribe as such. Religious observances were kept in the school and families. The branches taught were spelling, reading, writing, and arithmetic. None of them received instruction in the trades. The boys worked well on the farm."

Mr. Huffaker was married in the old mission building on the 6th of May, 1852, to Miss Eliza Baker, the officiating clergyman being a Rev. Mr. Nicholson, a missionary on his way over the old Santa Fe trail to Mexico, who was stopping at the Kaw mission. Susie, their first daughter, was the first white child born in Morris county.

While our mission work among the Kaws ceased in 1854 with Mr. Huffaker's retirement from the mission, yet he seems to have continued his work among this tribe as "farmer for the Kaw Indians," as the following report to the commissioner of Indian affairs will show:

"KANSAS AGENCY, September 15, 1863.

"SIR—I submit this as my report for the past year as farmer for the Kansas Indians. The Indians are still laboring under the same disadvantages mentioned in my last annual report, the same insufficient number of oxen, plows, and other agricultural implements; but they have, notwithstanding these difficulties, been able to plant more than 300 acres of ground, from which they will gather some 8000 or 9000 bushels of corn. They have de-

NOTE 62.—The missionary workers among the Kaws seem to have felt great discouragement in the results of their labors, apparently comparing the habits and manner of thought of this wholly uncivilized Western tribe with those of the half-civilized Shawnees, Delawares and Wyandots who were brought into this territory about the time civilization and mission work was offered to the Kansas. Many of the Shawnees in 1830 were half-breeds of good family, while among the Wyandots the last full-blood died early in the nineteenth century.

voted most of their time to the raising of corn, being better acquainted with the culture of corn than of other products. Many families have been unable to cultivate their farms as they should, owing to the fact that many of their able-bodied men have gone into the army, of whom more than eighty have enlisted in the United States service during the last year. The Indians are well pleased with their new mode of life, and say they do not desire to exchange their present mode for their former. They, to commence another year favorably, should be furnished with an additional number of oxen, plows, etc.; say twice the number they now have. T. S. HUFFAKER,

Farmer for Kansas Indians."

THE DELAWARE MISSION.

The history of the Delawares is intimately connected with that of the Shawnees. Their reservation originally extended from the mouth of the Kansas river westward to the Kaw reservation, and embraced 2,208,000 acres.[63] It was on the north side of the Kansas river, a very fertile section, and embraced Wyandotte, practically all of Leavenworth and Jefferson and portions of Shawnee and Jackson counties. Their reservation fronted on the Missouri river, from the mouth of the Kansas river to Fort Leavenworth.[64] In numbers they did not differ greatly from the Shawnees. The Delaware lands were mostly fine prairie interspersed with good timber. Their lands were considered the most valuable of all the territory occupied by the Indian tribes. Though the Delawares were considerably advanced in agriculture, they had but little literary culture. They were an energetic and enterprising people.

The mission among the Delawares was opened in 1832, Rev. Wm. Johnson and Rev. Thomas B. Markham having been appointed to take charge of the mission and school. The first report of membership was made the following year—five whites and twenty-seven Indians.

The fifteenth annual report of the missionary society, for 1834, contains the following:

"Delaware, a gracious work of religion—forty church members, several of whom officiate as exhorters, regular in attendance at preaching and other means of grace. The school has twenty-four native children, who are learning well. In the Sabbath-school are fourteen male and ten female scholars, conducted by three teachers and one superintendent. The children are catechized in the duties and doctrines of Christianity."

Rev. Nathan Scarritt, in an unpublished manuscript, says:

"Though many of the best members of the tribe embraced Christianity, the membership was never large, owing, as we suppose, to the strong prejudice exhibited by the great majority against all Christian effort among them; but a better little body of professing Christians would be hard to find among any people than was gathered together by our faithful missionaries. Moses Grinter and family,[65] the Ketchums, and others, were of the salt of the earth."

NOTE 63.— Report United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1836, p. 397.

NOTE 64.— Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties, Washington, 1904, vol. 2, p. 304.

NOTE 65.— MOSES R. GRINTER came from Bardstown, Ky., and settled in what is now Wyandotte county, Kansas, in January, 1831. His place was about nine miles out from Kansas City, and for a while was known as a station on the Union Pacific named Secondine. He died June 12, 1878. His wife, Mrs. Anna Marshall Grinter, was born in Miami county, Ohio, January 8, 1820, and died in Wyandotte county, Kansas, June 28, 1905. Her father was a white man, and her mother a Delaware Indian. She came to Wyandotte with her parents in 1832. She was married to Moses R. Grinter, the first white man to locate in Wyandotte county. To this union there was born ten children, four of whom survive her. There were twenty-one grandchildren, thirty-six great-grandchildren, and five great-great-grandchildren. She was very proud of the fact that she was an Indian. Her last audible prayer was in the musical Delaware Indian language. She

The highest membership reported for any year was 108, for 1844. In educational matters the Delawares did not make as commendable progress as some of the other tribes. In February, 1844, an agreement[66] was made with the superintendent, J. C. Berryman, by which the Delawares devoted all their school fund for the education of their children at the Shawnee manual-labor school for a term of ten years. The indifference of the Delawares in the matter of sending their children to the school was later a great disappointment to the superintendent, Rev. Thomas Johnson.

The first church erected was in 1832, near a spring, in a beautiful grove, some of the old trees of which are still standing. The church was about forty by sixty feet, the frame of black walnut, and stood on the high divide on the site of the present town of White Church, facing east. The church

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was converted and united with the Methodist church in childhood, and for more than seventy years lived a consistent Christian life. When the church separated she adhered to the Southern church, in which she spent the remainder of her life. Her body rests in the cemetery at Grinter's chapel, where she held her membership for many years.

NOTE 66.—"We, the undersigned chiefs of the Delaware nation, being invested with full authority to act in the premises for our nation whom we represent, do agree and bind ourselves as follows, viz.:

"That we will encourage and patronize the Indian manual-labor school now in operation on the Shawnees' land, near the Fort Leavenworth agency site; First, by using our influence to send and keep a suitable number of the children of our tribe in said institution; and, secondly, by applying our school funds to its support; and our great father, the president of the United States, is hereby instructed and respectfully requested to cause to be paid over to Rev. J. C. Berryman, now superintendent of said institution, or to his successor in office, the entire proceeds or interest arising on all our school funds annually, for the ensuing ten years, together with all arrearages due us to this time on said funds.

"And the said J. C. Berryman, in behalf of said institution, agrees to receive and educate any number of Delaware children—not exceeding fifty at any one time, without the consent of said superintendent of said institution. It is herein understood that the Delaware children from time to time sent to the above-mentioned institution are to be comfortably clad and boarded at its expense.

"And we, the undersigned chiefs, wish it to be understood that the instructions herein given to our great father, the president, respecting our school funds, are intended to supersede all instructions previously given contrary to the spirit and intention of this agreement, and our agent, Maj. R. W. Cummins, is hereby requested to forward this agreement to the department, at Washington city, with such explanations as he may think proper to give.

"February 28, 1844. J. C. BERRYMAN.

CAPT. NAH-KOOMER, his X mark.	SALT PETRE, his X mark.
CAPT. KETCHUM, his X mark.	NAHGENNAN, his X mark.
SACKENDIATHER, his X mark.	P. M. SCOTT, his X mark.
SANKOCHIA, his X mark.	JOHN PETERS, his X mark.
COCHATOWHA, his X mark.	CAPT. SWANAC, his X mark.

"Witness; RICHARD W. CUMMINS, *Indian Agent.*"

"I certify, on honor, that the above and foregoing agreement, made and entered into on the 28th of February, 1844, by and between the Rev. J. C. Berryman, superintendent of the manual-labor school now in operation among the Shawnees under the Fort Leavenworth agency [and the chiefs of the Delaware tribe of Indians], was by me carefully read and explained to the Delaware chiefs whose names are thereunto annexed, and that they well understood its contents, and that it contained the agreement and understanding which they had made with the Rev. J. C. Berryman, superintendent Indian manual-labor school, and that the Delaware chiefs made their marks to their names thereunto annexed in my presence. RICHARD W. CUMMINS, *Indian Agent.*"

"I have read with interest and pleasure the agreement of the 28th of February last, between the superintendent of the Methodist manual-labor school and the chiefs of the Delaware tribe of Indians, by which they devote all their school funds to the education of the children of said tribe at said institution for the next ten years; during which time the entire amount of the interest accrued, accruing and to accrue shall be paid to the said superintendent, or his successor in office.

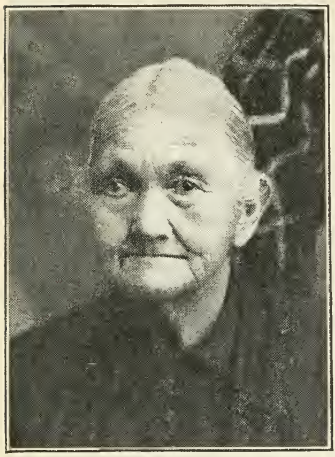
"I am glad to see this agreement; it manifests a friendly disposition to education. I do not see any objection to its conditional ratification by the department. The interest they are entitled to receive annually is $2844, and the arrearages of unpaid interest are upwards of $2000. The terms I would impose are:

"1st. That there shall be always at least thirty Delaware children in a course of education at said school; and if at any time or for any period there shall be fewer than thirty under instruction, the sum to be paid the superintendent shall abate $100 for every scholar short of the required number of thirty.

"2d. That one-half of the scholars shall be female, as near as may be practicable.

"3d. That in addition to the comfortable board and clothing stipulated for, there shall be furnished to every scholar, should he or she unfortunately require it, proper medical aid and advice; and still further, books, stationery and whatever else shall be necessary to the successful prosecution of their studies and to their comfort and health.

"4th. The interest to be paid annually, where it may suit the treasury; and this ratification



MRS. ANNA M. GRINTER.

Member of the Delaware tribe; died in 1905, at the age of eighty-five, and oldest of five generations; for more than seventy years a communicant in the Methodist church; supposed to be the last of the immigrants that came from Ohio in 1832.

was frame and painted white, the structure thus giving name to the town. It was about the center of Wyandotte county, and some eight miles west of Kansas City, Kan. It was destroyed by a tornado in May, 1886. A stone memorial church was recently erected on the site of the one destroyed.[67]

In the separation troubles of 1845 the Delawares went with their church into the Southern branch. The Methodist Episcopal Church South has a society at White Church at the present time. In the early days a log parsonage was erected, a camp-ground was laid out, and camp-meetings were held for many years.

The following is an abstract from the report of Thos. Mosely, jr., Indian agent, for the year 1851:

"In this tribe [Delawares], I find only one school; the report of the Rev. Mr. Pratt is herewith sent, marked 'D.' This indefatigable missionary deserves great praise for the management and conducting of this school, whose benefits are so valuable to the Delaware tribe, being the only school within the limits of the tribe.

"From my experience among the Indians, which has been for years, I am of the opinion that, with the less-civilized Indians, schools should be scattered about in all the strong bands of a tribe. This would afford the parents an opportunity to often visit them. The Indians are remarkably fond of their children, and it is a difficult matter to get them to send them far from home.

"The Delawares have disposed of their education fund for several years yet to come; it being vested in the Shawnee Mission manual-labor school. They have (for some cause not correctly known to me) refused to send their children to the Shawnee Mission school, which their fund sustains, for the space of a year. I feel in great hope that, with my aid, the Shawnee Mission superintendent will be able to get back to his school some twenty or thirty of the Delaware children.

"The Delaware mill, which was built by the Methodist missionary board

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to be subject to withdrawal, and the agreement itself to rescission, and to be annulled at the pleasure of the department.

"5th. Reports of the number and progress of the Delaware scholars to be made prior to the annual payment.

"Respectfully submitted, April 22, 1844. T. HARTLEY CRAWFORD."

"Approved, with this additional stipulation and condition: That the first within article shall not in any way impair or change the number of children agreed in the treaty to be educated. That article is meant to limit the minimum number; but if more Delaware children shall be sent to the school, not exceeding in all fifty, they shall be received and educated upon the terms mentioned. WILLIAM WILKINS.

"April 22, 1844."

(Report United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1844, pp. 368-370.)

NOTE 67.—The church contains memorial windows for early missionaries.

as a boon for their education for a term of years, is now a complete wreck. I have visited it, and recommended the chiefs to retain $3000 out of the money they received from the Wyandots, which they did, for the purpose of rebuilding the mill; but whether they will expend it for that purpose is, I am fearful, uncertain. The tribe is anxious it should be rebuilt, as there is not a mill in the Indian country near, but the chiefs seem to feel indifferent."

(Report United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1851, p. 80.)

The quarterly meetings for the Delaware and Wyandot missions were held alternately between the two nations. Rev. W. H. Goode describes one held among the Delawares in 1855, which was largely attended, quite a number being present from the neighboring tribes—Delawares, Wyandots, Shawnees, Kickapoos and Stockbridges all participating in the exercises and each speaking in his own tongue.[68]

A prominent man among the Delawares was Charles Ketchum, for many years a preacher in the Methodist church. In appearance he was large and portly, of manly appearance and address. He was illiterate, but a man of good intellect and a fluent talker. When the church divided, in 1845, he adhered to the Northern branch, built a church himself, and kept the little remnant of the flock together.[69] He was settled on a good farm and received appointments from the conference regularly. He entered the ministry in 1850 and was a regular member of the Kansas conference of the Methodist Episcopal church. Rev. Joab Spencer writes: "Charles and James Ketchum have both interpreted for me. Charles interpreted a sermon for me at a Delaware camp-meeting that resulted in from fifteen to twenty conversions. He was a notable Christian character, such as Bluejacket." Charles Ketchum died on the Delaware reserve, July 20, 1860, aged forty-nine years.

In the History of the Delawares, by Charles R. Green, of Lyndon, Kan., p. 175, is the following concerning Rev. James Ketchum:

"Rev. James Ketchum was born in 1819. He was a convert to the Methodist Episcopal faith in youth, preaching in his own language at White Church, Wyandotte county, Kansas, and to a portion of the Delawares in the Cherokee nation, after their removal, in 1868, and was considered one of the most eloquent orators of the Delaware tribe."

He is now dead. Mr. Green also states that Lewis Ketchum was still living in 1903, ten miles southeast of Vinita, I. T., between eighty and ninety years of age, the oldest member of his tribe.

Prominent among the missionaries among the Delawares were the brothers E. T. and J. Thompson Peery, Learner B. Stateler,[70] and N. M. Talbot. The name of Rev. W. C. Ellefrit occurs in the list of missionaries for 1837.

NOTE 68.—Outposts of Zion, p. 307.

NOTE 69.—Id., p. 296.

NOTE 70.—REV. LEARNER BLACKMAN STATELER was born near Hartford, Ohio county, Kentucky, July 7, 1811. He was of German parentage. He was licensed to preach in 1830, and the next year made his way from Kentucky to Missouri on horseback. In 1833 he was sent as missionary to the Creek Indians. In 1837 he was appointed to the Delaware Indian mission, where he remained till 1840, when he was transferred to the Shawnee Mission, where he remained till 1844, in which year he was appointed presiding elder of the Choctaw district, Indian Territory. In 1845 he returned to Shawnee and served as presiding elder of the Kansas River district, Methodist Episcopal Church South, till 1850. In 1862 he took charge of the work in Denver, and later was a missionary to Montana, where he died, May 1, 1895, having spent sixty-five years on the Western frontier. He was married in 1836 to Melinda Purdom, a native of North Carolina. She served as matron and manager of the girls' boarding-house at the Shawnee manual-labor school for a short time. She died in Montana in 1889.

REV. JAMES KETCHUM,
Delaware chief and interpreter.

He was no doubt a teacher, as his name does not appear in the list of ministerial appointments.

The interpreters for the Northern branch of the church were Isaac Johnnycake, Paschal Fish, and Charles Ketchum; those for the Southern branch, James Ketchum, Jacob Ketchum, and Ben. Love. Henry Tiblow was the United States interpreter.

I am indebted in the preparation of this paper to Geo. U. S. Hovey, of White Church, Kan. Mr. Hovey died at White Church January 7, 1906.

THE KICKAPOO MISSION.

The Kickapoos occupied a reservation in northeastern Kansas which is now parts of Brown, Atchison and Jackson counties. Their country lay north of the Delawares, extending up the Missouri river twenty miles in a direct line, then northwestward about sixty miles, and thence south twenty

miles to the Delaware line, and included 768,000 acres.[71] As a tribe, the Kickapoos are thus described by Rev. W. H. Goode, who visited this reservation in the early days:

"The numbers of this tribe are considerable; their lands were good. In character and general improvements they are a degree below the tribes just now noticed—the Wyandots, Shawnees, and Delawares—have no very prominent men, and have attracted less attention. Some missionary effort has been expended among them, the results of which are still seen in the piety of some of the tribe. Among them the prophet Ken-i-kuk[72] appeared to run his race. His vagaries were a serious drawback to the work; though it is believed that he afterward became a true penitent."

In civilization their condition was similar to that of the Weas and Peorias. A mission was organized in 1833,[73] and Rev. Jerome C. Berryman[74] appointed to the work in the fall of that year, continuing in charge of it till the fall of 1841. The Kickapoos lived on the southeastern extremity of their lands, near Fort Leavenworth, and here our mission was situated. Rev. J. C. Berryman gives the following interesting account of his introduction to the work among the Kickapoos:

"The Kickapoos had been but recently removed from Illinois [and Missouri] to their new location on the Missouri river, and were still living only in wigwams. In fact, they had never been, properly speaking, settled, but had always led a roving life. On my first visit to them at their village, I was

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NOTE 71.—Treaty of 1832, Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties, Washington, 1904, vol. 2, p. 365; see, also, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1836, p. 397.

NOTE 72.—"KELUKUK, *alias* the Kickapoo prophet, one of the Kickapoo chiefs, is a professed preacher, of an order which he himself originated some years ago. His adherents are about 400 in number, some of whom are small boys and girls. He professes to receive all that he teaches immediately from the Great Spirit by a supernatural agency. He teaches abstinence from the use of ardent spirits, the observation of the Sabbath, and some other good morals. He appears to have little knowledge of the doctrines of Christianity, only as his dogmas happen to agree with them. Congregational worship is performed four days in the week, and lasts from one to three hours."—Isaac McCoy, Annual Register of Indian Affairs, No. 2, pp. 31, 32. For a more extended account, see reference.

The post village Kennekuk, Atchison county, formerly the agency of the Kickapoos, was named for this chief.

NOTE 73.—McCoy's Annual Register of Indian Affairs, January, 1835, p. 30.

NOTE 74.—In 1833 Mr. Berryman was appointed to the Kickapoo Indian mission and school. As no mission had yet been established among the Kickapoos in Kansas, the appointment meant that he was to open a station, collect children, and start a school. As soon as shelter could be secured, Brother Berryman and wife entered on the work. It was her part to act as matron and teach; in fact, the work of the school fell to her lot, but she was equal to the task. She was well endowed and well equipped for the place, which she held with success for eight years, when Mr. Berryman was removed to the Shawnee manual-labor school, where Mrs. Berryman was connected with that school till her death, which occurred July 28, 1846. Then the loved sister and mother, as the Indians called her, was laid to rest in the mission burying-ground, where she now sleeps.

Jerome Cousin Berryman was born in Ohio county, Kentucky, in 1810. He came to Missouri in 1828. Soon after he was licensed to preach, and that same year was admitted into the Missouri conference. For five years he served the white work in Missouri, and in 1833 was appointed missionary to the Kickapoos, at their village, not very far from Fort Leavenworth, Kan. He remained in charge of this mission for eight years. In 1841 he was appointed superintendent of the Indian manual-labor school, where he remained for six years, having a part of this time charge of the Indian Mission conference. At the conference of 1847 he was taken from the Indian work and placed on Cape Girardeau district as presiding elder. From this date we find him serving district and station, and engaged in the educational work of the church. He was the last surviving member of the general conference of 1844. Mr. Berryman and Miss Mary C. Cissna were married in Kentucky, October 6, 1831.

While reading proof on this paper the author received a copy of the St. Louis *Republican* with a special from Birmingham, Ala., where the general conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South was in session, reporting that the news of the death of Rev. J. C. Berryman, at Caledonia, Mo., had caused profound sorrow among the members of the Missouri delegation. He died on May 8, soon after answering a greeting from the conference. He was the oldest Methodist minister, having celebrated his ninety-sixth birthday in February. His reply to the greeting was: "Please convey to the conference and church at large fraternal benediction, with the assurance that I am still preaching from the grand text, Job xix, 25, 'For I know that my redeemer liveth, and that He shall stand at the latter day upon the earth." After hearing of his death the following resolution was passed by the general conference: "We have heard with sorrow of the death of the Rev. J. C. Berryman, the sole survivor of the historic general conference of 1844, at the close of almost a century of heroic faith and tireless labor for Christ."

alone and spent a night with them, occupying a wigwam with a large family of Indians. Around the interior of the wigwam were spread on the ground mats made of rushes, of which, also, the wigwam itself was constructed, and these served all the purposes of chairs, tables, and beds. The manner of going to bed I observed was for each person to wrap himself or herself in a blanket and lie down on these mats. I of course followed the example, and having a large Mackanaw blanket of my own, used it in like manner, without the formality of undressing. But tired nature's sweet restorer refused to visit my wakeful lids, and seemed content to lodge only with my new and very strange companions for that night. It did not take me long to have some log-cabin buildings erected for my family, and a schoolhouse of the same sort in which to open a school; and by midwinter I had about ninety children in attendance. Here for eight consecutive years, with my faithful wife and other helpers, I labored in teaching the young and the old; often preaching to the soldiers at the fort, and also frequently visiting and helping at the other mission stations among the Shawnees, Delawares, Peorias, and Pottawatomies. In the fall of 1841 Nathaniel M. Talbot was taken from Peoria mission and appointed to Kickapoo, and I was put in charge at the Indian manual-labor school, Thomas Johnson's health having failed, so that he had to leave. Our work was greatly owned and blessed of God in the Christianizing and civilizing of hundreds of Indians.

"Returning from the conference at Cane Hill, Ark., to St. Charles county, Missouri, where I had left my wife, I made haste to get up a traveling outfit suitable for the occasion; and soon, with what was then called a carryall, wagon, and a good horse, I was on the road for Kickapoo mission, distant about 275 miles, accompanied by my wife and a young woman who went along as company and help for her. We arrived at Shawnee Mission in about eight or ten days, twenty-five miles short of our final destination; for Kickapoo mission, as yet only on paper, was still that distance further up the Missouri river, near Fort Leavenworth. A few days' rest at Shawnee, and then Brother Thomas Johnson and myself went on up to Fort Leavenworth for the purpose of consultation with the government officials and the Indians about the location of the contemplated mission among the Kickapoos."

The work among this tribe seems to have been prosperous from the start, the report for the year 1834 showing that 2 whites and 230 Indians were enrolled in the mission and school. Rev. John Monroe was appointed this year to assist Mr. Berryman. The fifteenth annual report of the missionary society, for the year 1834, refers to the Kickapoos as follows:

"Flourishing. A church recently organized of 230 members, of natives belonging to the Kickapoos and Pottawatomies, some of whom formerly belonged to the Iroquois mission."

Mr. Berryman, in some reminiscences, thus speaks of his appointment to this work, his arduous labors as conference superintendent, and pays a beautiful tribute to his devoted wife and helper:

"I have ever believed that my marriage had much to do in procuring this appointment for me. My wife was eminently fitted for work of this kind, and it was essential to success that the missionary should have with him a suitable companion, who could be at once the sharer of his privations and toils, and fill the position of mother and matron in the mission school. In all these respects the woman I had married proved herself inferior to none. She was universally loved by her associates and the Indians, many of whom delighted to call her sister and mother. She finished her work in great peace, at Shawnee manual-labor school, on the 28th of July, 1846, having spent twelve of the best years of her life feeding the lambs of Christ's flock, and now sleeps in the grave by the side of the Johnsons and other missionary coworkers, at the place where she died.

"I spent eight years at Kickapoo mission, and six at the Indian manual-

labor school and in the superintendency of the Indian Mission conference, which was organized at the general conference of 1844. It embraced the entire Indian Territory, then extending from the Missouri river on the north to Red river on the south, a distance of 500 miles along the border of the states of Missouri and Arkansas, and included the following tribes: Shawnees, Delawares, Wyandots, Senecas, Kickapoos, Pottawatomies, Munsees, Osages, Pawnees, Kansas, Quapaws, Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles. My duty in this superintendency required frequent long journeys performed on horseback, generally alone, lodging in Indian cabins, and taking such fare as their scanty supplies afforded, yet sometimes even in Indian families I enjoyed such hospitality as would do credit to the best homes in civilized communities."

The school established in 1833 numbered in 1835 forty scholars. The children were boarded at the mission house and "taught gratuitously. All dine at the mission house on school days; and eight of them are supported by the mission."[75] In 1836 Mr. Berryman was employed by the government to teach in its school, receiving as compensation a salary of $480 a year.[76] "Receiving his support from the Methodist missionary society, [he] applies the salary which he receives from the government as teacher to the support of the native scholars and to other purposes of the mission. The mission buildings and the United States schoolhouse are on the same grounds." Only six scholars were reported in the government school this year.[77]

For the year 1839, Mr. Berryman reported but sixteen scholars in the mission school, that number being the average for a year or two previous. In his report he says:

"These are tolerably regular, though of late, through the detrimental influence of the prophet and others, we have found it difficult to keep the children in regular and orderly attendance, and it seems to me that at present it is almost impracticable to keep our school under good discipline and management while the children can, at any moment when they become dissatisfied, abscond and go home with impunity."

The teacher employed by our missionary society this year was Miss Elizabeth Lee. The branches taught were geography, arithmetic, reading, writing, and spelling. The scholars, twelve boys and three girls, were provided with American names, as follows: Jesse, Silas, Joseph, George, Stephen, Jane, Amelia, Sarah, etc.

A majority of the Kickapoos were decidedly averse to sending their children to school. From 1839 on the Kickapoo children were sent to the manual-labor school of the Shawnee Mission, but few seem to have attended. The only year any are reported from this tribe was 1840—a total of three. The report to the commissioner of Indian affairs for the year 1860, page 100, would lead us to believe that the tribe supported a school of its own. The report is as follows:

"KICKAPOO AGENCY, MUSCOTAH, Atchison county, K. T., October 22, 1860.— . . . The mission school was closed in June last, as heretofore reported. The Indians are now awaiting the reestablishment of a school under the direction of the missionary board of the Methodist Episcopal Church South."

NOTE 75.—Isaac McCoy, Annual Register of Indian Affairs, vol. 1, p. 30.

NOTE 76.—By the treaty of 1832, article 7, the United States agreed to pay $500 per annum for ten successive years for the support of a school, purchase of books, etc. See, also, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1838, p. 496.

NOTE 77.—Isaac McCoy, Annual Register of Indian Affairs, vol. 2, p. 31.

The school was situated about one mile from the eastern border of the reservation. Mrs. Frank M. Green, of Whiting, Kan., a teacher at the Presbyterian mission near the old Kickapoo agency, at Kennekuk, in the '50's, says she thinks the building for this school was purchased from a Mr. Rising, who used it for a hotel, and that it was situated on the overland road to California. The Kickapoos have a small reservation in the southern part of Brown county at the present time.

The report for 1861 shows an attendance of twenty—eighteen males and two females. The buildings were in a dilapidated state and no money had been contributed by the society and nothing by individual Indians; so the pressure of money matters and the influence of the war excitement upon the school had a bad effect. Religious services were conducted every Sabbath and family worship during the week. The superintendent this year was F. M. Williams.

THE PEORIA AND KASKASKIA MISSION.

The Peorias were a small tribe south of the Shawnees, with the Weas and Piankeshaws on the east, the Ottawas on the west, and the Pottawatomies on the south. The Peorias and Kaskaskias are regarded as one tribe. Our church established a mission among the Peorias in 1833, and Rev. James H. Slavens was appointed as missionary. Rev. Nathaniel M. Talbot[78] was appointed in 1834, and continued to serve till 1840. The report for the year 1834 shows two white members and fifteen Indians. In 1836 the mission school reported sixteen scholars, who were instructed in English and supported by their parents, except one meal a day furnished at the mission house. The missionary was Rev. Mr. Talbot, assisted by Mrs. Talbot, and a Mr. Groves who had charge of the school.[79] The mission was located on the northern bank of the Osage river. The buildings consisted of one schoolroom and one double dwelling with common outhouses. In 1837 there were but twelve scholars, ten males and two females, who were taught reading, writing, and spelling.[80] In 1842 a missionary station was kept up under the management of Rev. N. T. Shaler and Mrs. Annie Shaler, daughter of Mary Rogers and Mackinaw Bauchemie, but no school.[81] The mission was dropped about three years later. Mrs. Shaler had been brought up at the Shawnee manual-labor school, where she cared for Mrs. Johnson's children. She was about nineteen when she married Mr. Shaler, and lived about eight years.

THE POTTAWATOMIE MISSION.

A mission was established in this tribe in 1837, and Rev. Frederick B. Leach appointed missionary; in 1838, Rev. E. T. Peery, who served again in 1839.

The Pottawatomie reserve was south of the Peorias and Ottawas. The mission was located upon the site of the town of Osawatomie. Rev. G. W. Love was for a short time a missionary among this tribe, and had as his in-

NOTE 78.—NATHANIEL M. TALBOT was born in Shelby county, Kentucky, March 17, 1805, and died near Arrow Rock, Mo., July, 1872. He joined the Missouri conference in 1825, and spent forty-seven years in the ministry.

NOTE 79.—Isaac McCoy, Annual Register of Indian Affairs, vol. 2, p. 23.

NOTE 80.—Report Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1837, p. 609.

NOTE 81.—Id., 1842, p. 118.

terpreter Boashman,[82] a native Pottawatomie, who lived many years among the Shawnees and married a squaw of that tribe.

After the church was divided, Rev. Thomas H. Hurlburt was appointed by the Methodist Episcopal Church South to labor among the Pottawatomies. The following report was made to the sub-agent for the year 1846:

"POTTAWATOMIE, September 5, 1846.

"DEAR SIR—Although our mission premises are located at this point, our labors extend to but a small part of the Pottawatomie tribe. We labor among the Chippewas, Peorias, Weas, and Piankeshaws. These are but fragments of tribes so reduced in numbers that we do not feel justified, under all the circumstances of the case, in establishing a mission for the exclusive benefit of any one of them.

"The Chippewas are improving some temporally, and will, perhaps, raise enough this year for their subsistence. In their social and moral habits they are also improving some. There seems a disposition among them to merge with the Ottawas, as they are near neighbors and speak dialects of the same language. Indeed, the Chippewas have already disused their own dialect and assumed the Ottawa, as the latter far outnumbered them.

"The Peorias, Weas and Piankeshaws speak dialects of the same language, and are, perhaps, nearly on a par in regard to temporal circumstances and social and moral habits. All have horses, and most of them cattle and hogs, and generally raise sufficient corn for their consumption. Some of them have embraced the Christian religion, and manifest the sincerity of their profession by the consistency of their general deportment. There is but little energy manifested by them generally in regard to improving their condition, either temporally, socially, morally, or intellectually.

"A few of the Pottawatomies on this creek are men of intelligence and worth, an honor to their tribe and to the churches to which they are attached; but, as it regards the greater part of them, I cannot say that I see any improvement among them.

"We have no school attached to this mission, but send all the children we can obtain to the Indian manual-labor school, situated in the Shawnee country. A good number from the above-mentioned tribes are now receiving their education at that institution.

"We have about fifty church members in this charge.

Yours most respectfully, THOMAS HURLBURT,
Missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church South."

"COL. A. J. VAUGHAN, *Indian Subagent.*"

(Commissioner's Report, 1846, pp. 368, 369.)

The Pottawatomies, in 1847–'48, moved to the reservation in the present

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NOTE 82.—Mrs. Julia Ann Stinson says that her grandmother, the wife of Henry Rogers and daughter of Blackfish, was a cousin of Tecumseh. Blackfish and Tecumseh's father married sisters. Mrs. Stinson named the town of Tecumseh for her kinsman, it being situated on her allotment as a member of the Shawnee tribe. Her mother, Mary Rogers, after coming west, married Mackinaw Bauchemie, a Frenchman, so-called because he was born at Mackinaw. One of her brothers was Alex. Bushman, whose allotment covered the site of Auburndale, the Topeka suburb. She was married here before he moved to Uniontown.—W. E. CONNELLEY.

"After my parents were married my father stopped going with the American Fur Company and interpreted for Mr. Johnson and joined church. After the Pottawatomies came to Kansas the Methodist church sent him to them as an interpreter because he could speak their language. My parents lived in the mission building among the Pottawatomies. It was built by the Methodist church and was a double log house, standing east and west, with a hallway between. There was a half-story above. My father had thirty mares, and he raised mules and sold them to the government at Leavenworth. We had two colored slaves, Moses and Jennie, given by my grandmother Rogers to my mother on her marriage. The missionaries came nearly every Sunday from the Shawnee Mission or from Westport to preach. Bishop Soule preached there once. There was a government agent who lived down there—Colonel Vaughn. He had no family but his son Lee. Vaughn was afterwards agent for the northern Indians. His wife was dead. He had a house like ours, about a quarter of a mile distant, built by the government. He had negro servants, and raised a garden but had no farm. My mother died at the mission in February and father in March, 1849. Alexander and I were in school at Fayette Academy, Missouri, where I boarded with Rev. Thomas Johnson there in 1847–'48, when he returned to the Kansas mission. Alex. was with me in 1849, and when we heard of our mother's death we started home, but traveling was so bad that we did not reach there until after my father had died. It was an awful place to come to. Our colored people were keeping house, and only Martha and William were at home. While we were off at school the Pottawatomies had sold out and moved away."—MRS. JULIA A. STINSON.

Pottawatomie county, Kansas. The Catholic mission school at St. Marys was the only mission among them, except that of the Baptists, in Shawnee county, which I know of, after their coming North.

THE WYANDOT MISSION.

The Wyandots have a history different from the other tribes among whom our church established missions in Kansas, in that they were, at the time they migrated to Kansas, quite highly civilized and quite thoroughly Christianized.

The genesis of Methodist missions is connected with the Wyandots, as the first systematized missionary work undertaken by the church was with this tribe, the converts being the first fruits of her labors among a pagan race.[83]

The Wyandots for a long period stood politically at the head of an Indian federation of tribes, and were so recognized by the United States government in the treaties made with the Indians of the old Northwest territory. In the early part of the last century they occupied a large reservation in what is now Wyandot county, Ohio, something more than twelve by twelve miles in extent, and through which flowed the Sandusky river. By a treaty made at Upper Sandusky, Ohio, March 17, 1842, they ceded their lands to the United States, they being then the only Indians remaining in the state.[84]

In the year 1816, John Stewart,[83] a converted mulatto, felt called to labor among them as a missionary and succeeded in making a number of converts, among whom were several chiefs. When Stewart began to labor among the Wyandots they were the most degraded heathen. Stewart's parents were free people of color, and he was born in Powhattan county, Virginia. He died December 17, 1823. A church and schoolhouse were erected and a farm opened. The boys were taught agriculture and the girls various domestic arts. The advancement made under our missionaries was something marvelous; so that when they migrated to what is now Wyandotte county, Kansas, in July, 1843, they were in a high state of civilization, and brought with them a fully organized Methodist church of more than 200 members, with some local preachers and exhorters of ability and prominence. Among them were some splendid specimens of Indian piety and thrilling pulpit eloquence. One factor which contributed largely toward making them a superior nation was the large infusion of white blood that the tribe contained, and that of some rather prominent families. The Walker, Hicks, Zane, Armstrong and Mudeater families were all founded by captives who were adopted into the tribe.

Their reservation in Kansas consisted of thirty-nine sections of land, a little more than one township, thirty-six being purchased December 4, 1843, for $46,080, from the Delawares, their neighbors on the west and north, and their reputed nephews, and three being the gift of the same tribe. Their little reservation at the confluence of the Kansas and Missouri rivers was a finely wooded tract of very fertile land, beautifully undulating and well

NOTE 83.—History of the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky, Ohio, by James Finley, Cincinnati, 1840; History of the Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, by Rev. Enoch Mudge, in History of American Missions, 1840, p. 529.

NOTE 84.—For a connected history of this tribe, see "The Wyandot Indians," by Ray E. Merwin, on page 73 of this volume. The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory and the Journals of William Walker, by W. E. Connelley, Lincoln, Neb., 1899, relates to the Wyandots in Kansas.

watered. The site was eligible and healthy, and upon it has grown up the Kansas metropolis.

When the Wyandots arrived by two steamboats at their reservation, July 28 and 31, 1843, they numbered about 700 souls. Mrs. Lucy Bigelow Armstrong says[85] that among the more than 200 church members there were nine class-leaders, several exhorters, and three local preachers, one of whom, Squire Greyeyes, a man full of faith and the Holy Ghost, and a true missionary, was ordained deacon. The members were divided into five classes for religious work and instruction. The Rev. James Wheeler, who had been their missionary for nearly four years, accompanied them. Religious services were held on their journey and all their religious appointments kept up in Ohio were resumed on their first camping-ground in Kansas. Most of the Wyandots camped on the reservation from the latter part of July till the latter part of October, 1843, while some rented houses in and about Westport, Mo. Their missionary, Rev. James Wheeler, found a home at the Shawnee manual-labor school, and preached at the Wyandot camp nearly every Sabbath and often during the week. His services were required frequently, as sixty of their number died in the three months they were camped there. The Wyandot preachers and exhorters were always at their posts, so that there were always two regular preaching services on the Sabbath and five well-attended class-meetings in the place appointed for public preaching and in some of the camps. A general prayer-meeting was held on Wednesday evening, and on Thursday evening there was preaching by Squire Greyeyes or another of the Wyandots. The interpreters for Mr. Wheeler were Geo. I. Clark and John M. Armstrong.

Mr. Wheeler attended the Missouri conference, held at Lexington in October, 1843, as the missions were a part of this conference. From there Mr. Wheeler returned to Ohio, expecting to return to the Wyandots in the spring.

The Wyandots held their meetings regularly on the Sabbath and Wednesdays and Fridays during the winter of 1843–'44 in their camps, for only a few had houses in which to live. At the close of a meeting in January, 1844, Squire Greyeyes proposed that the brethren should come together, cut down trees, hew logs, make puncheons and clapboards, and build a church. While they were all busy clearing ground, splitting rails to enclose their fields for the spring crops, they set apart a day now and then to work on the new church. So faithfully did they labor that they were able to worship in it in April of the same year, 1844, the preacher standing on one tier of the puncheon floor and the congregation sitting on the uncovered sleepers. This, the first church built by the Wyandots in Kansas, was a good, hewed-log house, about thirty by forty feet, located about three miles from the confluence of the Kansas and Missouri rivers.[86] It was completed before the return of the missionary, Mr. Wheeler, in May of the same year, and their first quarterly meeting for the year was held in it the first Saturday and Sunday in June, at which time he baptized all the infants born to the Wyan-

NOTE 85.—Mrs. Armstrong's account may be found in Cutler's History of Kansas, 1883, pp. 1226–1229.

NOTE 86.—Mrs. Lucy B. Armstrong, in her sketch of the Washington Avenue Methodist Church, Kansas City, Kan., says this log church was built on Mr. Kerr's place, or about the western limit of the city—Washington and Eighteenth streets.—History, Record and Directory Washington Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church, Kansas City, 1893.

dots during his absence. A parsonage, built about half a mile from the confluence of the rivers, was nearly completed at this time. This was a two-story frame house, costing about $1500, being a part of the proceeds of the mission farm improvements at Upper Sandusky, Ohio, one result of the labors of the old missionaries Finley, Gilruth, Bigelow, and their successors. This parsonage, Mrs. Armstrong says, was unjustly alienated from the Methodist Episcopal church by the Wyandot treaty of 1855, the Manypenny treaty. The above description is largely gathered from the reminiscences of Mrs. Lucy Bigelow Armstrong.

During Mr. Wheeler's absence, the missionaries from the Shawnee, Delaware and Kickapoo missions preached to the Wyandots once in two weeks, alternately—Rev. J. C. Berryman, superintendent of the manual-labor school; Rev. Learner B. Stateler, missionary to the Shawnees; E. T. and J. Thompson Peery, of the Delawares; and N. M. Talbot, of the Kickapoos.

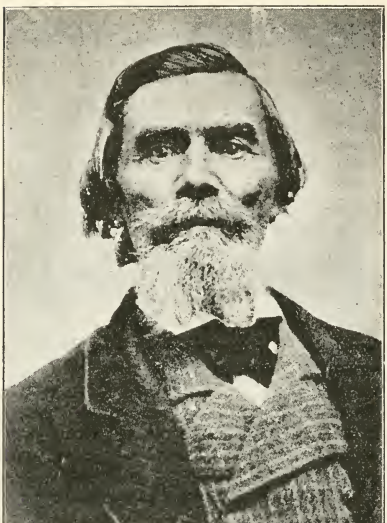
The slavery question, which rent the Methodist Episcopal church asunder in 1845, assumed a more acute form among the Wyandots than with any of the other tribes among which our church established her missions in Kansas. They had just recently moved from the northern part of Ohio, a free state, and had not been affected by pro-slavery influences, as the other Kansas missions had been, by reason of their belonging to the Missouri conference and served by Southern and pro-slavery sympathizers.

Rev. James Wheeler returned to Ohio in May, 1846. From the journal of Wm. Walker, we are able to obtain the exact date; for, under date of May 4, 1846, he makes record as follows: "The deacon packing up his effects for a move to Ohio"; and under date of May 5, "At eleven o'clock the deacon and his family bade adieu to the Wyandots and embarked on board the 'Radnor' with sorrowful hearts. May they have a pleasant and prosperous voyage." May 9, "E. T. Peery's family, successors of J. W., moved over to-day."

The Wyandots were, by the removal of Mr. Wheeler, deprived of their spiritual leader. All about them were strong pro-slavery influences. About this time the Wyandots held an official meeting,[87] and resolved that they would "not receive a missionary from the church south of the line" dividing the new organization from the Methodist Episcopal church, according to the proposed plan of separation.

The Rev. E. T. Peery was appointed missionary to the Wyandots from 1845 to October, 1848. Mr. Peery represented himself to the Wyandots as being opposed to slavery, but finally went with the majority of the missionaries into the Church South. In October, 1846, when the United States government paid the Wyandots for the improvements on their Ohio homes, Mr. Peery proposed in an official meeting that they should build a larger and better church, and more convenient to the parsonage, than the log church. James Big Tree, who was a licensed exhorter in the church, opposed it, saying that the Church South would claim it, but Mr. Peery overruled the objection, saying that the records were kept in the name of the Methodist Episcopal church, and that it was well known that the Wyandots were opposed to the new organization (Methodist Episcopal Church South), and would adhere to the old organization, or a majority, at least, would.

NOTE 87.—Cutler's History of Kansas, p. 1228.



SILAS ARMSTRONG,
Wyandot chief and interpreter.

A good brick building, fifty by thirty-five feet, with a basement, was erected, and occupied November 1, 1874.[88] The funds were raised mostly by private subscriptions among the people. The organization at this time numbered 240 members—two native preachers and four exhorters. The building, it appears, was not finished till several years later, but all the services were now held in this church, but, as heretofore, class- and prayer-meetings in private houses in different neighborhoods, largely through the labors of Greyeyes.

The new brick meeting-house proved to be a bone of contention between the opposing factions.

The journals of Wm. Walker, published by Wm. E. Connelley in his interesting volume "Wm. Walker and the Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory," gives us an insight into the contest waged so bitterly by the opposing factions, and which resulted in the burning of both the old log church and the new brick church in the Wyandot Nation.[89] Due allowance must be made for Governor Walker's bias toward the pro-slavery party and the M. E. Church South. He was a

NOTE 88.—Mrs. Armstrong says this brick church was one-half mile from town, on the Greenwood tract, supposed to be about Tenth street and Freeman avenue, Kansas City, Kan.

NOTE 89.—William E. Connelly writes, under date of Topeka, October 1, 1905, as follows:

MY DEAR BROTHER LUTZ—I received your manuscript, and read it with much pleasure and profit. It contains much that I did not know in relation to the missions other than that to the Wyandots. It is very valuable. I was at a loss to know where to find many things about the Shawnees; you have it all here. I send you herewith copies of a few documents which I have in my collection. I have hundreds of them on this church division in the Wyandot nation, but these will be sufficient for this paper.

The date of the burning of the church buildings is April 8, 1856. I find this in the sketch of the church left by Aunt Lucy B. Armstrong. I have the manuscript, and it is published in the directory of the Washington Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church for 1893. The entry is as follows: "On the night of April 8, 1856, both church buildings were burned to the ground by incendiaries." The churches were burned by some young men who did not belong to any church organization. The Church South had no organization in the nation at that time. This may seem a strange statement to make, but I quote you the following document:

"WYANDOTT, November 25, 1854.

"The undersigned, official members of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, for ourselves and the membership, would respectfully notify the Rev. A. Monroe, superintendent of the Kansas district, that, in view of the present condition of the charge in this place—a condition that may be called anything but prosperous—have deliberately determined upon a union of the two societies, under the pastoral charge of the Methodist Episcopal church.

"The official and private members have for the past two years observed with pain and deep regret a continual decline in the spiritual condition of this society.

"The cause, in part, of the falling-off may be attributed to the loss by death of many of our

slaveholder on a small scale. Mr. Connelley says that "Governor Walker was extremely bitter, intolerant and unjust in his attitude toward the M. E. church, although he did not belong to the Church South, and his wife and daughter Martha belonged to the M. E. church." Under date of September 1, 1848, Governor Walker says:

"Pursuant to notice, the nation assembled at the camp-ground, and at twelve o'clock proceeded to organize by the appointment of James Washington, president, and John Hicks, sen'r, vice-president, and W. Walker, secretary. The object [of the convention] being to determine whether the nation will declare for the Southern division of the M. E. church or the Northern. After an animated discussion by S. Armstrong, W. Walker, M. R. Walker, J. D. Brown, F. A. Hicks, David Young and others in favor of the South, and J. M. Armstrong, G. I. Clark, Squire Greyeyes in favor of the North, a preamble and resolution [were] adopted by which the nation declared for the South."

September 5.—"Writing an appeal to the Ohio conference."

September 7.—"To-day the church members were to be assembled at the new brick church to vote on the question 'North or South,' but unfortunately the members refused to attend, and so ended the affair. A rather severe rebuke to the agitators."

October 21.—"Wrote an address to the Indian Mission conference for the official members. . . . In the evening the *notorious* Bishop Andrews [Andrew] came over. Called upon him at the deacon's. Found him sociable and affable—a real, burly Georgian."

Sunday, October 22.—"Attended church and heard the bishop preach. In the afternoon he dined with us."

October 23.—"A preacher, it seems, is appointed by the Ohio conference to come in here and sneak about like a night burglar or incendiary to do *harm* and not *good*. What is it that religious fanaticism will not do? The seceders have stolen the church records."

October 24.—"At night a number of our friends came and stayed till a late hour discussing various matters. Determined to call in the authority of the Nation and the Indian Agent, to protect their rights from the seceders."

Sunday, October 29.—"Went to Church, and to our astonishment found the presiding Elder of the *Quasi* Northern District, a *Mr. Still;* the Deacon, as a matter of Grace, asked him to preach, which he attempted to do; 'Sorter' preached. The Church was then divided, South from the North. Meeting appointed by the Northerners for evening."

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old, experienced and zealous members and fathers in the church, and no accessions to supply these losses.

"For the last two years we have thought that the church of our choice looked upon this charge as a burden, especially by this conference, judging from the character of the ministerial supply afforded us. We have been denied the benefit and privilege of the general itinerant system of the church — a system which past experience demonstrated to be eminently useful and successful with our people.

"No one could, previous to the commencement of this conference year, doubt our devotion and loyalty to the Methodist Episcopal Church South. A crisis has arrived, and it must be met, and how to meet it *was asked;* but no satisfactory response was made — no effectual remedy was proposed.

"To our statements and suggestions answers were returned better calculated to silence than to satisfy us.

"To us, as a society, the alternative was presented, either spiritual death or a change, and the stern necessity of the case determined us to choose the latter.

"We dissolve our connection with the Church South from a deep sense of duty. We part *in peace*, and shall carry with us feelings of high regard, esteem and Christian love for our brethren.

"This union will render it obviously necessary to have the use of the brick church as well as the parsonage.

"The necessary arrangement will be made for a reimbursement to your church of its outlay in money in the erection of the church building."

There are no names to the above document, and it is evidently but the first draft. It is in the handwriting of Governor Walker, and he evidently drew up the articles. I found this document among his papers. There is, on the same sheet of paper, the following, which is in the handwriting of Governor Walker, and, being on the same sheet, would make it certain that both papers are but the first drafts of the papers signed and acted upon:

"The undersigned, official members of the Methodist Episcopal church in Wyandott, would respectfully state that the brethren whose names are signed to the above article made overtures to us for the purpose mentioned therein.

"We met and had a full, free and unreserved conference, and the result was the adoption of

October 30.—"At candle-light the Wyandott Chiefs met at our domicile and prepared a communication to the Agent, asking the interposition of the Government to keep out of our territory those reverend disturbers of the Nation."

November 28.—"Rev. J. Thompson Peerey, our newly appointed missionary, moved into the parsonage."

November 30.—"To-night will be held the first official meeting of the Church South under the administration of Rev. J. T. Peerey."

December 1.—"Called upon Mr. Peerey and presiding elder Stateler. . . . Mr. James Gurley, the preacher sent by the Ohio annual conference to preach abolitionism to the Wyandotts, has just arrived. So I suppose we are to have religious dissensions in full fruition."

December 2.—"Mr. Gurley called upon us and defended his position. If he follows the instructions received from Bishop Morris we shall not have much trouble, for he will 'gather up his awls' and pull out."

Sunday, December 3.—"Must go to the Synagogue and hear Mr. Gurley

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a resolution for a union of the two societies, as stated in their communication. We receive them as brethren and sisters beloved.

"With this complaint of a want of proper attention towards them from your conference, we have nothing to say; on the contrary, be assured of our best wishes and fraternal regard for our brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, while we invoke the blessing of the Great Head of the Church upon this union."

When the Methodist Episcopal Church South again effected an organization in the nation I have not had time to ascertain. But it could not have been very soon after this union; the war on the border began about that time, and things were very unsettled. I think this Kansas war had more to do with the burning of the church buildings than any religious controversy which could have existed at that time.

As confirmatory of the truthfulness of the above documents, I will quote from the paper of Aunt Lucy, referred to before:

"With Doctor Goode as superintendent came the Rev. J. H. Dennis as missionary. Soon after their arrival twelve of the members who had joined the Church South returned to the old church. Among the number were Matthew Mudeater, a Wyandot chief, and Mrs. Hannah, wife of William Walker, who afterwards became provisional governor of Kansas."

I am satisfied that Mrs. Hannah Walker never united with the Church South nor did her daughter Martha. Jesse Garrett, Esq., who married Martha, told me that his wife and Mrs. Walker always remained in the old church, but the feeling was so bitter that they could not attend its services, and that they did attend the services of the Church South.

Another document, showing that the succession has always remained in the Methodist Episcopal church, is as follows (I do not know the handwriting, but I secured the paper from a daughter of Aunt Lucy):

"STATE OF MISSOURI, COUNTY OF JACKSON, *to wit:*

"Edward Peery, of the county aforesaid, being duly sworn, says that he was Missionary to the Wyandot Indians in Kansas, then Indian Territory, from June, 1846, to October, 1848; that though the said affiant was in connection with the Methodist Church South at that time, yet the records of all the official meetings of the Church among the Wyandots during that time were in the name of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the licenses of the Local Preachers and Exhorters were renewed quarterly as emenating from the Quarterly Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church; that at a meeting of the official members of the Church among the Wyandotts in May, 1846, it was resolved, that the Church among the Wyandotts would not submit to the jurisdiction of the Church South.

"Said affiant further states, that at another official meeting, held in the fall of 1846, it was decided to build a good brick Church, and subscription papers for building a Methodist Church among the Wyandotts were circulated for that purpose, and the Wyandotts themselves contributed the most of the Money raised, the Wyandott Council donating Five Hundred dollars out of the National Annuity; that the Church was built in pursuance of the aforesaid decision of the official members, and ready for occupancy in November, 1847; that regular religious services were held in it, and the records of the Church were still kept in the name of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as heretofore stated, until the fall of 1848, when the membership was divided, a large majority of the members adhering to the Methodist Episcopal Church; that after the organization of Kansas Territory a State of Lawlessness and disorder prevailed along the border, and much property was destroyed, and the aforesaid Brick Church was burned in April, 1856; said Church was worth at the time of its destruction three thousand dollars.

"Said affiant further states, that in 1844 a Parsonage was built for the use of the Missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church to the Wyandotts, costing fifteen hundred dollars, said money being a part the proceeds of the Mission Farm at Upper Sandusky, Ohio, which Farm was made by the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church; that the recognition of the aforesaid parsonage as belonging to the Church South by the Treaty of January 31st, 1855, was unjust, since the money used in building said Parsonage really belonged to the Methodist Episcopal Church, and further says not."

"KANSAS CITY, MO., Feb. 15th, 1864.

"*Mrs. Lucy Armstrong, Wyandott, Kansas:*

"DEAR SISTER IN CHRIST—I went out to see Bro. Peery two or three times, but did not meet with him; he being absent at the time. I sent the paper to him, however, by his son, which he examined, and left word with his wife that he could endorse it all except that part which says, 'a large majority adhering to the M. E. Church,' upon this point he is not so clear. I am sorry that I did not go to see Bro. Peery myself. I return the paper and also the dollar handed to me by Bro. Ham. Yours in Christ, ALFRED H. POWELL."

'hold forth.' He held forth. Went to Church at early candle-lighting and heard the preacher in charge, J. T. Peerey."

January 30, 1849.—"Went to attend the session of the Council, in order to report the result of the meeting, on the 19th, of the non-professing members, who decided that both missionaries should be expelled from the nation.[90] Made my report, and closed with a speech, *defining our position,* and closed with a solemn warning to the Northern faction."

February 10.—"To-day is the time appointed for the Northern quarterly meeting. But will it be held?"

July 15.—"Dr. Hewitt moved to-day from Wyandott Territory to give place to his successor. *'Sic transit gloria mundi.'*"—Connelley's Provisional Government, p. 260.

It is in order now to narrate a little more particularly the events which led to Doctor Hewitt's moving from the territory, as recorded in the entry of Governor Walker's journal, just quoted. This was the culmination of the troubles between the Methodist Episcopal church and the Methodist Episcopal Church South.

Dr. Richard Hewitt was sub-Indian agent for the Wyandots, and a somewhat intense slavery propagandist. The report of Doctor Hewitt to the commissioner of Indian affairs for 1848 will show his attitude toward the opposition. We must take into consideration the fact that great pressure was brought to bear upon the agent by the Southern faction. In his report for 1848 he says:

"During the past summer some dissension has existed among the members of the church arising out of the division of the Methodist Episcopal church, which took place four years ago, by which a line of separation separating the slaveholding from the non-slaveholding territories was agreed upon by the general conference of that church. By this prudential arrangement all the Indian missions west of the states of Missouri and Arkansas, etc., under the patronage of that church were thrown into the Southern division and under the pastoral care of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. By the history of this church arrangement or ecclesiastical legislation, it appears that at the last quadrennial session, held in May last, the Northern division in its separate capacity abrogated and annulled the plan of separation mutually agreed upon four years previous, and intend to invade the territory of the former.

"From information on which I can rely, it appears that certain clergymen in Ohio, with a view of the furtherance of their plans, have been corresponding with such Wyandotts as they are acquainted with and could be influenced. These communications are doubtless well seasoned with abolitionism, with a view of stirring up disaffection and discord among the people, and, through them, among the Delawares, Shawnees, and Kickapoos, among which the Southern division has missionary establishments; this movement has not been without its effects, especially among the Wyandots, who are, to a limited extent, slaveholders themselves, in producing strife and contention, not among the membership only, but through the nation generally.

"A memorial was forwarded, not long since, by the disaffected members, addressed to the Ohio annual conference, praying the appointment of a preacher from that body to reside among them as missionary.

"A protest addressed to the same body was shortly afterwards adopted and forwarded by the nation, protesting against any interference in their affairs, and warning that body of the disastrous consequences that might follow them, from such agitations which would grow out of the stationing of a preacher from the North, when they were already supplied by the Indian Mission conference.

NOTE 90.—Wm. E. Connelley says: "This action resulted in the expulsion of the missionary of the Methodist Episcopal church. The missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church South was not molested."

"The whole movement has no doubt originated in abolitionism, which seldom hesitates at the means to accomplish its purpose.

"Should a preacher be sent here from the North (Ohio) contrary to the wishes of the nation, and we have no other authority than that given him by that conference, and he present himself, I shall be compelled (in this novel case), in the absence of special instructions, to enforce the 'intercourse laws,' however unpleasant it may be to my feelings.

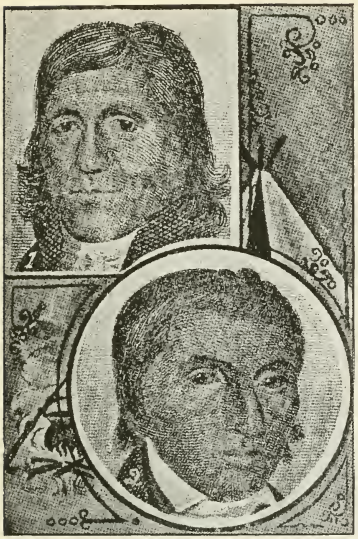
"Notwithstanding those engaged in the getting up of this unpleasant state of things act with great energy (an energy and perseverance worthy of a better cause) and no little bitterness of feeling, I am bound in candor to believe that their actions are prompted by an honest though a misguided zeal. Their course of conduct proves conclusively to my mind that it is far easier to reason men into error than out of it.—RICHARD HEWITT, *Sub-agent.*"

(Report United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1848, pp. 486, 487.)

We have been unable to gather from Governor Walker's journal, or from any other source, anything concerning the particulars of the arrest of Rev. Mr. Gurley and his expulsion from the nation. The matter was taken up at the annual meeting of the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal church, in their session at Newark, N. J., in April, 1849. After some consultation concerning our missions in the Missouri territory, Bishop Morris was appointed to draft a memorial to the Department of the Interior, at Washington, in relation to the expulsion of Rev. James Gurley from the Wyandot nation. Following are the material portions of the document:

"The Wyandot Indians, formerly of Sandusky, Ohio, now in the territory west of Missouri, have for thirty years past been regularly supplied with missionaries from our church, except a short interval since the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. When the Wyandots removed from Ohio to their present home, our missionary, Rev. J. Wheeler, who had been their pastor for years, accompanied them and remained with them until 1846, when, the Indian Mission conference having adhered to the Methodist Episcopal Church South, he returned to his own conference in Ohio. The Wyandots were much dissatisfied with their new position in church affairs, and gave notice to the Church South that they would look to us for supplies of ministers, and accordingly, in 1848, sent a petition to the Ohio conference for a missionary. This was signed by the official and leading men of the society, as is usual in such cases. Rev. James Gurley, a minister long and favorably known among us, was selected, appointed, and sent, with a letter of instruction from T. A. Morris. That letter was obtained from Mr. Gurley by Major Cummins, United States agent near Fort Leavenworth, and, so far as we know, is still in his hands; otherwise we would herewith forward to you the original. After Mr. Gurley's arrival at Wyandot, the official members of our church there, in a communication to T. A. Morris, expressed their gratitude and pleasure on his reception among them, and having heard of an idle and false rumor of an intention on our part to recall him, remonstrated strongly against in. Subsequently, however, Doctor Hewitt, subagent of the Wyandot nation, had Mr. Gurley arrested, and ordered him to leave the nation. One fact to which we beg leave to call your special attention is, that no exception to the moral, Christian or ministerial character or conduct of Mr. Gurley was alleged, even by Doctor Hewitt, as a reason for expelling him from the nation, nor had Mr. Gurley any personal difficulty with any individual there; yet he was driven off, to the great grief of the Christian society over which he was pastor, consisting of a large majority of the church-members in the Wyandot nation.

"Now, what we wish is, to be informed whether the act of Doctor Hewitt was authorized and sanctioned by the government, or merely an assumption of power on his part. If the latter, we respectfully ask that the abuse of the power may be corrected in such way as the department may deem proper, the wrong redressed, and our constitutional rights secured. We know of no reason why our missionaries should be excluded from the Indian Territory, while the missionaries of other churches are tolerated and protected."



1. MONONCUE. 2. BETWEEN-THE-LOGS.
Two noted Wyandot chiefs and Methodist preachers.

This communication, signed by all the bishops, was duly forwarded to Hon. Thos. Ewing, secretary of the interior. It caused the speedy removal from office of Doctor Hewitt, sub-agent at Wyandot, and the restoration of our privileges as a church in the Indian Territory.

It appears, from the journals of Governor Walker, that both the church buildings were standing as late as 1851, for he records:

"November 2.—Went in company with Martha [his daughter] to the Northern Quarterly Meeting. Heard a poor sermon from the Presiding Elder [Geo. W. Roberts]. Rev. L. B. Stateler preached at the Brick Church.

"Sunday, 16.—Must go [to] the Synagogue to hear Mr. Scarritt preach, this being his day to preach at the Brick Church. A rather thin congregation.

"April 10, 1852.—In the evening Rev. Mr. Barker, Mr. Scarritt's successor, called upon us and spent some time with us."

The preachers for the Methodist Episcopal Church South for the conference year 1851–'52 were Revs. Nathan Scarritt and D. D. Doffelmeyer. They served the Shawnee, Delaware and Wyandot missions.

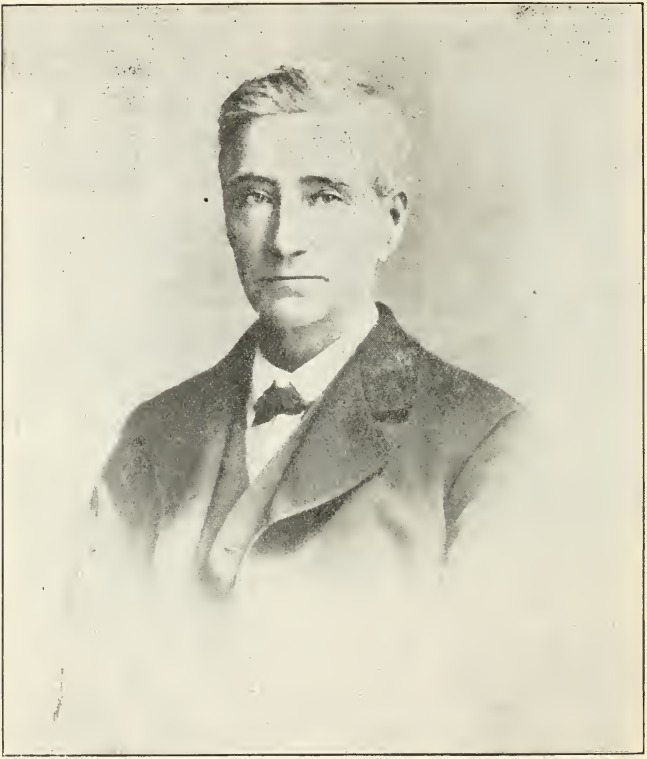
One feature of the old-time Methodism was the camp-meeting. The Wyandots held them in the forests of Ohio in the early days, and introduced them into Kansas. They were held annually by the Shawnees, Delawares, and Wyandots. Governor Walker's journals give us a brief description of one of these great gatherings in the forests:

"Friday, September 3, 1852.—Our folks all in a bustle, house upside down, moving to the Camp ground cooking utensils, provisions, Bed clothes, etc. In the evening I went to the consecrated ground and found a very comfortable shantee erected.

"Sunday, September 5.—At the Camp ground. The great Conch shell[91] was Sounded as a Signal to rise from our beds and prepare for morning devotions and breakfast. At 11 o'clock A. M. a large Congregation assembled under the Arbor prepared for the occasion, and was addressed by a Rev. Mr. Love, of St. Louis, in a sermon of great eloquence and ability. . . . Devotional exercises were continued through the day and till a late hour in the night. Several new members were received into the Church.

"September 19.—Engaged in writing a long epistle to the Northern Bishop

NOTE 91.—The conch-shell referred to above is in the possession of Wm. E. Connelley. It was used by the Wyandots for centuries.



REV. L. B. STATELER.

who is to preside at the Northern Conference in St. Louis, upon their Missionary operations among the Indians.

"September 24.—Finished my letter to the Bishop, making sixteen pages, in which I have attempted to show up these canting Methodist Abolitionists in their true colors. The preachers of the Northern Methodist Church prowling around on this frontier are the most contemptible, hypocritical, canting set of fellows that ever disgraced Christianity.

"November 19.—I learned on yesterday that Doctor Clipper [M. T. Klepper], the Northern Preacher, and his lady arrived on Tuesday last. He succeeds Rev. James Witten[92] as preacher in charge of the pitiful faction here.

NOTE 92.—REV. JAMES WITTEN was born in Tazewell county, Virginia, about 1790. His mother was a Laird and grandniece of Lord Baltimore. He was also a kinsman of Wm. Cecil Price, of Springfield, Mo., his mother being a Cecil. At about the age of twenty-two he entered the United States service, under General Jackson, in the Creek Indian and New Orleans cam-

MRS. MELINDA STATELER.

"January 11, 1853.—Drew up a petition to the Council praying that body to restrain Dr. Clipper from opening a Missionary Establishment in our Territory as unnecessary and useless.

"January 19.—Wrote to Maj. Moseley at Sarcoxie, upon matters appertaining to the Agency, especially about the movements of the Northern Missionary."

In October, 1853, Bishop Morris, who presided over a conference at New-

paigns. He was admitted on trial in the Tennessee conference held at Franklin, October 30, 1817, in the class with Rev. Jesse Greene, who afterward became a prominent figure in the work among the Indian tribes in Kansas. In 1822 he located, and the following year was married to Miss Eliza Ewing, of Washington county, Virginia. In 1847 he moved to northwest Missouri, where he entered the active work in the Methodist Episcopal church. He had three brothers, John W., Wm. A., and Thomas, all of whom were Methodist ministers, the two former serving as local preachers. Thomas was one of the founders of Portland, Ore. His (Jas. Witten's) death occurred about 1870. His wife's father was a man of wealth and a slaveholder. Mr. Witten was opposed to slavery, and his remaining in the Methodist Episcopal church at the time of the division was the cause of alienating many of his friends and relatives who were slaveholders.

ark, Mo., made a hasty visit to the Wyandot mission in company with Rev. J. M. Chivington,[93] missionary to the Wyandots, on his way to attend the Arkansas conference, at Fayetteville. The journey from northwest Missouri was made in a stage wagon. They crossed the Missouri river at Weston ferry and entered Nebraska territory, passing Fort Leavenworth, and traveling through the lands of the Stockbridge Indians.[94] On Friday, October 14, they reached Wyandotte and visited Mrs. Lucy Bigelow Armstrong, whom they found comfortably living in a good house, supporting herself in part by teaching. On Saturday they went to the mission premises, occupied by Doctor Klepper, and remained with him over the Sabbath. The bishop made his first effort at public speaking through an interpreter on Sunday, and was not much pleased with the method.

The last appointment made by the Methodist Episcopal church to the Wyandots as a mission was in 1855. "Delaware and Wyandot mission, J. H. Dennis, Charles Ketchum,[95] and one supply." This year the Wyandots made a treaty by which they dissolved their tribal relations, accepted the allotment of the lands in severalty, and became citizens of the United States. The old mission developed into the Washington Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church, and the mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church South also grew into a fine city church of that denomination.

There were a number of men belonging to the Wyandots who took an active part in our missionary operations and who deserve a brief notice. Rev. Wm. H. Goode, who resided among them, has recorded brief notices in his "Outposts of Zion," of some of the more prominent men of this tribe. Of Squire Greyeyes he writes as follows:

"Squire Greyeyes, a native preacher, was the model man of his tribe. He was one of the early fruits of Finley's labors, and lived to a good old age; small in stature; quick and active in his movements; spirited, but mild and gentle in his temper; scrupulously neat in his person and zealous in his piety and exemplary in his walk, he was, upon the whole, one of the noblest specimens of Indian character. No white missionary ever could move and melt and sway the Wyandots as he did. The missionaries understood this, and when direct effect was intended they placed him in the front. Still he was unassuming, and seemed highly to appreciate and enjoy the labors of the missionaries through the interpreters, as his flowing tears would often testify. His wife, considerably his junior, was neat and pious and his home comfortable. I loved to visit him, though he could converse but little. He rarely attempted English."

William E. Connelley says he was the son of Doctor Greyeyes, who was the son of a British army officer who married a Wyandot girl at Detroit during the war of the revolution. Squire Greyeyes was a Methodist preacher, converted at the old Wyandot mission in Ohio, under the labors of Rev. Jas. B. Finley, who was the leading man connected with that mission. In 1826 Greyeyes was a class-leader there. His son, John W. Greyeyes, was educated at the mission in Kansas and at Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio, where he graduated. He became a successful lawyer.

George I. Clarke was a man of influence among the Wyandots, and was

NOTE 93.— Goode's Ouposts of Zion, pp. 249, 252; United States Special Commissioner on Indian Tribes, Report of B. F. Wade, 1867; Official Records, War of the Rebellion, vol. 41, pt. 1, p. 948.

NOTE 94.— For Kansas reservation of Stockbridges, a family of New York Indians, in southern part of the territory, see Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 8, p. 83.

NOTE 95.— Sketch of Charles Ketchum, in Goode's Outposts of Zion, p. 296.

elected head chief. He was born June 10, 1802, and died June 25, 1858. He belonged to the faction that opposed slavery and adhered to the old church. Mr. Goode has this to say of him:

"George I. Clark, a local preacher, was my near neighbor. He was a half-breed of good sense, gentle manners, consistent piety. He spoke English tolerably well, and was understood to render English correctly into Wyandot. He was our stated interpreter. I have enjoyed many pleasant opportunities of preaching through him. He had a good farm and comfortable residence near where Quindaro now stands."

Another prominent man of the tribe was John Hicks, who was the last of the hereditary chiefs of the Wyandot nation. He died February 14, 1853, being upwards of eighty years of age. He was one of the first converts at the old mission in Ohio in 1819, and was a member in the church thirty-five years. He was licensed as an exhorter in the church. He affiliated with the Church South. His son, Francis A. Hicks, was also a man of note in the tribe. He was born in 1800 and died in 1855. He was head chief of the Wyandots. He first sided with the Church South and took part in the expulsion of the missionary of the Methodist Episcopal church, Mr. Gurley. He afterward returned to the Methodist Episcopal church. His daughter was educated at the Cincinnati Wesleyan Female College.

John M. Armstrong, a half-breed, was the leader of the Wyandots who refused to go with the Southern faction in the division. His father, Robert Armstrong, was captured by Wyandots and Senecas on the Alleghany river in 1783. He married Sarah Zane. J. M. Armstrong married Lucy Bigelow,[96] daughter of Rev. Russell Bigelow, an eloquent pioneer preacher of Ohio, and who, as the presiding elder of the Portland district in Ohio, was also superintendent of the Wyandot mission in 1829–'30. Lucy Bigelow Armstrong died January 1, 1892, aged seventy-three years. Mr. Armstrong was an attorney at law, and was associated for some time with Hon. John Sherman, of Mansfield, Ohio, where he died April 11, 1852, while on his way to Washington. For fuller sketches of the Armstrong and Hicks families, see Connelly's "Provisional Government."

LIST OF APPOINTMENTS

To the Indian missions of the Methodist church, from 1830 to 1860 (from the general minutes of the church):

		Number in society.		
		White.	*Colored.*	*Indians.*
1830.	Kansas or Kaw mission, William Johnson.....	....	....	....
	Shawnee Mission, Thomas Johnson.....	....	....	....
1831.	Presiding elder and superintendent Kansas missions, Jos. Edmundson:			
	Kansas missions,[97] Thomas Johnson, William Johnson.....	9	....	31
1832.	Indian Mission district, superintendent, Thomas Johnson:			
	Shawnee Mission and school, Thomas Johnson, Edward T. Peery	....	....	....

NOTE 96.—Lucy B. Armstrong, the widow of John McIntyre Armstrong, was the mother of five children. Russell Bigelow Armstrong, her son, was born at Westport, November 20, 1844, and died June 7, 1901. He served in the legislature of 1879. William R. Armstrong, a civil engineer connected with the Kansas City, Mexico & Orient railroad, is a grandson.

NOTE 97.—Rev. Joab Spencer, of Slater, Mo., says: "This is according to the minutes, but it should read, 'Shawnee and Kanzas missions, Thomas Johnson and Wm. Johnson.'"

		Number in society.		
		White.	*Colored.*	*Indians.*
1832.	Delaware mission and school, William Johnson, Thomas B. Markham	....	....	....
	Iowa and Sac mission and school, to be supplied,	....	....	....
	Peoria mission and school, James H. Slavens	....	....	....
1833.	Indian Mission district, superintendent, Thomas Johnson:			
	Shawnee Mission and school, William Johnson,	5	....	40
	Delaware mission and school, E. T. Peery	5	....	27
	Peoria mission and school, N. M. Talbot	....	....	....
	Kickapoo mission and school, J. C. Berryman	....	....	....
1834.	North Indian Mission district, superintendent, Thomas Johnson:			
	Shawnee Mission and school, William Johnson,	....	....	85
	Delaware mission and school, E. T. Peery	7	....	50
	Peoria mission and school, N. M. Talbot	2	....	15
	Kickapoo mission and school, J. C. Berryman, J. Monroe	2	....	230
1835.	North Indian Mission district, superintendent, Thomas Johnson:			
	Shawnee Mission, William Ketron	9	....	102
	Delaware mission and school, E. T. Peery	5	....	70
	Peoria mission and school, N. M. Talbot	2	....	26
	Kickapoo mission and school, J. C. Berryman,	2	....	230
	Kansas mission and school, William Johnson	....	....	....
1836.	Indian Mission district, superintendent, Thomas Johnson:			
	Shawnee Mission, to be supplied	6	....	80
	Delaware mission, E. T. Peery	4	...	86
	Peoria mission, N. M. Talbot	4	....	42
	Kickapoo mission, J. C. Berryman	3	....	218
	Kansas mission, William Johnson	1	....	1
1837.	Indian Mission district, superintendent, Thomas Johnson:			
	Shawnee Mission, Thomas Johnson, Lorenzo Waugh	10	....	92
	Delaware mission, Learner B. Stateler	....	....	90
	Peoria mission, N. M. Talbot, Reuben Aldridge,	4	....	55
	Kickapoo mission, J. C. Berryman, David Kinnear	5	....	264
	Kansas mission, William Johnson	3	....	1
	Pottawatomie mission, Frederick B. Leach	....	....	....
1838.	Indian Mission district, superintendent, Thomas Johnson:			
	Shawnee Mission, Thomas Johnson, Lorenzo Waugh	8	....	97
	Delaware mission, L. B. Stateler, Abraham Millice	2	....	74
	Peoria, N. M. Talbot, John Y. Porter	3	....	40
	Kickapoo, J. C. Berryman, David Kinnear	6	....	161

		Number in society.		
		White.	*Colored.*	*Indians.*
1838.	Kansas, William Johnson, John W. Dole	4	....	2
	Pottawatomie, E. T. Peery	....	....	....
1839.	Indian Mission district, superintendent, Thomas Johnson:			
	Shawnee, Thomas Johnson	....	....	....
	Indian manual-labor school, Wesley Browning, D. Kinnear	....	....	....
	Delaware, L. B. Stateler	....	....	....
	Kickapoo, J. C. Berryman	....	....	....
	Peoria, N. M. Talbot	....	....	....
	Kansas, Wm. Johnson	....	....	....
	Pottawatomie, E. T. Peery	....	....	....
1840.	Indian Mission district, superintendent, Thos. Johnson:			
	Shawnee, L. B. Stateler	....	....	....
	Indian manual-labor school, D. Kinnear	....	....	....
	Delaware, Edward T. Peery	....	....	....
	Kickapoo, Jerome C. Berryman	....	....	....
	Peoria and Pottawatomie, Nathaniel M. Talbot,	....	....	....
	Kansas, Wm. Johnson	....	....	....
1841.	Wm. Johnson, superintendent:			
	Shawnee, L. B. Stateler	....	....	186
	Indian manual-labor school, J. C. Berryman	....	....	....
	Delaware, Edward T. Peery	1	....	94
	Kickapoo, N. M. Talbot	1	....	41
	Peoria and Pottawatomie, to be supplied	37	....	5
	Kansas, Wm. Johnson	....	....	....
1842.	Edward T. Peery, presiding elder:			
	Shawnee, L. B. Stateler	....	....	....
	Manual-labor school, J. C. Berryman	....	....	....
	Delaware, E. T. Peery	....	....	....
	Kickapoo, N. M. Talbot	....	....	....
	Kansas, Geo. W. Love	....	....	....
	Pottawatomie, supply	....	....	....
1843.	Edward T. Peery, presiding elder:			
	Shawnee, L. B. Stateler	....	....	163
	Manual-labor school, J. C. Berryman	29	10	38
	Delaware, E. T. Peery, John Peery	4	2	98
	Kickapoo, N. T. Shaler	3	....	35
	Pottawatomie, Thomas B. Ruble	1	....	45
	Wyandot, supply	4	2	242
1844.	Indian Mission conference, Kansas River district, N. M. Talbot, presiding elder:			
	Indian manual-labor school, E. T. Peery	25	....	40
	Delaware and Kickapoo, N. M. Talbot, J. T. Peery:			
	Delaware	3	....	108
	Kickapoo	3	....	38

		Number in society.		
		White.	*Colored.*	*Indians.*
1844.	Shawnee and Wyandot, J. Wheeler and one to be supplied:			
	Shawnee	....	....	153
	Wyandot	4	....	242
	Pottawatomie, Chippewa, Peoria, and Wea, Thomas Hurlburt, Thomas B. Ruble:			
	Pottawatomie	....	....	31
	Peoria	....	....	35
1845.	Indian Mission conference, Kansas River district, L. B. Stateler, presiding elder:			
	Indian mission, manual-labor school, William Patton, superintendent	25	....	19
	Shawnee, L. B. Stateler, Paschal Fish	6	....	332
	Delaware, N. T. Shaler, W. D. Collins	....	....	....
	Kickapoo, Charles Ketchum	4	....	90
	Wyandot, E. T. Peery	....	....	....
	Pottawatomie, Thomas Hurlburt	3	....	66
	Chippewa, Wea, and Sac, Maccinnaw Boachman [Mackinaw Beauchemie]	....	....	....
	Kansas, J. C. Berryman	1	....	1
1846.	Methodist Episcopal Church South, Kansas River district, L. B. Stateler, presiding elder:			
	Indian manual-labor school, William Patton, superintendent	18	....	12
	Shawnee, L. B. Stateler, Paschal Fish	....	....	130
	Delaware, N. T. Shaler, W. D. Collins	1	....	50
	Kickapoo, Charles Ketchum	....	....	34
	Wyandot, E. T. Peery	3	....	158
	Pottawatomie, Thos. Hurlburt	....	....	....
	Chippewa, Wea, and Sac, Maccinaw Boachman,	1	....	51
	Kansas, J. C. Berryman	1	....	....
1847.	Kansas River district, L. B. Stateler, presiding elder:			
	Indian manual-labor school, Thomas Johnson, Tyson Dines	19	....	20
	Shawnee, L. B. Stateler	....	....	140
	Delaware, N. T. Shaler	....	....	50
	Kickapoo, Paschal Fish	....	....	30
	Wyandot, E. T. Peery	....	....	169
	Chippewa, Wea, and Sac, Maccinaw Boachman,	....	....	37
	Kansas, to be supplied	....	....	....
1848.	Kansas River district, L. B. Stateler, presiding elder:			
	Indian manual-labor school, Thos. Johnson, T. Hurlburt	17	....	11
	Shawnee, L. B. Stateler	....	....	127
	Delaware, B. H. Russell	1	....	56
	Kickapoo, N. T. Shaler	....	....	34
	Wyandot, J. T. Peery	....	....	165

		Number in society.		
		White.	*Colored.*	*Indians.*
1848.	Kansas, T. Johnson	....	....	....
	Western Academy, N. Scarritt	....	....	....
1849.	Kansas River district, L. B. Stateler, presiding elder:			
	Indian manual-labor school, Thos. Johnson, superintendent, J. T. Peery	20	....	5
	Shawnee, L. B. Stateler	....	....	102
	Delaware, J. A. Cummings	1	....	56
	Wyandot, B. H. Russell	5	....	103
	Kickapoo, N. T. Shaler	1	....	32
	Kansas, T. Johnson	....	....	....
	Pottawatomie, T. Hurlburt	....	....	4
	Western Academy, N. Scarritt	....	....	....
1850.	Methodist Episcopal Church South:			
	Manual-labor school, Thomas Johnson	15	....	3
	Shawnee, B. H. Russell	....	....	80
	Wyandot and Delaware, L. B. Stateler, N. T. Shaler	7	....	89
	Kickapoo mission, Thomas Hurlburt	....	....	50
	Kansas school, Thomas Johnson	4	....	2
	Western Academy, Nathan Scarritt	....	....	....
1851.	Fort Leavenworth manual-labor school, Thomas Johnson	16	2	....
	Shawnee, Delaware, and Wyandot, N. Scarritt, D. D. Doffelmeyer	3	....	....
	Kickapoo, J. Grover	2	....	....
	Kansas Indians, Thomas Johnson	....	....	....
1852.	Indian manual-labor school, Thomas Johnson	5	....	....
	Shawnee, Charles Boles	....	....	....
	Wyandot, D. D. Doffelmeyer[98]	....	....	....
	Delaware, J. Barker	....	....	....
	Kickapoo, J. Grover	....	....	....
1853.	Indian manual-labor school, Thomas Johnson	....	....	....
	Shawnee, Charles Boles	3	....	....
	Delaware, J. Barker	5	....	....
	Wyandot, D. D. Doffelmeyer	....	....	....
	Kickapoo, N. T. Shaler	....	....	....
1854.	Fort Leavenworth manual-labor school, Thomas Johnson	9	....	3
	Shawnee, Charles Boles	2	3	100
	Delaware	8	....	....
	Wyandot, D. D. Doffelmeyer	....	....	....
	Kickapoo, N. T. Shaler	....	....	....
1855.	Manual-labor school, Thomas Johnson	9	....	....
	Shawnee, Charles Boles	3	1	102
	Wyandot, William Barnett	8	....	81
	Delaware, N. M. Talbot	6	....	65
	Kickapoo, N. T. Shaler	....	....	....

NOTE 98.—Gov. Wm. Walker, in his journal, p. 396, spells the name Duffle[meyer].

		Number in society.		
		White.	*Colored.*	*Indians.*
1856.	Manual-labor school, Thomas Johnson	9	....	....
	Shawnee, Charles Boles	3	1	82
	Wyandot, William Barnett	10	....	31
	Delaware, N. T. Shaler	9	....	63
	Kickapoo, F. M. Williams	....	....	....
1857.	Manual-labor school, Thomas Johnson	3	....	....
	Shawnee, Charles Boles	7	3	92
	Wyandot, William Barnett	18	....	28
	Delaware, N. T. Shaler	6	....	58
	Kickapoo, A. Williams	....	....	....
1858.	Manual-labor school, Thomas Johnson	....	....	....
	Shawnee, Joab Spencer	....	....	....
	Delaware, N. T. Shaler	....	....	....
	Wyandot, William Barnett	....	....	....
1859.	Manual-labor school, Thomas Johnson	6	....	....
	Shawnee, Joab Spencer	4	3	68
	Delaware, N. T. Shaler	11	....	64
	Wyandot, William Barnett	21	....	18
1860.	Manual-labor school, Thomas Johnson	3	....	....
	Shawnee, Thomas Johnson	....	1	....
	Delaware, N. T. Shaler	10	....	66
	Wyandot, William Barnett	43	....	21
1861.	Manual-labor school, Thomas Johnson	....	....	....
	Shawnee, R. C. Week	3	1	71
	Delaware	10	....	66
	Wyandot, William Barnett	43	....	21

When the Methodist Episcopal Church South was organized, in 1845, the Methodist Episcopal church retired from the field, but entered it again in 1848, with the following appointments:

1848. Platte Mission district, Abraham Still, presiding elder:
Wyandot, supplied.

1849. Platte Mission district, Abraham Still, presiding elder:
Indian mission, Thos. B. Markham, Paschal Fish.

1850. No appointments for Kansas.

1851. Platte mission, Geo. W. Roberts, presiding elder:
Indian missions: Wyandot, Delaware, and Kickapoo, James Witten, Charles Ketchum.
Shawnee, Henry Reeder, Paschal Fish.

1852. Platte Mission district, G. W. Rains, presiding elder:
Wyandot, Delaware, and Shawnee, A. Still, M. T. Klepper, Paschal Fish, Charles Ketchum.

1853. Platte Mission district, J. H. Hopkins, presiding elder:
Wyandot, Delaware and Shawnee missions, A. Still, J. M. Chivington, Paschal Fish, Charles Ketchum.

1854. Kansas and Nebraska Mission district, W. H. Goode, presiding elder:
Shawnee mission, W. H. Goode.
Wyandot and Delaware, J. H. Dennis, Charles Ketchum, and one supply.

1855. North Kansas Mission district, L. B. Dennis, presiding elder:
Charles Ketchum and one supply.

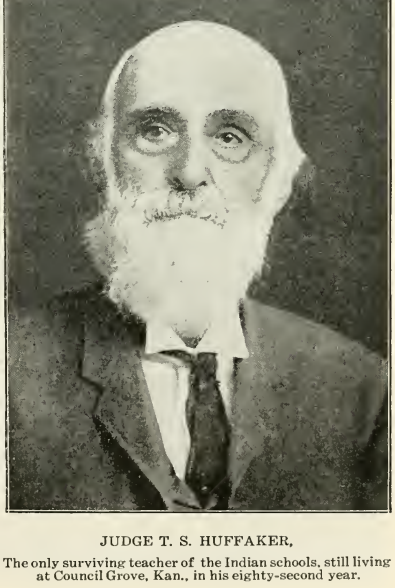
PROBABLY THE FIRST SCHOOL IN KANSAS FOR WHITE CHILDREN.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by GEO. P. MOREHOUSE, of Council Grove.

FOR several months a contest has been going on through the newspapers of the state relative to when and where was held the first school for the education of young Kansans. It seems that some localities in Douglas and Leavenworth counties strive for the honor. Now that they have established their dates and places, "Historic Council Grove" comes into the contest and shows that it had a well-organized white school several years before Kansas was even a territory.

This building was constructed in 1850, and the teacher was Judge T. S. Huffaker, who still lives near this city, close by the old mission building, in which the school was held. This date is several years prior to any date claimed by the other localities, and as we can produce the building and the teacher who gives the living testimony the evidence is complete. Judge Huffaker and his wife last year celebrated the fifty-third anniversary of their wedding, which took place in this same old historic building on May 6, 1852. Judge Huffaker came to Kansas in 1849 and has lived here ever since, and has probably resided in the state longer than any other living person, now that Col. A. S. Johnson is dead.

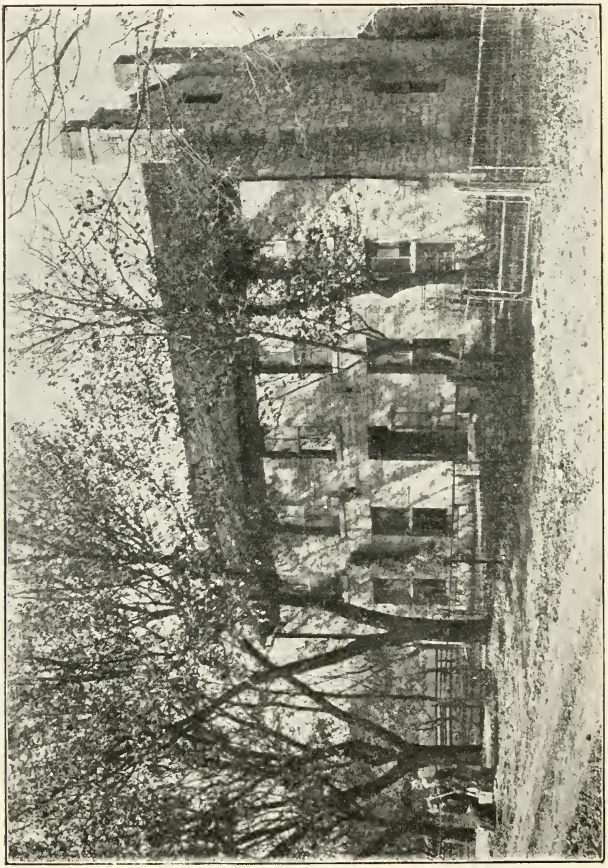
In this article are produced the pictures of the old schoolhouse and the teacher, as he now looks, in his eighty-second year. The building was first constructed for a mission school for the Kaw or Kansas Indians, and Mr. Huffaker had it in charge for a number of years. The building is of stone, with two large fireplace chimneys in each gable. The walls are very thick, and the general appearance of the structure is solid and quaint and the surroundings are romantic. Eighteen hundred and fifty, or fifty-six years ago, is a long way back in the history of Kansas, but this old building is still in good condition and is occupied as a dwelling. It has been used for many purposes, such as a schoolhouse, council-house, meeting-house, church-house, and during the Indian raids and scares of the old frontier days it was often the place of refuge and stronghold, to which the early settlers fled for safety. It might be added, in passing, that probably the first Sunday-school for white children in Kansas was also held in this building by this worthy couple. The first religious meetings in this region were held in the building at a time when the next Western preaching appointment of the presiding elder was Denver, Colo. It will always be a noted shrine in this state, where early movements were started, and it is hoped it will be preersved for many years, for it is surely one of the most interesting buildings in Kansas. If it was closer to the center of the city it might be used for a library, museum, or art gallery, and thus preserved for many generations.



JUDGE T. S. HUFFAKER,

The only surviving teacher of the Indian schools, still living at Council Grove, Kan., in his eighty-second year.

Governor Reeder and staff and other territorial officers were entertained here when on their expedition to select a site for the capital of Kansas, and the uncertainty as to the title of the Kaw Indian lands surrounding this place only prevented Council Grove from being chosen. This old



KAW INDIAN MISSION AT COUNCIL GROVE, ERECTED IN 1850.

building is right on the west bank of the beautiful Neosho, in the north part of the city, and is one of the most pleasant and attractive spots in this region. It will always be pointed out as one of the oldest and most historic buildings in Kansas, and the location of probably the first organized white school in the state. Its priority is not a matter of a few months, for it antedates the claims of Leavenworth and Douglas counties four or five years. The manner in which the white school was held in this place by Mr. Huffaker was as follows: The better element of the Kaws, or the pure Indian type of that wild tribe, refused to send their children to the mission school, but as a rule only allowed the orphans and a few dependents of the tribe to attend. They considered it very degrading and a breach of true, old Indian dignity and aristocracy to adopt and follow the educational methods of their white brothers.

Council Grove, even prior to the '50's, was a noted frontier outpost and gathering-place, and one of the earliest towns and trading-points on the Santa Fe trail in the state of Kansas, and had a considerable white population. The children of the government employees, mail and stage contractors, traders, blacksmiths and other whites connected with Indian affairs and with the vast overland commerce of the trail were without school privileges. What should be done? In May, 1851, Mr. T. S. Huffaker, whose time was not entirely taken up with his other duties, came to the rescue and established a white-school department in this old building, and classes were formed with a dozen or fifteen white pupils. This is a larger attendance than reached by several district schools of this county even at the present time. For three or four years Mr. Huffaker instructed these white pupils in the elementary school branches. The terms were not irregular and short, but continued through the year with only brief summer vacations. It was a free school, and it was a very commendable act on the part of Mr. Huffaker, and a great boon to the white children living so far out in the wilderness of the "Great American Desert."

We find, in looking over the claims of other Kansas schools, the following: Lawrence had a school organized in January, 1855, in the back office of Dr. Charles Robinson, in the Emigrant Aid building. It was taught by Edward P. Fitch (afterwards killed in the Quantrill raid), who was paid by private subscriptions, and the term was three and a half months, with about twenty pupils attending.[99] Leavenworth county[100] had an organized school in May, 1856, near Springdale. The schoolhouse was an abandoned settler's cabin, and the teacher was V. K. Stanley, of Wichita, Kan. The "union school,"[101] with a term of three months, was three miles north of Lawrence, and was organized by Robert Allen in February, 1855. There is an account of a lady opening a school in her home near Lawrence in December, 1854, with her four children and three others of the neighbors, but as it only lasted for a part of a week it does not reach the status of a real school.

The school held by Judge Huffaker in the above old building for the white children of this locality was several years before Lawrence had an existence or the territory of Kansas was organized, and was without doubt the initial movement of that Kansas spirit and ambition for a free and liberal education which have grown to such magnitude and perfection as to receive the praise and commendation of the educational forces of mankind.

Council Grove has many unique and noted shrines of historic character about which cluster interesting and instructive early Kansas history and tradition, such as Council oak, Custer elm, Fremont park, Soldier hole, Belfry hill, old Kaw villages, Sunrise rock, Hermit's cave, old trail buildings, famous old crossing, Padilla's monument, on Mount Padilla, and others, but few are more prized or filled with more interest to our present generation than the "old mission" by the ford, within the strong, thick, stone walls of which were gathered over fifty years ago the first classes of the first organized white school that started the boys and girls of the "Sunflower" state on the royal road of a liberal education.

Hon. Thomas Sears Huffaker, son of Rev. George Huffaker, was born in Clay county, Missouri, March 30, 1825. His parents were from Kentucky, moving to Missouri in 1820. He obtained his education in country district schools and in the Howard high school. In 1849, when Judge Huffaker was twenty-four years old, he moved to Kansas, and is at the present time probably the earliest living Kansas settler.

At first he was employed in connection with the manual training school for Indians at Shawnee Mission, in Johnson county. He there began a career of active interest in Indian affairs and in the development of the state which has been highly honorable and interesting. In

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NOTE 99.— Cutler's History of Kansas, 1883, p. 323, says the first school taught in Lawrence commenced January 16, 1855; Edward P. Fitch, teacher. See, also, Cordley's History of Lawrence, 1895, p. 23.

NOTE 100.— See Leavenworth *Times*, May 6, 1900; also clippings from Topeka *Capital*. More extended notices of these schools are found in clippings preserved in the Historical Society's Collections.

NOTE 101.— This appears to be the school on Reeder's float, taught by Robert J. Allen.

1850 he came to Council Grove, at that time an important point on the Santa Fe trail and the capital of the Kaw (or Kansas) Indians, whose reservation surrounded the town. Here he took charge of the Indian mission school which had just been organized under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, but supported by the United States government. On May 6, 1852, he was married to Miss Eliza A. Baker by the Reverend Nicholson, a missionary on his way to old Mexico over the trail, who stopped at the mission.

This was the first marriage in this region, and one of the first in the state. Mrs. Huffaker was born in Illinois in 1836, and had lived in Iowa with her parents, where her father was blacksmith for the Sac and Fox Indians. Their living children are: Mary H. (Mrs. J. H. Simcock), Aggie C. (Mrs. Louis Wysmeyer), Annie G. (Mrs. Fred B. Carpenter), George M., Homer, and Carl, and there are a dozen or more grandchildren. Judge Huffaker had charge of the Kaw mission school till 1854, when it was abandoned. It was during these years (1850–'54) that he organized a school for white children in the old mission building, and he and his wife thus became probably the first school-teachers of white children in the state. At times he was manager of the Kansas Indian trading-house, and at one time had charge of the farming interests of the tribe. He often held important positions in Indian affairs as a trusted agent, being a fluent linguist in not only the Kaw dialect, but also in the Osage, Ponca, and others. Few men ever had more influence with the Kaws than "Tah-pooskah," the name they gave him, by which he is even known to-day. It means teacher. Judge Huffaker was the first postmaster of Council Grove, and, July 24, 1858, chairman of the first board of county supervisors (now commissioners), appointed by Acting Governor F. P. Stanton.[102]

MRS. ELIZA A. HUFFAKER.

He was one of the incorporators of the Council Grove Town Company. In the seventies he served twice in the Kansas legislature, 1874 and 1879, and has been probate judge of Morris county several times. From 1864 to 1871 he was regent of the State Normal School. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity and the Methodist Episcopal Church South, which was the first church organization in the county. While from a Southern family, he was loyal and stood for the Union during the war, and has been a trusted leader in the Republican party since that period. His experiences have been varied, and his active career has extended through preterritorial, territorial and state periods, and to-day he takes an active part in public affairs, and is an authority on all historical matters. The judge and his worthy wife live in the same old homestead they established so many years ago, and are enjoying good health, and have a large circle of friends in many states. They spent the last winter in St. Louis with a daughter. On the 6th of last May they celebrated the fifty-third anniversary of their wedding, and over 200 guests enjoyed the hospitality of the famous old homestead. Mr. Huffaker was a delegate from Morris county in the Republican state convention which met May 2, 1906.

The history of Kansas could not be correctly written without frequent and worthy mention of Judge Huffaker, for he is the oldest notable living settler in the state.

NOTE 102.— Thomas S. Huffaker also received three appointments from Governor Reeder: As judge of the eighth election district for first territorial election, November 29, 1854, for delegate to Congress; March 30, 1855, for member of first territorial legislature; May 22, 1855, to fill vacancy in the council.— Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 3, pp. 233, 255, 275. He was also appointed commissioner of election by Fred. P. Stanton, December 19, 1857.— Ibid., vol. 5, p. 460.

The following items relative to early schools in Kansas will be of general interest in connection with this paper:

Mrs. Bonnett, whose letter follows, had inquired for the number of schools in Kansas at the time they came under territorial control, and the pay of teachers.

"*Mrs. W. H. Bonnett, Eureka, Kan.:* "JANUARY 22, 1906.

"MY DEAR MADAM—I regret to say that I find no compilation of statistics in regard to schools in Kansas prior to December, 1858, the time of publication of the first report of the territorial superintendent of public instruction. Although an act to provide for the establishment of common schools was passed by the first territorial legislature, in 1855, the disturbed condition of the territory and the inefficiency of the law rendered it ineffectual.

"The first free-state legislature, in February, 1858, passed 'An act providing for the organization, support and maintenance of common schools,' including provision for a territorial superintendent. James H. Noteware, the first appointee under this act, published this law in pamphlet form some time later than the 2d of June, 1858; so we can probably use that date as the beginning of organized schools in Kansas.

"I have examined county histories, 'The History of Education in Kansas,' 1893, and Cutler's History, 1883, and find in them mention of at least seventy-six schools, though records are evidently so imperfect that it is impossible to state facts. For instance, the first report of the territorial superintendent, in January, 1859, states that sixteen school districts in Leavenworth county reported in December, 1858, while up to June, 1858, I can find mention of only two schools in the whole county.

"In Douglas county, in December, 1859, thirty-three schools were in operation, while I find but four in Douglas county in June, 1858.

"As to the pay of teachers, the little town of Greeley, Anderson county, allowed the teacher thirty dollars per month in November, 1856, for a school of twelve pupils, the next winter adding free board among the students, who had increased to twenty.

"In a union school in a country district four miles west of Lawrence, twenty dollars per month was paid in May, 1856, there being from twenty-five to thirty-one pupils.

"At Manhattan, in 1857, forty-five dollars was paid for a teacher of sixteen pupils for three months.

"The Rev. J. B. McAfee, in May, 1855, opened a school in the Lutheran church at Leavenworth, of which he was the pastor, charging primary pupils five dollars and advanced ten dollars for twelve weeks' school. Later, in 1857, he opened a similar school at Valley Falls, in Jefferson county.

"In the city of Leavenworth, in October, 1859, there were five schools, in three buildings; a man and woman teaching in each building, and receiving for their combined labors $1000 annually.

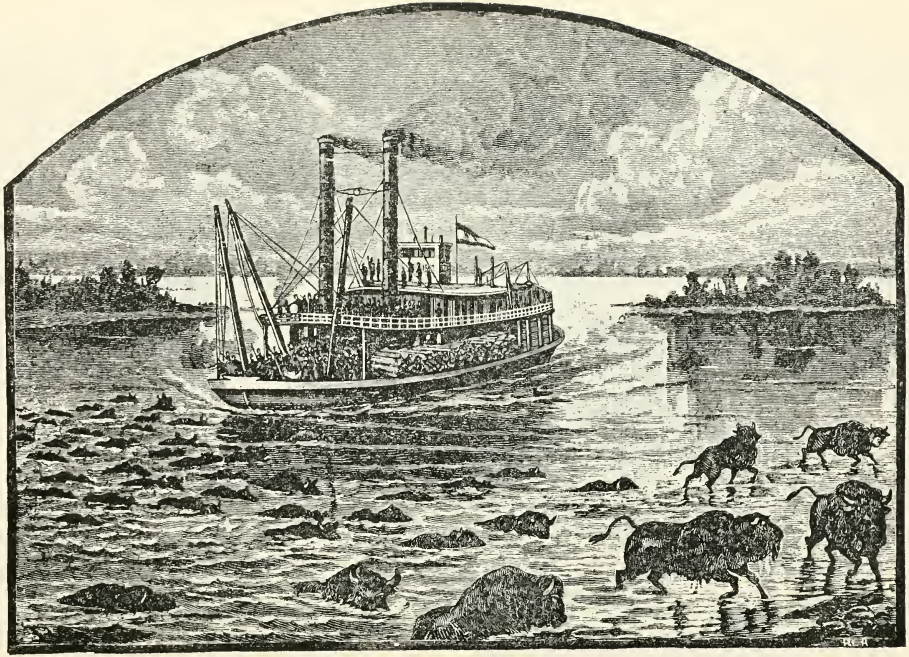
"Trusting this will be satisfactory, I remain, yours very truly, GEO. W. MARTIN."

"J. M. Armstrong taught the first free school in the territory, which was opened July 1, 1844. The building was a frame one, with double doors, which but a few years since stood on the east side of Fourth street, between Kansas and Nebraska avenues, Wyandotte city [now Kansas City, Kan.] It was sometimes, but erroneously, called the council-house. J. M. Armstrong contracted to build it, and commenced teaching on the date named. The council of the nation met in it during vacations or at night. The expenses of building the school were met out of the fund secured by the Wyandot treaty of March, 1842. The school was managed by directors appointed by the council, the members of which were elected annually by the people. White children were admitted free. Mr. Armstrong taught until 1845, when he went to Washington as the legal representative of the nation to prosecute their claims. Rev. Mr. Cramer, of Indiana, succeeded him; then Robert Robitaille, chief of the nation; next Rev. R. Parrott, Indiana; Mrs. Armstrong, December, 1847, to March, 1848; Miss Anna H. Ladd, who came with the Wyandots in 1843; and Mr. and Mrs. Armstrong. . . . The school was closed in the old building April 16, 1852; resumed in Mrs. Armstrong's dining-room; removed the next winter to the Methodist Episcopal church, three-quarters of a mile west of her house, and left without a home when that structure was burned by incendiaries, April 8, 1856."—Cutler's History of Kansas, 1883, p. 1228. See, also, Mrs. Armstrong's account of the school, on same page.

A pioneer school on Reeder's float, two and one-half miles northwest of Lawrence, commenced May 10, 1855. The teachers were Robert J. Allen and, later, James F. Legate.—Letters from G. W. W. Yates, in Historical Society's manuscript collections; see, also, Wyandotte *Chief*, March 12-July 23, 1884.

J. B. McAfee, in his autobiography, in Historical Society's manuscript collections, says: "May 14, 1855, he founded the Leavenworth Collegiate Institute, the first school in Kansas, Indian missions and government forts excepted. He taught school during the week. . . . The school was in a flourishing condition when he turned it over, in July, 1856, to Professor Strong, an accomplished teacher."—See, also, Cutler's History of Kansas, 1883, p. 432.

J. B. McAfee, in his autobiography, says: ". . . On May 13 [1855] assisted in organizing the first Sabbath-school in Kansas after the organization of the territory."—See, also, Cutler's History of Kansas, 1883, p. 314, for account of first Bible class formed in Lawrence, October, 1854. Cordley's History of Lawrence, 1895, p. 23, gives an account of this and also of first Sunday-school organized in Lawrence, in January, 1855.



Steamer General Meade amid a Herd of Buffaloes in the Yellowstone, June 10, 1878. (From an old print.)

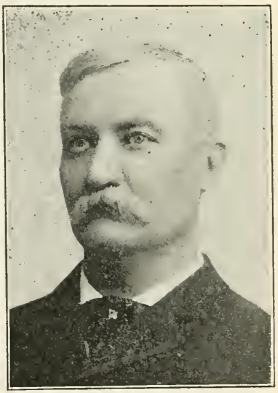
IV.

RIVER NAVIGATION.

A HISTORY OF THE MISSOURI RIVER.

A paper read by PHIL. E. CHAPPELL,[1] of Kansas City, Mo., before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its twenty-ninth annual meeting, December 6, 1904.

THERE is but little doubt that had the Missouri river been discovered before the Mississippi the name of the former would have been applied to both streams, the Missouri being considered the main stream and the upper Mississippi the tributary. From the mouth of the three forks of the Missouri, northwest of Yellowstone Park, to its mouth, as it meanders, is a distance of 2547 miles, and to the Gulf of Mexico the Missouri-Mississippi has a length of 3823 miles.[2] The Missouri, including the Jefferson or Madison branches, is longer than the entire Mississippi, and more than twice as long as that part of the latter stream above their confluence. It drains a watershed of 580,000 square miles, and its mean total annual discharge is estimated to be twenty cubic miles, or at a mean rate of 94,000 cubic feet per second, which is more than twice the quantity of the water discharged by the upper Mississippi.[3] It is by far the boldest, the most rapid and the most turbulent of the two streams, and its muddy water gives color to the lower Mississippi river to the Gulf of Mexico. By every rule of nomenclature, the Missouri is the main stream, and the upper Mississippi the tributary—the name of the former should have



PHIL. E. CHAPPELL,
Kansas City, Mo.

NOTE 1.—As a rule, the writers of history are not the makers of it. The makers of history are reluctant, for many reasons, to set down in words their understanding of occurrences in which they have participated. But where the historical student can follow the story of one who

NOTE 2.—These figures are from J. V. Brower's The Missouri River, 1897, p. 120, who bases them on the reports of the Mississippi and Missouri river commissions; he gives the length of the Missouri river, including the Jefferson branch, as 2945 miles. The Century Cyclopedia of Names, p. 691, gives the length of this river, including the Madison branch, as 3047 miles, and the total Missouri-Mississippi length 4200 miles. The Encyclopedia Americana, 1904, vol. 10, gives the length of the Missouri river, including the Madison branch, as 2915 miles, and the length including the Jefferson branch as 3000 miles, with a total Missouri-Mississippi length of 4200 miles.

NOTE 3.—The Encyclopedia Americana, 1904, vol. 10, gives the basin as 527,690 square miles and the discharge per second, 120,000 cubic feet.

been given precedence, and the great river, the longest in the world, should have been called Missouri from the Rocky Mountains to the Gulf of Mexico.

The earliest Spanish explorers evidently considered the lower Mississippi but a continuation of the Missouri, for during the famous expedition of Francisco Vasquez de Coronado in search of Quivira, 1540–'42, the Indians told him—

"The great river of the Holy Spirit (Espiritu Santo), which Don Fernando de Soto discovered in the country of Florida, flows through this country. . . . The sources were not visited, because, according to what they said, it comes from a very distant country, in the mountains of the South sea, from the part that sheds its waters onto the plains. It flows across all the level country and breaks through the mountains of the North sea, and comes out where the people with Don Fernando de Soto navigated it. This is more than 300 leagues from where it enters the sea. On account of this, and also because it has large tributaries, it is so mighty when it enters the sea that they lost sight of the land before the water ceased to be fresh."[4]

The Missouri river was the same ugly, muddy, tortuous, rapid stream when first seen by the early French explorers that it is to-day. When, about the 1st of July, 1673, the Jesuit explorers, Marquette and Joliet,[5] the first white men to descend the Mississippi, arrived at the mouth of the Missouri during the June rise, they were astonished to see flowing in from

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is privileged to say, "all of which I saw and part of which I was," his confidence is greater and his satisfaction more profound. We have such a writer in the person of Mr. PHILIP EDWARD CHAPPELL, author of the sketch of the history of early steamboating on the Missouri river. Mr. Chappell was born in Callaway county, Missouri, about ten miles from Jefferson City, August 18, 1837. He was descended from some of the best-known families in the South, his Chappell ancestors in this country having settled at the mouth of the James river in 1635. Mr. Chappell lived on the home farm in Callaway county and studied at the local (log house) school until he was fifteen years of age, and then left home for college. He spent two years at the Kemper school in Boonville and two years at the Missouri State University, at Columbia, Mo. Returning home at nineteen years of age, he immediately began his business career by entering the steamboat service on the Missouri. He continued in this service until 1860, when he was called home to manage his father's estate. In the following year he married Miss Teresa Ellen Tarlton, daughter of Col. Meredith R. Tarlton. Mr. and Mrs. Chappell were blessed with a family of two sons and three daughters. In 1869 Mr. Chappell's plantation yielded a great crop of tobacco, Mr. Chappell being awarded first prize at the St. Louis fair for the best hogshead of the leaf. After that, owing to the radical change in the labor conditions, no more large tobacco crops were undertaken, and Mr. Chappell removed to Jefferson City and in 1870 took the presidency of the Jefferson City Savings Association, afterwards the Exchange Bank, the oldest bank in that city. He was a member of the city council of Jefferson City, and in 1872 was elected mayor. From 1873 to 1886 he was a member of the board of managers of the state insane asylum, and in 1880 he was elected state treasurer, a position he held for four years. On leaving this office he removed to Kansas City, where he became president of the Citizens' National Bank. In 1891 he resigned from the bank on account of overwork and has since lived a somewhat retired life, though in 1889 he was a member of the first board of public works of Kansas City, and he is now (1906) president of the Safety Deposit Company of Kansas City. His own large property and his literary work occupy most of his time.

This brief sketch of Mr. Chappell's business career is given in order to emphasize the character of the writer of the present article and the others from his pen which may come to the student's notice. Mr. Chappell is accurate and painstaking in all his work. Conscientious to the last degree, he counts all labor lost in any line of research which falls short of arriving as nearly as possible at absolute certainty. He has always been an inveterate reader, and though making no pretension to literary skill, his work has always shown that straightforward simplicity which has characterized the strongest writers of history from Cæsar to Grant. It is safe to say that Mr. Chappell has done more than almost any other man to preserve the fast disappearing facts of early Missouri history. It is hoped that he will follow this charming task for many future years, so as to still further command the thanks of generations to come.—CHARLES S. GLEED.

NOTE 4.—Winship's Tranlations of Castaneda, in U. S. Bureau of Ethnology, vol. 14, p. 529.

NOTE 5.—It was more than a century and a half after the discovery of the Mississippi river by the Spaniards, in 1519, before the French made this effort to explore it. In 1634 Jean Nicolet, the French interpreter, had left Quebec, and, ascending the St. Lawrence and Ottawa rivers, passed, by way of French river and Lake Huron, through the Straits of Macinaw. Then, coasting along Lake Michigan, he reached Green bay and ascended Fox river. From the Indians in that vicinity he heard of the great river toward the west. Other explorers and Jesuit missionaries followed—Fathers Raymbault and Jogues in 1641, and Radisson and Groseilliers in 1654–'56. All of these adventurers brought back to Quebec wonderful accounts of a great river west of Lakes Michigan and Superior, and the two latter even claimed to have descended it, but into what sea it flowed was unknown to the Indians.—Larned, vol. 1, p. 63; Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, vol. 8, p. 295; vol. 11, p. 279; Parkman Club Publications, No. 2, p. 27.

the west, a torrent of yellow, muddy water which rushed furiously athwart the clear blue current of the Mississippi, boiling and sweeping in its course logs, branches and uprooted trees. Marquette, in his journal says:

"I have seen nothing more dreadful. An accumulation of large and entire trees, branches and floating islands was issuing from the mouth of the River Pekistanoui with such impetuosity that we could not, without great danger, risk passing through it. So great was the agitation that the water was very muddy and could not become clear.

"Pekitanoui is a river of considerable size, coming from the northwest from a great distance; and it discharges into the Mississippi."[6]

Marquette was informed by the Indians that "by ascending this river for five or six days one reaches a fine prairie, twenty or thirty leagues long. This must be crossed in a northwesterly direction, and it terminates at another small river, on which one may embark, for it is not very difficult to transport canoes through so fine a country as that prairie. This second river flows toward the southwest for ten or fifteen leagues, after which it enters a lake, small and deep [the source of another deep river—*substituted by Dablon*], which flows toward the west, where it falls into the sea. I have hardly any doubt that it is the Vermillion sea."[7]

This was an age of adventure and exploration among the people of the new world, and in 1672 Comte de Frontenac, the governor of New France, determined to send an expedition to discover the "great river," in which great interest had now become awakened. Louis Joliet,[8] a man of education, excellent judgment, and tried courage, was selected to undertake this hazardous enterprise. He had besides previously visited the Lake Superior region and spent several years in the far West.

Joliet set out from Quebec in August, 1672, and in December arrived at Mackinaw, where he spent the winter in preparing for his expedition. He had orders to take with him a young Jesuit missionary, Father Marquette, a religious zealot, who had devoted his life to the spiritual welfare of the Indians, and who was then in charge of a mission at Point Ignace, opposite Mackinaw. The missionary, having long desired to visit the nations living along the Mississippi river, gladly joined Joliet, and on May 17, 1673, having laid in a supply of corn and dried buffalo meat, they set out with five Indians in two canoes on their perilous voyage. Having reached Green Bay, they ascended the Fox river to its head, where they made a portage of one and one-half miles[9] to the head waters of the Wisconsin river. They floated down the last-named river until, on the 17th of June, the little fleet floated out upon the placid waters of the Mississippi.

NOTE 6.—Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, vol. 59, p. 141.

NOTE 7.—Id., vol. 59, p. 143.

NOTE 8.—"They were not mistaken in the choice that they made of Sieur Jolyet, for he is a young man, born in this country, who possesses all the qualifications that could be desired for such an undertaking. He has experience and knows the languages spoken in the country of the Outaouacs, where he has passed several years. He possesses tact and prudence, which are the chief qualities necessary for the success of a voyage as dangerous as it is difficult. Finally, he has the courage to dread nothing where everything is to be feared. Consequently, he has fulfilled all the expectations entertained of him; and if, after having passed through a thousand dangers, he had not unfortunately been wrecked in the very harbor, his canoe having upset below Sault St. Louys, near Montreal, where he lost both his men and his papers, and whence he escaped only by a sort of miracle, nothing would have been left to be desired in the success of his voyage."—Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, vol. 59, p. 89; see, also, vol. 50, note 19, p. 324.

NOTE 9.—Parkman, La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West, 1879, p. 54. Marquette calls it "a portage of 2700 paces."—Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, vol. 59, p. 105.

Without meeting with any adventure worthy of notice, they arrived at the mouth of the Missouri about the 1st of July, 1673.

After paddling their canoes down as far as the Arkansas,[10] the voyagers became convinced that the Mississippi emptied into the Gulf of Mexico, and not into the Atlantic ocean or the Gulf of California, as had been surmised. They also learned from the natives that they were approaching a country where they were likely to encounter the Spaniards. They therefore very prudently turned the bows of their canoes up stream, and after a tedious voyage arrived at Green Bay by way of the Illinois river and Lake Michigan. Here the two comrades parted company, Marquette to remain for about a year with a tribe of Indians at the mission on Green bay, and Joliet to return to Quebec by the route he had come. In descending the St. Lawrence river Joliet's canoe was upset, and all of his papers, including his maps and journal, were lost. Fortunately, Marquette's papers were preserved, and it is from his journal, a priceless manuscript, that the above extracts, referring to the Missouri river, have been obtained.

It seems that Marquette had contemplated a voyage down the Mississippi for several years before he met Joliet, for in a letter written in 1670 to Father Francois Le Mercier, superior of the Huron mission, after referring to the Mississippi river, then only known by reports from the Indians, and to the different Illinois tribes, he says of the Missouri:

"Six or seven days' journey below the Illinois there is another great river on which live some very powerful nations, who use wooden canoes; of them we can write nothing else until next year—if God grant us the grace to conduct us thither."[11]

Marquette, having contracted a lingering malady in the South, died May 19, 1675, on his return journey to Michillimackinac from Kaskaskia, where he had gone to found the mission of the Immaculate Conception. He was buried on the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, but his remains, over which a handsome monument has been erected, now repose at St. Ignace, near Mackinaw, Mich.

The second expedition down the Mississippi was conducted by Robert Cavalier de La Salle in 1682. For several years La Salle, who had been an enterprising trader at Quebec, Canada, had contemplated completing the expedition of Marquette and Joliet by following the Mississippi to its entrance into the Gulf of Mexico and planting there the lilies of France. Following the usual course of travel, through the Straits of Mackinaw, and down the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, he arrived about the 1st of January, 1682, at the mouth of a river called by the Indians Chicagou. Dragging their canoes up the frozen river they made the portage to the head of the Illinois, down which they descended, until the 6th of February found them at the mouth of that river, where they were detained for several days by ice in the Mississippi.

La Salle's company consisted of thirty-one Indians and twenty-three Frenchman. Among the latter was Father Zenobius Membré, who has left an account of this famous expedition, from which the following is taken:

"The ice which was floating down on the river Colbert at this place kept us there till the 13th of the same month, when we set out, and six leagues

NOTE 10.—They descended the Mississippi to latitude 33 degrees 40 minutes.—Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, vol. 59, p. 159.

NOTE 11.—Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, vol. 54, p. 191.

lower down we found the river of the Ozages[12] coming from the West. It is full as large as the river Colbert, into which it empties, and which is so disturbed by it that from the mouth of this river the water is hardly drinkable. The Indians assured us that this river is formed by many others, and that they ascend it for ten or twelve days to a mountain where they have their source; and that beyond this mountain is the sea, where great ships are seen; that it is peopled by a great number of large villages, of several different nations; that there are lands and prairies, and great cattle and beaver hunting. Although this river is very large, the main river does not seem augmented by it; but it pours in so much mud that from its mouth the water of the great river, whose bed is also very slimy, is more like clear mud than river water, without changing at all till it reaches the sea, a distance of more than 300 leagues, although it receives seven large rivers, the water of which is very beautiful, and which are as large as Mississippi."[13]

Speaking in another place of the hostilities between the Iroquois and the Illinois Indians,[14] Membré says:

"There had been several engagements with equal loss on both sides, and that, at last, of the seventeen Illinois villages, the greater part had retired beyond the river Colbert, among the Ozages, 200 leagues from their country, where a part of the Iroquois had pursued them."[15]

Henri de Tonty,[16] who also accompanied La Salle on this famous expedition, in his relation entitled "Enterprises of M. de La Salle from 1678 to 1683," written at Quebec, in November, 1684, gives the following account of the Missouri river:

"The Indians having finished making their canoes, we descended the river, and found, at six leagues,[17] upon the right hand, a river which fell into the river Colbert, which came from the west, and appeared to be as large and as considerable as the great river, according to the reports of the Indians. It is called the Emissourita, and is well peopled. There are even villages of Indians which use horses[18] to go to war and to carry the carcasses of the cattle which they kill."[19]

NOTE 12.—Father Membre calls the Missouri river the Osage, doubtless from the tribe of Indians whose villages were then located on that stream near its confluence with the Mississippi. So imperfect was the knowledge of the country at that time, as it had never been explored, and so little was known of the rivers of the West, even by the Indians, that there was some doubt in the minds of the Frenchmen whether the Missouri or the Osage was the principal stream.

NOTE 13.—Le Clercq's Establishment of the Faith, vol. 2, p. 163.

NOTE 14.—The Kaskaskias, Peorias and Cahokias were, according to Parkman, component tribes of the Illinois nation. (Conspiracy of Pontiac, 9th ed., vol. 2, p. 312.) Father Vivier, missionary among the Illinois in 1750, nearly seventy years later than Membre, says that this nation then lived in four villages, numbering in all 2000 souls, three of these villages being between the waters of the Kaskaskia and Mississippi rivers, and the fourth eighty leagues distant. He also says the population of the Illinois had been reduced from 5000, since first visited by the French missionaries sixty years before. (Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, vol. 69, pp. 145 and 149.) The Miamias and Weas appear also to have belonged to the Illinois. (Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, vol. 58, p. 203.) These several tribes came to Kansas with the early Indian emigration from east of the Mississippi, and were finally removed to the Indian Territory. (Kan. His. Coll., vol. 8.)

NOTE 15.—Le Clercq's Establishment of the Faith, vol. 2, p. 155.

NOTE 16.—Henry de Tonty was the trusted friend and lieutenant of La Salle, and in point of energy, intelligence and personal courage was not behind his superior officer. In his youth he had lost an arm in battle, and had supplied the missing member with one of iron. This peculiarity was observed by the Indians, by whom he was universally known as the "Iron Hand." He accompanied La Salle in his first expedition down the Mississippi to its mouth, in 1682. He returned to the Illinois country the same year, and after La Salle's unfortunate death, during his second expedition, in 1687, he again went down the Mississippi, in 1689, for the purpose of rescuing the remnant of the ill-fated colony. Of all the members of La Salle's famous expedition de Tonty was the bravest, the most loyal, and the most trustworthy.

NOTE 17.—A French league is two and three-fourths miles.

NOTE 18.—Horses, procured from the Spaniards in New Mexico, were in general use among the Indian tribes above the mouth of the Kaw at an early day.

NOTE 19.—Margry, vol. 1, p. 595.

In the narration of Nicholas de La Salle, entitled "Relation of the Discovery which M. de La Salle has made of the Mississippi river in 1682, and of his return to Quebec," written in 1685, he says: "Finally we descended the Mississippi. The first day we camped six leagues on the right bank, near the mouth of a river which falls into the Mississippi and which is very impetuous and muddy. It is named the river of the Missouris. The river comes from the northwest. It is well peopled, according to what the Indians say. The Panis are upon this river, a great distance from its mouth.[20]

The Panis, or Pawnees,[21] were at one time a numerous western people and roved over the country from Red river, Texas, to the Platte. The Republican Pawnees were encountered by Lieutenant Pike in Republic county, Kansas, in September, 1806. In a report of the secretary of war, made in 1829, the number of the northern Pawnees was estimated at 12,000, divided into four bands—the Pawnee Republics, the Pawnee Loups, the Grand Pawnees, and Pawnee Picts. They were located on the Platte, and claimed the country as far west as the Cheyennes. In 1836 their number was estimated by the government at 10,000, but in a subsequent report, made to the secretary of war in 1849, it is stated that they were still on the Platte, but that their number had been reduced through epidemics of smallpox in 1838, and cholera in 1849, to about 4500.[22]

This remarkable mortality was not confined to the Pawnees alone, but extended to many other tribes on the upper Missouri, one-half of whom, it is said, died during the summer and winter of 1837–'38.[23]

In 1855 the Pawnees ceded their lands in Nebraska to the government,

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NOTE 20.—Margry, vol. 1, p. 549.

NOTE 21.—The members of this family are: "The Pawnees, the Arikaras, the Caddos, the Huecos or Wacos, the Keechies, the Tawaconies, and the Pawnee Picts or Wichitas. The last five may be designated as the southern or Red River branches." (Dunbar, Magazine of Am. Hist., vol. 4, p. 241.) Du Tisne visited one of these southern branches on the Arkansas in 1719, called by him the Panis or Panioussas. (Margry, vol. 6, p. 313; Kan. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. 4, p. 276.) Representatives of the Pawnees of the Platte, Panimahas, accompanied Bourgmont, in 1724, on his visit to the Paducas in western Kansas, as will be seen hereafter. (Margry, vol. 6, pp. 398-449.)

NOTE 22.—United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1836, p. 403; id., 1849, p. 140.

NOTE 23.—Father De Smet, in his Travels among the Rocky Mountain Indians, in 1840, refers to this terrible epidemic among the Assiniboines, Minnetarees, Pawnees, Aricaras, Blackfeet, Flatheads, Crows, Grosventrees, Mandans, and other tribes. Of the Mandans he says: "This once numerous nation is now reduced to a few families, the only survivors of the smallpox scourge of 1837. In a letter of Indian Agent John Dougherty to Supt. William Clark, dated Cantonment Leavenworth, October 29, 1831, he writes: "I have the honor to inform you that I have returned from a visit to the four Pawnee villages, all of whom I found in the most deplorable condition; indeed their misery defies all description. Judging from what I saw during the four days I spent with, and the information I received from, the chiefs and two Frenchmen, who reside with and speak their language well, I am fully persuaded that one-half of the whole number of souls of each village have been and will be carried off by this cruel and frightful distemper. They told me that not one under thirty-three years of age had escaped the monstrous disease—it having been that length of time since it visited them before. They were dying so fast, and taken down at once in such large numbers, that they had ceased to bury their dead." (U. S. Ho. Rep., 22d Cong., 1st sess., Ex. Doc. No. 190.) Isaac McCoy, in a letter to Lewis Cass, dated Washington, March 23, 1832, says: "The claims of humanity, in a case peculiarly affecting, compel me to ask leave to trouble you with this. I have this moment received information from Mr. Lykins, near Kanza river, dated February 25, that Maj. J. Dougherty believed that among the Pawnees, Otoes, Omahas, and Ponchas, more than 4000 persons had already died of the smallpox. Of the three latter tribes, about 160 had died when the disease was checked by vaccination. Major Dougherty thinks that all the mountain tribes, as well as the Sioux and other northern Indians, will contract the disease, unless measures should speedily be taken to prevent it." (Id., p 3.) T. Hartley Crawford, commissioner of Indian affairs, recommends to the chairman of the house committee on Indian affairs, December 14, 1838, the use of vaccine matter by physicians paid for the purpose by the United States, and says that the smallpox still prevails among the five tribes in the Indian Territory, "and that its ravages, at the latest dates, were not arrested on the upper Missouri." (Ho. Rep., 25th Cong., 3d sess., Doc. No. 51.) The smallpox was conveyed by the Missouri Fur Company's boat up the Missouri river in the summer of 1837. Quite lengthy particulars are given of the spread of the disease by Captain Chittenden in his American Fur Trade, and in Lieut. Jas. H. Bradley's Affairs at Fort Benton from 1831 to 1839, printed in volume III of the Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana.

and in the '60's were removed, with other tribes, to the Indian Territory. The remnant of the tribe, now numbering 633,[24] are on a reservation near Ponca agency. They were among the most dangerous of the tribes that infested the Western plains from 1840 to 1860.[25]

Henri Joutel, a native of Rouen, France, and a fellow townsman of La Salle, accompanied him, in 1684, on his second expedition to Louisiana. This time La Salle sailed directly to the Gulf of Mexico from France, whither he had gone in 1683, soon after the close of his first Louisiana expedition, to secure permission and means to establish a French colony on the lower Mississippi. La Salle missed the mouth of the river but located a colony called St. Louis on the coast of Texas. Shortly after, he was cruelly murdered by one of his own men. Joutel, one of the half-dozen survivors of the ill-fated expedition, after La Salle's death, made his way up the Mississippi river to old Fort St. Louis, on the Illinois river, and thence to Quebec and France.

The following is a reference to the Missouri river made by Joutel in his journal. He says: "We continued on the 30th [August, 1687], and on the 1st of September passed by the mouth of a river called Missouri, whose water is always thick, and to which our Indians did not fail to offer sacrifice."[26]

Among the priests in La Salle's party who accompanied Joutel was Father Anastasius Douay, a most devout missionary, from whom Father Le Clercq quotes regarding the Missouri river, which he passed in 1687 on his way to the Illinois, after La Salle's death:

"About six leagues below this mouth [Illinois] there is on the northwest the famous river of the Massourites, or Ozages, at least as large as the main river into which it empties; it is formed by a number of other known rivers everywhere navigable, and inhabited by many populous tribes: . . . They include also the Ozages, who have seventeen villages on a river of their name, which empties into that of the Massourites, to which the maps have also extended the name of Ozages. The Akansa were formerly situated on the upper part of one of these rivers, but the Iroquois[27] drove them out by cruel wars some years ago, so that they, with some Ozage villages, have been obliged to descend and settle on the river which now bears their name, and of which I have spoken."[28]

NOTE 24.—Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1904, p. 606.

NOTE 25.—"Their relations with the United States have always been friendly. Instances might be catalogued, no doubt, in considerable number, in which they have committed outrages. But if against these should be set a list of the wanton provocations that they have received at the hands of irresponsible whites their offenses would be probably sufficiently counterbalanced. . . . During the last fifteen years a battalion of Pawnee scouts has been employed a large portion of the time by the government against the hostile Dakotas, and in every campaign have won high encomiums for their intrepidity and soldierly efficiency."—John B. Dunbar, Magazine of Am. Hist., 1880, vol. 4, pp. 256, 257.

Mr. T. S. Huffaker, of Council Grove, says that as late as 1856 or 1857 the Pawnees made incursions into Kansas for the purpose of stealing ponies from the Kaws, then in Morris county, and, besides robbing the Indians, drove off stock from the neighboring white settlers, taking forty or fifty ponies that he was keeping for Northrup & Chick. Although an agent sent to the Pawnee villages in Nebraska identified these ponies, the Indians would not return them. The government paid for one lot of ponies some years later.

NOTE 26.—Margry, vol. 3, p. 471.

NOTE 27.—The Iroquois were a confederation of Indians occupying the Mohawk valley and lakes of western New York, embracing the five nations first known as the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, and after the Tuscaroras had joined them from North Carolina, in 1712, the Six Nations. They were the most warlike of all the northern Indians, and were allies of the English in their contest with the French for supremacy in the new world. They subdued the neighboring Indian nations and extended their conquests beyond the St. Lawrence and even the Mississippi, as will be seen by the statements of Fathers Douay and Membre. The Encyclopedia Americana, 1904, says the census of the Six Nations still living in both the United States and Canada numbered, in 1902, about 17,000. See volume 8 of the Kansas Historical Society Collections for lands granted these "New York Indians" in Kansas.

NOTE 28.—Le Clercq's Establishment of the Faith, vol. 2, p. 271.

The Father of Navigation on the Missouri River. (See page 267.)

In "Henri de Tonty's Memoirs," published in Paris in 1693, he makes the following reference to the Osage Indians, in his trip down the Mississippi river to bring back the men of the ill-fated expedition of La Salle. He says: "We arrived on the 17th [October, 1689] at an Illinois village at the mouth of their river. They had just come from fighting the Osages and had lost thirteen men, but they brought back 130 prisoners."[29]

In Tonty's account of the route from the Illinois, by the Mississippi river, to the Gulf of Mexico, he says: "The rivers of the Missouri come from the west, and, after traversing 300 leagues, arrive at a lake, which I believe to be that of the Apaches. The villages of the Missounta, Otenta and Osage are near one another, and are situated on the prairies, 150 leagues from the mouth of the Missouri."[30]

Again, he says of his downward voyage: "We descended the river [Mississippi], and found, six leagues below, on the right, a great river [Missouri], which comes from the west, on which are numerous nations. We slept at its mouth."[31]

Jean Francois de St. Cosme, a priest of the Seminary of Quebec, left Canada in the summer of 1698 and descended the Mississippi river by way of Green Bay and the Wisconsin river. He went as a missionary to Cahokia and later to Natchez,[32] and has left the following account of the Missouri river:

"On the 6th of December, 1699, we embarked on the Mississippi river and after making about 600 leagues [1650 miles], we found the river of the Missourites, which comes from the West and which is so muddy that it spoils the water of the Mississippi, which, down to this, is clear. It is said that up this river are a great number of Indians."

In another place he mentions meeting with the Arkansas Indians. "We told them," he says, "we were going further down the river among their neighbors and friends, and that they would see us often; that it would be well to assemble all together, so as more easily to resist their enemies. They agreed to all of this and promised to try to make the Osages join them, who had left the river of the Missourites and were now on the upper waters of their own river."

As the foregoing pages contain the first references to the Osage Indians preserved in history, the statements of the different writers may be worth a comparison.

Father Membré says that in 1682 the greater part of the seventeen Illinois villages were driven across the Mississippi by the Iroquois, who pursued them until they took refuge with the Osages. Father Douay, in 1687, says that the Osages had seventeen villages on the Osage river, and that the Arkansas Indians, who had formerly lived in that section, had been driven out by the Iroquois some years before, and with some Osages had settled on the Arkansas. Henri de Tonty states that the Osages, in 1693, were then in the prairies 150 leagues from the mouth of the Missouri. This would be about 400 miles, which is very near the distance by the river route to where the prairies on the Osage set in, or between Osceola, in St. Clair county,

NOTE 29.—Historical Collections of Louisiana, French, vol. 1, p. 71.

NOTE 30.—Id., vol. 1, p. 82.

NOTE 31.—Id., vol. 1, p. 59.

NOTE 32.—Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, vol. 65, p. 262, note 7.

and Papinsville, in Bates county, Missouri. This is the locality in which, as will hereafter appear, Du Tisné found them twenty-six years afterwards, 1719, and where they remained until they began their gradual removal to the Indian Territory, about 1796.[33] Father St. Cosme, in 1699, confirms the statement made by Douay, for he says the Osages had left the river of the Missourites and were on the upper waters of their own river. The map of Delisle, published in 1703, which gives the location of many of the Western tribes, lays down four villages of the Osages on their river. Three are high up on the river, apparently near Osceola; the other is located about where the town of Warsaw stands. There are none laid down nearer the mouth of the river.

From this testimony left us by the early explorers, which must be reliable, as it comes from so many different sources, it appears that the Osage Indians, at some time previous to 1682, dwelt near the mouth of the Osage river, either on the banks of that stream or on the Missouri. There is no question that about that time the lower Missouri tribes were attacked by the wild men from the East, the cruel and bloodthirsty Iroquois, who, as they were armed with British muskets, and the Missouri tribes had only the primitive bow and arrow, drove the Osages higher up their river, and the Missouris to the mouth of the Grand river. The beautiful country near the mouth of the Missouri was thus early abandoned by the red men.

In many respects the Osages were the most remarkable of all the Western tribes. They, with the Missouri, are the first of which we have any data. They were distinguished by Marquette in 1673 as the "Ouchage" and "Autrechaha," and by Penicaut in 1719 as the "Huzzau," "Ous," and "Wawha."[34] They were one of the largest and most powerful tribes west of the Mississippi, and they have remained longer in the same locality; they have been the most peaceable of all the Western tribes and have given the government less trouble; they are the tallest and best-proportioned Indians in America, few being less than six feet.

The tribe was evidently a numerous one when first visited by the French, for Douay says in 1687 that they occupied seventeen villages. Like all our aborigines, contact with civilization rapidly diminished their numbers, for by 1804 they had decreased to 2300 warriors.

At the time Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike visited the tribe, in 1806, it was separated into three bands. The history of this division he gives as follows:

"The Osage nation is divided into three villages, and in a few years you may say nations, viz.: The Grand Osage, the Little Osage, and those of the Arkansaw.

"The Little Osage separated from the Big Osage about 100 years since, when their chiefs, on obtaining permission to lead forth a colony from the great council of the nation, moved on to the Missouri; but after some years, finding themselves too hard pressed by their enemies, they again obtained permission to return, put themselves under the protection of the Grand village, and settled down about six miles off.

"The Arkansaw schism was effected by Mr. Pierre Choteau, ten or twelve years ago, as a revenge on Mr. Manuel De Sezei [Liza or Lisa], who had obtained from the Spanish government the exclusive trade of the Osage nation, by the way of the Osage river, after it had been in the hands of Mr. Choteau for nearly twenty years. The latter, having the trade of the Ar-

NOTE 33.—History of Vernon County, Missouri, 1887, p. 131.

NOTE 34.—Annual Report United States Bureau of Ethnology, vol. 15, p. 192.

kansaw, thereby nearly rendered abortive the exclusive privilege of his rival."[35]

The History of Vernon County, Missouri, 1887, says that a number of young men from both the Big and Little Osages, influenced by French traders, removed about 1796 under Cashesegra or Big Track, to the Verdegris.[36]

While the Osages were a brave and warlike nation, and were frequently at war with the Kansas, Pawnees, Iowas, Sacs and Foxes, and other tribes, they always maintained peaceable relations with the whites. This was, no doubt, through the influence of the French traders, who, as early as 1693,[37] began trading with them, and, frequently intermarrying, acquired a wonderful influence over them.

The Osages, in their hunting excursions, roamed over all the vast territory from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, and a good story is told by General Rozier, in his History of the Mississippi Valley, of an occurrence that took place at an early day near Ste. Genevieve, where General Rozier was born, and where he lived and died:

"In 1797 a wedding party of young people, consisting of a proposed bride and groom and a half-dozen other couples, left their home on Big river to go to Ste. Genevieve to be married, there being no priest nearer. On arriving at Terre-Beau creek, near Farmington, they encountered a roving band of Osage Indians, who were out on a prairie horse-racing. The party was soon discovered by the Indians and followed. On being captured, they were stripped of all their clothing, both men and women, and turned loose on the prairie, as naked as they came into the world. No violence was offered, as the Indians considered it only a good joke; but they kept their clothing, and the young people were compelled to return home in this terrible plight. The wedding was postponed for a year, but the young couple finally married, and their descendants are yet living in St. Francois county."

The Osages claimed all of the country lying south of the Missouri river and the Kansas as far west as the head waters of the latter stream. On November 10, 1808, a treaty was entered into by which they ceded to the government the territory lying east of a line running due south from Fort Clark (later Fort Osage, now Sibley), on the Missouri river, to the Arkansas river, and lying north of that stream, to its confluence with the Mississippi. The provisions of this treaty[38] especially favored those Indians "who reside at this place," Fort Osage, or who might remove to its neighborhood.

NOTE 35.—Coues's Pike, p. 529. "When the Little Osages moved to the Missouri river, which was about 1700, they located upon Petit-sas-Plains, near the present town of Malta Bend, in Saline county, Missouri. On their return to the Great Osage, which was about 1774, they located in a separate village, at what is now Ballstown, on the Little Osage river. Coues give the relative postions of the two villages in the following note: "The village of the Little Osage Indians was about six miles higher up, on the other (west) side of the river of the same name. Marmiton river falls in between where the two villages were. These were so well known to the traders and others in Pike's time that he does not take the trouble to say exactly where they were; nor are we favored with the precise location of Camp Independence, 'near the edge of the prairie.' But there is, of course, no question of the exact site of a village which stood for more than a century; see, for example, Holcombe's History of Vernon County. Hundreds of Osages were buried on the mound, to which their descendants used to come from Kansas to cry over them, as late at least as 1874. Among the remains rested those of old White Hair himself, until his bones were dug up and carried off by Judge C. H. Allen, of Missouri. In the vicinity of the upper village is now a place called Arthur, where the Lexington & Southern division of the Missouri Pacific railroad comes south from Rich Hill, Bates county, and continues across both Little Osage and Marmiton rivers; a mile west of its crossing of the former, on the south of that river, is the present hamlet called Little Osage [or Ballstown]. All Pike's positions of August 18-September 1 are in the present Osage township."—Coues' Pike, 1895, vol. 2, note 45, p. 389.

NOTE 36.—History of Vernon County, Missouri, 1887, p. 131.

NOTE 37.—Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, vol. 64, p. 161.

NOTE 38.—Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties, vol. 2, p. 95.

The History of Vernon County, Missouri, says that only a few of the Osages settled near Fort Clark, the majority continuing to live at their old home in the northern part of that county.[39]

In 1820 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions established a mission for the Arkansas Osages, called Union Station, on the Neosho, twenty-five miles above its junction with the Arkansas, and, in 1821, another called Harmony Mission, near Papinsville, Bates county, Missouri. At the latter place mission buildings, including a schoolhouse, were erected, and a large apple orchard set out. Nothing remains to-day to mark the site of this old village except the trunks of some gnarled apple trees, which have withstood the storms of eighty winters.[40]

The Osages are one of the very few tribes which have no cause to complain of the treatment accorded them by the government. They have been well paid for their lands, and the different treaties made with them have been religiously observed. The following extract from the report of the commissioner of Indian affairs for 1904 shows the present status of the tribe:

"A census of the Osage tribe at the close of the fiscal year shows a population of, males, 946; females, 949; total, 1895. The Osage Indians are considered about the richest people as a tribe on the face of the globe. They have an annual income of $418,611.39, being five per cent. interest on the $8,372,427.80 held in trust for them by the United States treasury. To this is added about $165,000 derived from lease of grazing lands, royalty from oil-wells, etc. The amount from oil and gas royalties will greatly increase from this time, owing to increased development and facilities on account of pipe-lines for reaching the market. This makes an annual income of about $584,000. Out of this fund well-equipped schools are maintained, salaries of employees are paid, nearly all the expenses of the agency is met, and the residue paid per capita to the members of the tribe in quarterly instalments. The division of interest money alone amounts to about fourteen dollars per month, or forty-two dollars every three months, to each man, woman, and child. To this may be added quite comfortable incomes to many individual members of the tribe, more progressive than others, from their homesteads and farms."*

But the time will soon come, under the present allotting system of the government, when the Osages will lose their lands—the fairest in the territory. It is the beginning of the end. Then, with their tribal relations sundered, and the protecting arm of the government withdrawn, their money will, under the influence of civilization, become a curse instead of a blessing.

Baron de Lahontan[41] left the mouth of the Missouri river, so he says, on March 17, 1689, and reached the first village of the Missouri tribe on the 18th, and the second the next day. Three leagues from there he reached

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NOTE 39.—History of Vernon County, Missouri, 1887, p. 135.

NOTE 40.—Two sections of land at the site of the mission were reserved by the treaty of 1825, and for the improvements thereon the United States paid $8000, the land itself reverting to the government upon the abandonment of the mission. The money went to the American Board of Foreign Missions.—History of Vernon County, Missouri, 1887, p. 150.

"ARTICLE 10. It is furthermore agreed on, by and between the parties to these presents, that there shall be reserved two sections of land, to include the Harmony missionary establishment and their mill, on the Marais des Cygne."—Treaty with the Osages, 1825; Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties, Wash., 1904, vol. 2, p. 220.

NOTE 41.—For an extended biography of the Baron de Lahontan, see J. Edmond Roy, in the Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, vol. 12, sec. 1, p. 63. Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography and Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America give the name as La Hontan.

*Annual Report United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1904, p. 297.

the mouth of the Osage[42] river. After a skirmish with the Indians at that place he reembarked and started down stream. He landed his forces at night and destroyed a village; reembarked again, and arrived at the mouth of the river on the 25th. There he met some Arkansas Indians, and he says of them: "All that I learned from them was that the Missouris and Osages were numerous and mischievous; and their country was well watered with very great rivers, and, in a word, was entirely too good for them."[43]

Penicaut, in his Annals of Louisiana, says, in writing of a voyage made in 1700 from the mouth of the Mississippi to the copper-mines of the Sioux country, on the upper part of that stream:

". . . We ascended the Mississipy six leagues higher, where we found, on the left, the mouth of a very large river named the Missoury. This river is of a tremendous rapidity, in the spring especially, when it is high, for in passing over the islands which it overflows, it uproots and sweeps along the trees.[44] It is from this fact that in the spring, the Mississipy, into which it flows, is all covered with floating wood, and that the water of the Mississpy is then muddy from the water of the Missoury, which falls into the same. Up to the present the source of the Missoury has not been found, nor that of the Mississipy. . . . I will not speak of the manners of the inhabitants of the banks of the Missoury, because I have not yet ascended the Missoury."[45]

In 1700, James Gravier, a Jesuit priest, made a voyage down the Mississippi. He says: ". . . It [the Arkansas river] runs to the northwest, and, by ascending it, one reaches the river of the Missouris, by making a portage."[46]

Previous to 1705, nearly all the explorers of the Mississippi came down the river from Canada, but now the tide began to turn, and a stream came up the river from the Gulf of Mexico. These two streams met at the mouth of the Missouri, and it was during this period—1700 to 1720—that the French villages of Cahokia, Kaskaskia, Vincennes and Fort Chartres were established.[47]

In 1703 Chevalier Pierre Charles Le Sueur was sent on a mining expedition to the upper Mississippi. On returning down the river in 1705 he arrived at the mouth of the Missouri, and is said to have ascended the stream as far as the mouth of the Kaw.[48] There is some doubt whether Le Sueur ever really came up the river, but there is no question that about this time the Missouri was first explored. Le Chevalier de Beaurain, whose memoir of Louisiana contains an account of Le Sueur's explorations, makes the following allusion to the Missouri river, and the different tribes along that stream. He says: ". . . They [the Sioux] generally keep to the prairies, be-

NOTE 42.—As it is 140 miles from the mouth of the Missouri to the mouth of the Osage, the voyage could not have been made up stream in canoes in three days. The statement of the dates and distances made discredits the entire story, and it may be taken with a degree of allowance. If Lahontan actually came up the Missouri river, he was the first white man to ascend that stream of whom there is any account.

NOTE 43.—From Travels of Baron de Lahontan in North America, from 1689 to 1700, published in London in 1703.—Found in Kansas City Review, May, 1881, p. 19.

NOTE 44.—The writer must have passed the mouth of the river during the annual June rise, as his description indicates that he saw it during a flood.

NOTE 45.—Margry, vol. 5, p. 409.

NOTE 46.—Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, vol. 65, p. 125.

NOTE 47.—Wallace's History of Illinois and Louisiana under French Rule, pp. 203, 207, 270, and 299; see, also, Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, vol. 65, pp. 262, 264; vol. 69, p. 301; vol. 70, p. 316.

NOTE 48.—Margry, vol. 6, p. 91.

tween the upper Mississippy and the Missoury river, and live solely by hunting."[49] At another place he says: ". . . We were told that the Ayavois [Iowas] and Otoctatas [Otoes] had gone to station themselves up on the side of the Missoury river, in the neighborhood of the Maha [Omahas],[50] a nation dwelling in those quarters.[51] He also refers to Le Sueur's meeting with three Canadian travelers, and receiving from them a letter from Father Marest, of the mission of the Immaculate Conception, of the Illinois, dated July 10, 1700, informing him that the Peanguichas had been defeated by the Sioux and Ayavois, and had joined with the Quicapous and a part of the Mascoutins, Foxes,[52] and Metesigamias, to avenge themselves, not upon the Sioux, for they fear them too much, possibly upon the Ayavois, or perhaps the Paoutes, or more likely on the Ozages, for these mistrust nothing, and the others are upon their guard.[53]

The Otoes[54] were a small tribe in 1804, and did not number exceeding

NOTE 49.—Margry, vol. 6, p. 79.

NOTE 50.—Delisle's map of Louisiana and Mississippi, in the second volume of French's Louisiana, shows a village of the Mahas on the eastern bank of the Missouri, far above the mouth of the Platte, and near it three villages of the Iowas (Aiaouez), while opposite the mouth of the Platte (Riviere des Panis), and east of the Missouri river, is situated the Otoes (Octotata) village. Another "Ioway" village is placed some distance east of the Missouri river and of the "Canses" village, at the mouth of Independence creek. French quotes Le Sueur's spelling of these names, "Ayavois," "Octotata," and "Maha."

"According to tribal traditions collected by Dorsey, the ancestors of the Omaha, Ponka, Kwapa, Osage and Kansa were originally one people dwelling on Ohio and Wabash rivers, but gradually working westward. The first separation took place at the mouth of the Ohio, when those who went down the Mississippi became the Kwapa or down-stream people, while those who ascended the great river became the Omaha or up-stream people. This separation must have occurred at least as early as 1500, since it preceded De Soto's discovery of the Mississippi. . . . The Omaha group (from whom the Osage, Kansa and Ponka were not yet separated) ascended the Mississippi to the mouth of the Missouri, where they remained for some time, though war and hunting parties explored the country northwestward, and the body of the tribe gradually followed these pioneers, though the Osage and Kansa were successively left behind. The Omaha gathered south of the Missouri, between the mouths of the Platte and Niobrara. . . . The Omaha tribe remained within the great bend of the Missouri, opposite the mouth of the Big Sioux, until the white men came. Their hunting-ground extended westward and southwestward, chiefly north of the Platte and along the Elkhorn, to the territory of the Ponka and Pawnee." (McGee, U. S. Bu. of Eth., vol. 15, p. 191.) The Omahas now occupy a reservation in Thurston county, Nebraska, and had a population of 1232 in 1904.—Report United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, p. 235.

NOTE 51.—Margry, vol. 6, p. 82.

NOTE 52.—The Foxes, also called Renards and Outagamies, were at that time, 1700, on or in the neighborhood of Green bay, Wisconsin. (Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, vol. 62, p. 205.) They had formerly lived in the country east of Lake Huron. (Cutler's Hist. of Kan., 1883, p. 73.) They were a populous tribe in 1666–'68, mustering about 1000 warriors. (Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, vol. 51, p. 43.) Having become reduced through wars with neighboring tribes, they united with the Sacs about 1760, the two ever afterwards being known as the Sacs and Foxes. (Encycl. Americana, 1904, vol. 7.) They claimed certain country north of the Missouri and east of the Mississippi rivers, and in 1804 made their first treaty of cession to the United States. After various subsequent treaties, and having become divided into two bands, a part of the one, known as the "Sacs and Foxes of the Mississippi," was removed in 1845–'46 to a reservation in Osage and Franklin counties, Kansas, and in 1869 to the Indian Territory. (Green, in Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 8, p. 130.) Of this band, 491 still reside upon their reservation in Oklahoma. (Rept. U. S. Com. Ind. Aff., 1904, p. 608.) A branch of the Mississippi band, numbering 343, still holds a reservation in Tama county, Iowa. (Rept. U. S. Com. Ind. Aff., 1904, p. 211.) The other band, known as the "Sacs and Foxes of the Missouri," were granted, in 1854, a small reservation with the Kowas, between Nebraska and Brown county, Kansas. They still retain a portion of these lands and number eighty-two souls.—Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 8, p. 91.

NOTE 53.—Margry, vol. 6, p. 70.

NOTE 54.—The Otoes were related to the Missouris, and, Dr. Elliott Coues says, occupied about 1700, the same village on Bowling Green prairie, below Grand river, in Missouri. (Coues's Lewis and Clark, vol. 1, p. 22.) It is possible that they removed from this village to the mouth of the Platte at the time LeSueur mentions. Both the Otoes and Iowas are said to be offshoots from the Missouris. (U. S. Bu. of Eth., vol. 15, p. 195.) This would seem reasonable, as it was to the Otoes, then on the Platte, that the remnant of the Missouris fled, about 1774 (Coues's Lewis and Clark, p. 23), when they were driven from Petite-sas-Plains. The original separation of these two tribes is said to have been caused by the abduction of a Missouri squaw by the chief of the Otoes. (Coues's Lewis and Clark, p. 23.) When Bourgmont visited Kansas, in 1724, he brought with him a party of Missouris from their village near Fort Orleans, Missouri. He sent five of them as runners to the Otoes, whom he also desired to accompany him, and who appear to have been living in Nebraska, as they are mentioned as coming with the Pawnees and Iowas. —Margry, vol. 6, p. 402.

500 souls, 120 of whom were warriors. They were always a peaceable tribe, probably on account of their numbers, and maintained friendly relations with the early fur-traders and voyageurs. The remnant of the tribe—which includes the Missouris—numbered, in 1904, 365 individuals. They are now on a reservation in the Indian Territory, near Ponca agency.

The Iowas[55] were never a numerous tribe, although they were good fighters, and made war on all the neighboring tribes except the ancient Missouris, from whom, it is said, they were an offshoot. In 1804 Lewis and Clark estimated them as having 300 men; allowing five to a family, there would have been a population of 1500 individuals. They were then living on the Des Moines river, near the head waters of the Chariton.[56] Geo. Sibley, in 1820, gave their number as 800,[57] and Rev. S. M. Irvin, in his school report for 1853, says, "Sixteen years ago there were 830, and now a fraction over 400."[58] The remnant now lives on two reserves; that on the Missouri river, on the line between Nebraska and Kansas, having a population of 220, while those in Oklahoma number 90.[59] They receive an annuity of $9791.74.[60]

Father Gabriel Marest, the missionary, in a letter to Father Germon, dated Cascaskias, November 9, 1712, writes:

"Seven leagues below the mouth of the Illinois river is found a large river called the Missouri—or, more commonly, Pekitanoui; that is to say, 'muddy water'—which empties into the Mississippi on the west side; it is extremely rapid, and it discolors the beautiful water of the Mississippi, which flows from this point to the sea. The Missouri comes from the northwest, not far from the mines which the Spaniards have in Mexico, and it is very serviceable to the French who travel in that country."

Again, he says: "We are only thirty leagues [eighty-three miles] from the Missouri, or Pekitanoui. This is a large river, which flows into the Mississippi, and it is said that it comes from a still greater distance than does that river. The best mines of the Spaniards are at the head of this river."[61]

In the spring of 1719 Claude Charles du Tisné went up the Missouri river in canoes to the village of the Missouris, near the mouth of Grand river. It was his purpose to go farther, but the Indians would not permit him to do

NOTE 55.—A good deal of latitude has always been admissible in Indian nomenclature. The name of the Siouan tribe which LeSueur calls Ayavois, and Delisle calls Aiaouez and Ioways, was variously spelled by the French "Aiaouas," "Ayoes," "Ayowois," etc. Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, vol. 72, p. 261.) They were a tribe of wanderers, and their migrations extended during different periods all up and down the Missouri river. Their village was somewhere in the territory now embraced in the state of Missouri at the time of their removal, as mentioned by LeSueur; but it is nowhere shown that they were on the banks of the Missouri river, except, possibly, on Delisle's map in French's second volume. About 1750 they were seated on the Chariton river, in Missouri, near the Iowa line, having doubtless come back to Missouri—for which they cannot be blamed. Sibley mentions that they lived in more than one village in 1820. They were living on a creek near Weston, Platte county, Missouri, in 1836, when they ceded the country embraced in the Platte purchase to the government. The Kansas State Historical Society has recently come into possession of a worn and weather-stained manuscript, presented by a Spanish officer of the province of Louisiana to the Iowa nation, at New Orleans, March 25, 1784. Just what it signifies is not yet ascertained. It had been preserved by the family of Antoine Barada, whose signature was attached to the treaty between the United States and the Kansas nation, at St. Louis, in 1815.—U. S. Treaties, 1778-1837, p. 184.

NOTE 56.—Thwaites' Lewis and Clark, vol. 1, pp. 20, 45.

NOTE 57.—Morse's Report, 1822, apx., p. 204.

NOTE 58.—Report of United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1853, p. 333.

NOTE 59.—Id., 1904, pp. 598, 608.

NOTE 60.—Id., 1904, p. 538.

NOTE 61.—Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, vol. 66, pp. 225, 293.

so. He then returned down the river and made his way to the Illinois country, whence he soon thereafter crossed the Mississippi river and set out overland from the mouth of the Saline river, near Ste. Genevieve. He traveled westward, through what was then an unexplored wilderness, being the first French explorer of the trans-Mississippi territory.

The following letter, written by Du Tisné after his return from his last expedition, to Bienville, the commandant at New Orleans, throws much light on the different Indian tribes then inhabiting the Missouri valley. It was written at the old French village of Kaskaskia, which was located near the east bank of the Mississippi, on the Kaskaskia, about fifty miles below the present city of St. Louis:

"KASKASKIA, November 22, 1719.[62]

"SIR— . . . You know, sir, that I have been obliged to leave the Missourys, as they did not wish me to go to the Panioussas; hence I was compelled to return to the Illinois to offer to M. de Boisbriant [commander of the post] to make the journey across the country, and he granted me permission to do so. The journey was attended with much trouble, as my men fell sick on the way; my own health keeps well. I send you with this a little account of my trip.

"I went to the Osages and was well received by them. Having explained your intentions to them, they answered me satisfactorily in regard to themselves; but when I spoke of going to the Panis [Pawnees] they all opposed it, and would not assent to the reason I gave them. When I learned they did not intend to let me take my goods I had brought, I proposed to them to let me take three guns for myself and my interpreter, telling them, with decision, if they did not consent to this I would be very angry, and you indignant; they then consented. Knowing the character of these savages I did not tarry long, but set out at once; and in four days I reached the Panis, where I was badly received, owing to the fact that the Osages made them believe that our intention was to entrap them and make slaves of them. On that account they twice raised the tomahawk above me; but when they learned the falsehood of the Osages, and saw my bravery when they threatened me, brutal as these people are, they consented to make an alliance and treated me well. I traded them my three guns, some powder, pickaxes and some knives for two horses and a mule marked with a Spanish brand.

"I proposed to them to let me pass through to the Padoucas. To this they would not consent at all, being mortal enemies to them. Seeing their opposition, I questioned them in regard to the Spanish; they said they had formerly been to their village, but now the Padoucas prevented them. They traded me a very old silver cup, and told me it would take more than a month to go to the Spanish. It seems to me that we could succeed in making peace between this tribe and the Padoucas, and thereby open a route to the Spanish [in Mexico]; it could be done by giving them back their slaves and making them presents. I have told them that you desired that they be friends. We might also attempt a passage by the Missouri, going to the Panimahas[63] and carrying them presents. I offered M. de Boisbriant to go there myself, and if you desire it I am ready to execute it, so as to merit your protection.

"I have written to the chief of the Cadodaquious, and have asked him to give you advice of it. A Mento chief has charge of the letters. I had seen him among the Osages and he had sold some slaves for me to the Natchitoches. It is from him that I learned of the arrival of M. de La Harpe with the large boats at the Nassonites. He tells me that in a month he will re-

NOTE 62.— This letter is found in Margry, vol. 6, pp. 313-315. Another translation will be found in an article by John P. Jones, of Coldwater, Kan., a close student of French explorations in Kansas and Missouri, on the "Discoverer of Kansas," in Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 4, p. 277.

NOTE 63.— Prof. John B. Dunbar considers "Panimahas" to be simply another form of the French name "Pani" for the Pawnees of the Platte. (Magazine of Am. Hist., vol. 4, p. 249.) The same view is taken by Mr. J. P. Jones.

turn to the Natchitoches, and, by the direction which he has showed me, the route to the Osages is south a quarter southwest. The villages of the Mentos are seven days' journey from the Osages toward the southwest. He has promised me to come to the Illinois and bring some horses, as have also the Panis, who ought to come next spring.

"The Osages not wishing to give me a guide to return to the Illinois, I was obliged to come by means of my compass, with fourteen horses and my mule. I had the misfortune to lose six of them and a colt, which is a loss of more than 900 livres to me. I refer you to M. de Boisbriant for the many difficulties I have passed through. I hope, sir, since being one of the oldest lieutenants of the country, you will do me the favor to procure me a company. I shall try to meet your kindness by my faithfulness to the service.

I am, with profound respect, etc., DU TISNE.

"To M. de Bienville, New Orleans."

The following is an extract from La Harpe's relation of Du Tisné's journey among the Missouris, in 1719, translated from Margry's Memoirs, by Mr. E. A. Kilian, secretary of the Quivira Historical Society:[64]

"From the village of Kaskaskia to the Missouri is 32 leagues [75 miles]. The Missouri is very turbid and full of obstacles from driftwood and extensive shallows and a strong current. It flows from the Missouries [the village] north-northwest, although it makes many times a complete circumvolution of the compass. It is well wooded with walnut, sycamore and oak trees. Very fine soil and some rocky hills are seen. At intervals on the west side of the stream, two fine rivers flow into it. The first is the Blue river [the Gasconade], which is not great in importance. The second is the river of the Osages, whose village is 80 leagues [about 220 miles] above, to the southwest. A pirogue can go 20 leagues [55 miles] above that village.

"The river of the Osages is 10 leagues [25 miles] above the mouth of Blue river, and 40 leagues [110 miles] above the mouth of the Missouri. In the vicinity of the Osages there are lead-mines in abundance, and it is also believed there are silver-mines.

"The distance is 80 leagues from the mouth of the river Missouri to the village of that name. The prairie begins 10 leagues [27 miles] beyond their village. This would be a good place to make an establishment; the Missourys are jealous because the French go to other nations. They are people who stay only at their village in the springtime. One league southwest of them is a village of the Osages, which is 30 leagues [82 miles] from their great village. [The writer is now referring to the village of the Little Osages, on the Missouri river, near the mouth of Grand river.] By the Missoury, one can go to the Panimahas, to other nations called Ahuachés, and from them to the Padoucas.

". . . The village of the Osages is situated on an elevation a league and a half [about four miles] from their river to the northwest. This village is composed of 100 lodges and 200 warriors. They stay in their village like the Missourys, and pass the winter in chasing the buffalo, which are very abundant in these parts. Horses, which they steal from the Panis, can be bought of them; also deer skins and buffalo-robes. They are a well-built people, and deceitful; they have many chiefs of bands but few have absolute authority; in general, they are treacherous and break their word easily. There is a lead-mine 12 leagues from here, but they do not know what use to make thereof.

"From the Osages to the Panis is 40 leagues [110 miles] to the southwest, and the whole route is over prairies and hills abounding in cattle. The land is fine and well wooded. There are four rivers from the Osages to the Panis, which have to be crossed. The most considerable is the Atcansas, which has its source toward the northwest a quarter north. Du Tisné crossed it. . . . This river of the Atcansas is 12 leagues [33 miles] east

NOTE 64.—The writer recognizes Mr. Kilian as one of the most scholarly, painstaking and reliable historians of the Missouri valley, and is indebted to him for assistance in the preparation of this paper, and especially for notes obtained from Margry's Decouvertes et Etablissments des Francais dans l'Amerique Septentrionale, a collection of documents and journals pertaining to the French occupancy of North America.

of the Pani's village. It is situated on the bank of a creek, on a hill, surrounded by elevated prairies. . . . One league to the northwest, on the same stream, is another village, as large as the first one. There are in these two villages 300 horses, which they value so much that they do not like to part with them. This nation is very brutal, but it would be easy to subdue them by making them presents of guns, of which they have much need; they have only six among them all. There are many other Pani's villages to the west and northwest, but they are not known to us.

"According to their reports, it is fifteen days' journey to the Padoucas, but they encounter them frequently in six days' journey. They have a cruel war now between them, so that they nearly eat one another up. When they go to war they harness their horses in a cuirass of tanned leather. They are clever with the bow and arrow, and also use a lance, which is like the end of a sword inserted in a handle of wood. Two days' journey to the west a quarter southwest is a salt-mine, which is very beautiful and pure. Every time they give food to a stranger the chief cuts the meat into pieces and puts them into the mouth of those they regale. Le Sieur Du Tisné planted a white flag, the 27th of September, 1719, in the middle of their village, which they received with pleasure."[65]

The location of the village of the Great Osages on the Osage river, when visited by Du Tisné, is not easily determined. When Pike came up the Osage, in 1806, they were seated on the Little Osage river in the northern part of Vernon county, Missouri, a beautiful prairie country, which extends far westward. Du Tisné's description would fix the location near Osceola, in St. Clair county, which was probably the true location of the village in 1719. The Osages like all other tribes, were migratory, and may have moved their village higher up the river, or there may have been more than one village.

It is stated by Du Tisné that he traveled four days in a southwesterly direction in going from the Osage village to the Pawnees. He estimates the distance at 110 miles. He also says the Pawnee villages were twelve leagues, or thirty-three miles, west of the river he calls the Ateansas. He undoubtedly meant the Neosho, a branch of the Arkansas. The locations of these villages are unknown, but from the distance traveled, the course, and the distance from the Neosho river, they were probably situated on one of the Cabin creeks, in what is now Cherokee county, Indian Territory, near Vinita.

After Du Tisné had visited the Great Osages and the Pawnees, he returned to the Illinois country, where he arrived about the 1st of November, 1719.

Extracts from a letter written at "Kaskasquias," October 20, 1721, by Father Pierre Francois Xavier de Charlevoix, who was the most intelligent and reliable of all the early French explorers and historians. He says:

". . . After we had gone five leagues on the Mississippi we arrived at the month of the Missouri, which is north-northwest and south-southeast. I believe this is the finest confluence in the world. The two rivers are much of the same breadth, each about half a league; but the Missouri is by far the most rapid, and seems to enter the Mississippi like a conqueror, through which it carries its white waters to the opposite shore without mixing them; afterwards it gives its color to the Mississippi, which it never loses again, but carries it quite down to the sea.

"The Osages, a pretty numerous nation, settled on the side of a river that bears their name and which runs into the Missouri, about 40 leagues [110 miles] from its junction with the Mississippi, send once or twice a year to sing the calumet amongst the Kaskasquias, and are actually there at present. I have also just now seen a Missourite woman, who told me that

NOTE 65.—Margry, vol. 6, pp. 309-312.

her nation is the first we meet with going up the Missouri, from which she has the name we have given her, for want of knowing her true name. It is situated 80 leagues [220 miles] from the confluence of that river with the Mississippi. . . . This woman has confirmed to me what I had heard from the Sioux, that the Missouri rises out of some naked mountains, very high, behind which there is a great river, which probably rises from them also, and which runs to the west. This testimony carries some weight, because of all the savages which we know none travel farther than the Missourites." [66]

During the entire period of the French occupancy of the Missouri valley, 1673–1763, there was a continuous conflict between Spain and France for supremacy in the country west of the Mississippi. In 1719 a Spanish caravan was sent from Santa Fe to the Missouri river to drive back the French, who even then were becoming numerous among the different tribes along that stream. The fate of that expedition will ever be enshrouded in mystery, for with it was connected one of the darkest tragedies known in the annals of the West. By a shrewd piece of strategy the invaders were thrown off their guard by the Indians and massacred, but by what tribe the deed was done, or where, was never known. [67]

The arrival of this expedition from so great a distance naturally alarmed the French. Etienne Venyard sieur de Bourgmont had already taken steps through his friends, in June, 1718,* to secure a commission for the exploration of the upper Missouri. This was granted him August 12, 1720, by the Company of the Indies, with instructions to build a fort, and to make peace with the surrounding nations for the purpose of trade. The fort, called Orleans, was completed, and friendship with the tribes upon the Missouri as far north as the Pawnee, in Nebraska, established as early as the spring of 1724. Bourgmont next turned his attention to the Paducas, a numerous nation living upon the Western plains, and who had been concerned in the recent unfortunate Spanish expedition. He had been instructed to make peace with them, and through them arrange for commerce with the Spanish of New Mexico. He appointed a rendezvous for the Indians who were to accompany him, at the village of the Kansas, located on the Missouri river where the town of Doniphan, Kan., is now situated. [68] He then divided his

NOTE 66.— Charlevoix's Letters, London, 1763, pp. 291, 294.

NOTE 67.— The following is Maj. Amos Stoddard's version of this affair: The Spanish "well knew the importance of the Missouri, and were anxious to secure a strong position on its banks. They readily perceived that such a measure, if prosecuted with success, would effectually hold in check the Illinois French, confine their territorial claims to the borders of the Mississippi, and turn the current of the Indian trade. Their first object was to attack and destroy the nation of Missouris, situated on the Missouri, at no great distance from the Kansas river, within whose jurisdiction they meditated a settlement. These Indians were the firm friends of the French, and this rendered their destruction the more necessary. At this time they were at war with the Pawnees, and the Spaniards designed to engage these as auxiliaries in their enterprise. A considerable colony, therefore, started from Santa Fe in 1720, and marched in pursuit of the Pawnee villages; but they lost their way, and unluckily arrived among the Missouris, whose ruin they meditated. Ignorant of their mistake (the Missouris speaking the Pawnee language), they communicated their sentiments without reserve, and requested their cooperation. The Indians manifested no surprise at this unexpected visit, and only requested time to assemble their warriors. At the end of forty-eight hours about 2000 of them appeared in arms. They attacked the Spaniards in the night, while reposing themselves in fatal security, and killed all of them, except the priest, who escaped the slaughter by means of his horse. Various writers assert that these colonists aimed to find the Osage villages; but the records of Santa Fe authorize the statement we have given."— Sketches of Louisiana, Phila., 1812, p. 46. See, also, Charlevoix's Letters, London, 1763, p. 204, written in July, 1721; he places the date of this expedition as "about two years ago." Also, John P. Jones's Spanish Expedition to Missouri in 1719, Kansas City Rev. of Sci. and Ind., vol. 4, p. 724.)

NOTE 68.— Mr. Geo. J. Remsburg, an acknowledged authority on the archeology of the Missouri valley, has located this old village at Doniphan, Kan.

*Margry, vol. 6, pp. 385, 388.

own force, part going up the Missouri in canoes and the remainder across the country. Bourgmont, with the latter party, arrived at the Kansas village first, and had a long negotiation with the Kansas Indians for horses with which to continue the journey.

The departure was delayed several days because of illness in the detachment coming by boat. Finally, on July 24, the motley crew, consisting of French, half-breed coureurs des bois, and Indians, among the latter being 68 Osages and 109 Missouris, who had followed Bourgmont from their village near the mouth of Grand river, set out on their journey to the Paducas. They proceeded in a southwesterly direction, the account giving minute details of the journey. Unfortunately Bourgmont fell ill of a malady caused by the excessive summer heat, and was unable to continue the journey. August 1 the whole party were obliged to return to Fort Orleans, having dispatched a messenger to the Paducas to explain the cause of delay. Bourgmont was unable to resume the journey to the Padoucas until fall. He then found, at the Kansas village, his messenger, Gaillard, with six Paducas, whom he had induced with great difficulty to return with him. Bourgmont assembled representatives of all the nations present in a circle before his tent, and gave them a friendly talk, explaining the wish of the French that they should be on good terms with one another and with the Frenchmen who would come among them for purposes of trade. There were present Paducas, Missouris, Otoes, Iowas, Pawnees, Osages, and Kansas. Two members of each tribe were requested by Bourgmont to go with him to the Paducas. These, with the Frenchmen of his suite, and his ten-year-old son, made a party of forty. They again set out from the Kansas village in the direction before taken, and crossed the "Canzas" on the 11th of October. The relation says: "This Kansas river comes straight from the west to the east, and discharges into the Missouri; it is very deep in high water, according to the report of the Paducas. It comes from a great distance." October 18.—"We found a small river where the water was briny. We found on the border of this stream an encampment of the Paducas. They had been in camp about four days, and numbered 4300." Other villages were mentioned, and as being but twelve days' journey from the Spanish. The Paducas greeted all their visitors with great cordiality, and Bourgmont was promised all he required, by all parties. October 22 Bourgmont and his command began their return journey to the Kansas village, which they reached on the 30th of October, having come seventy leagues.

The following extracts taken from Bourgmont's journal will prove interesting:

"Departure from Ft. Orleans.—Sunday, June 25, 1724. This morning the detachment has set out by water to the Canzés and from there to the Padoucas, commanded by M. de Saint-Ange, ensign of Ft. Orleans, with Dubois, sergeant; Rotisseur and Gentil, corporals; and eleven soldiers, namely, La Jeunesse, Bonneau, Saint-Lazare, Ferret, Derbet, Avignon, Sans-Chagrin, Poupard, Gaspard, Chalons, and Brasseur; five Canadians, Mercier, Quesnel, Rivet, Rolet, and Lespine, and two engaged from the Sieur Renaudiere, Toulose and Antoine.

"Saturday, [July] 8. . . . At five P. M. a Frenchman arrived with an Indian, who had come by land, sent by M. de Saint-Ange, who commanded the convoy by water, reporting that there were many Frenchmen attacked by fever, and that they could not proceed. M. de Saint-Ange requested that M. de Bourgmont send him five Frenchmen with provisions. M. de Bourgmont sent him what he demanded, and requested him to make

haste, so as to proceed on the voyage to the Padoucas with dispatch; that besides he had 160 Indians to feed, and that he was made to treat for the provisions every day by this nation [Canzés] for their subsistence.

"Sunday, [July] 9. At eight in the morning M. de Bourgmont started the five Frenchmen in a boat with the provisions, and nine Indians, a part to row the boats and the others to hunt, and sent at the same time five Missouris to the Othos to tell them of his arrival at the Canzés. . . .

"Sunday, [July] 16. . . . M. de Saint-Ange arrived with the boats at two in the afternoon, with a part of the men sick with fever, which had rather hindered his arrival. The Canzés came to look for our new arrivals and take them to their cabins and make a feast for them."[69]

The history of the Missouri[70] nation is most pathetic, and illustrates forcibly the sad fate that befell many tribes of our aborigines. There is little doubt but that they were seated near the mouth of the Missouri river when they were first known to the French, when Marquette descended the Mississippi, in 1673, to the mouth of the Arkansas, and that they were then a numerous tribe. Henri de Tonty, who accompanied La Salle nine years later, remarks of the Missouri river, as we have seen, that "it is called Emissourita, and abounds in people."[71]

During the last quarter of the seventeenth century the Iroquois were active in their assaults upon the Illinois Indians, pursuing them beyond the Mississippi. It is thought that they forced the Missouris further west.[72] Delisle's map of 1703 locates their villages on the Missouri a short distance above the mouth of the Osage, and there were evidences when that section was first settled, in 1818, of an Indian village and burial-ground on the north side of the river, directly opposite Jefferson City, and another at the mouth of Moniteau creek, near the boundary separating Cole and Moniteau counties. At the mouth of this creek stood a tall pinnacle or bluff called Painted Rock, a noted landmark to pilots in the days of steamboating. It was blasted away a few years ago by the Missouri Pacific railroad when they built the cut-off down the river to Jefferson City. On this rock, on the face fronting the river, was found painted, when first seen, a picture of a strange animal which resembled the painting found by Marquette just above Alton, on the Mississippi. Near this painted rock were found what appeared to be the remains of an old Indian village and burying-ground. The name, originally Maniteau, corrupted to Moniteau, and now given to the creek and county, doubtless originated from the picture on the rock. The writer visited these localities years ago, when a boy, and saw, in exhumed skulls and bones, and in broken pieces of pottery, arrow-heads, and other relics, the evidences of which he speaks.

When Lewis and Clark came up the river, in 1804, their half-breed guides pointed out to them the location of another old village of the Missouris on the north side of the river, on Bowling Green prairie, about five miles below

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NOTE 69.—Margry, vol. 6, pp. 383-452.

NOTE 70.—Mr. John P. Jones, in his excellent article, "Early Notices of the Missouri River and Indians," in the Kansas City Review of Science and Industry, vol. 5, p. 111, says that "the word 'Missouri' means canoe in the Algonquin language, and it should be borne in mind that it is the name applied by Indians of that stock to our Indians, who used canoes made out of logs, while their own was made of birch bark."

NOTE 71.—Margry, vol. 1, p. 595.

NOTE 72.—La Salle, in writing to La Barre, in April, 1683, says that the Iroquois have lately murdered some Miami families settled near Fort St. Louis, in the present La Salle county, Illinois, and he is afraid they will take flight, and so prevent the Missouris from settling at the fort, as they were about to do.—Parkman's La Salle, 1879, p. 300.

the mouth of Grand river. They said that the Sacs, about the year 1700, had attacked the Missouris in this village, killing 200, and that they then fled across the river, and located a village three miles above that of the Little Osages, near the present town of Malta Bend, in Saline county, Missouri. Lewis and Clark state that the western village belonged to the Missouris,[73] and founded their belief, possibly, upon the statements of some of the earlier writers and the maps of D'Anville and Du Lac, to which I have not had access. But the fact that Du Tisné found an Osage village one league west of the Missouris and in this locality (see page 253), and that the western village site is the larger of the two, lead me to the conclusion that it belonged to the Little Osages. For this reason, I have decided that the Little Osage village was the one north of Malta Bend one mile and a quarter, and a quarter of a mile west, on a farm now owned by Mrs. A. G. Dicus, and that the other—that of the Missouris—was situated three and a half miles north of the town and the same distance east, on a tract of land now owned by Benjamin McRoberts. There can be no question that they were here, on the Petit-sas-Plains, about eighteen miles above Grand river, when visited by Du Tisné, in 1719, and at the establishment of Fort Orleans by Bourgmont, in 1723.[73]

There has always been a controversy among historians as to the exact location of old Fort Orleans, a matter of some interest, as it appears to have been the first[74] fort established west of the Mississippi. The Margry papers on this subject should settle that question. One of the documents, which appears to be a letter of instructions, dated at New Orleans, August 23, 1723, contains the following: "In ascending, there is another river that they call the Grande river, which comes from the north, from which the Indians bring quantities of copper specimens that they find near the river. From there you will go to the village of the Missouris, which is only six leagues distant from the south side. There are 100 lodges. *It is at this place that M. de Bourgmont should establish himself.*"[75] Du Pratz gives another particular as to its location: "There was a French post for some time in an island a few leagues in length, over against the Missouris; the French settled in this fort at the east point, and called it Fort Orleans."[76] This little frontier post had but a brief existence. Its fate is told in the following words by Bossu: "Baron Porneuf, who has been governor of Fort Orleans, established in that nation [Missouri], and who knows their genius perfectly well, has informed me that they were formerly very warlike and good, but that the French hunters had corrupted them by their bad conduct, and by some disunions among them; they had made themselves contemptible

NOTE 73.—Coues's Lewis and Clark, vol. 1, p. 22; Thwaites' Lewis and Clark, vol. 1, pp. 47–49. "The sites of both these Indian tribes (Little Osages and Missouris) are plainly marked on D'Anville's map of 1752, and also on Perrin du Lac's, 1805. The location is very near the present Malta Bend, in Saline county, and a little above this place is the large island of Du Pratz, where was old Fort Orleans." — Coues's Lewis and Clark, p. 26.

NOTE 74.— The first fort established by the French west of the Mississippi, unless it be Fort St. Louis, by La Salle, in 1685, on Mission lake, near Espiritu Santo bay, Texas. Joutel, who was left in charge of it, gives many particulars regarding it in Margry, vol. 2, p. 209; vol. 3, pp. 179–209, 235. Le Clercq, in his Establishment of the Faith, Shea, vol. 2, p. 220, also refers to the above, with an extract from a Spanish account of Fort St. Louis. See, also, Parkman's La Salle, 1879.

NOTE 75.— Margry, vol. 6, p. 393.

NOTE 76.— History of Louisiana, London, 1763, vol. 1, p. 296. "We have also 'Fort D'Orleans abandonne' marked on D'Anville's map, published 1752, across the Missouri from his Petits Osages et Missouris. This locality is certainly at the large island which the expedition will pass June 16, above Malta Bend."— Coues's Lewis and Clark, p. 24.

by frauds in trade; they seduced and carried off the Indian women, which, among these people, is a very great crime. All the irregularities of these bad Frenchmen irritated the Missouris against them; and, therefore, during M. de Bienville's government, they massacred the Sieur Dubois and the little garrison under his command; and, as no soldier escaped, we have never been able to know who was right and who was wrong."[77]

The Missouris, having rid themselves of the fort and its accompanying traders, remained in possession of their home until about 1774,[78] when they were again attacked by the Sacs and other Indians, and reduced to a few families. These scattered, according to McGee, five or six joining the Osages, two or three going with the Kansas, and the remainder amalgamating with the Otoes on the Platte below the Pawnees.[79] There is every reason to believe that the final battle fought at this village resulted in a massacre and a rout, and probably in the burning of the wigwams. The number of human skeletons found near the surface of the ground, which have been turned up by plowshares, indicates that the bodies did not receive the sacred sepulcher which even savages accorded their dead. That the lodges were burned seems evident from the condition of the many relics found, such as gun-barrels, kettles, etc., all of which bear, in their bent and broken condition, evidence of having been subjected to fire.

In 1805 General Clark mentions thirty Missouris at the Otoe village in Nebraska.[80] McGee says the only known survivors, numbering eighty, were living with the Otoes in 1829.[81] The remnant of these two tribes now reside in Oklahoma, and in 1904 numbered 365.[82]

As has been said, the Kansas nation was living in 1724 on the Missouri river in a large village just above the mouth of Independence creek, Doniphan county, Kansas. What appears to have been an older village site was found by Lewis and Clark on the Missouri just above Kickapoo island, in Leavenworth county, in 1804.[83] The tribe at that time was occupying a well-established village just below the mouth of the Big Blue, on the north side of the Kansas river, where, in 1819, they were visited by Prof. Thomas Say, of Long's expedition.[84] They removed from this village in 1830 to the western part of Shawnee county, where they establish themselves in three villages, one north and two south of the Kansas river.[85] About 1846 they went to the new reservation near Council Grove,[86] and in 1873[87] to the Indian Territory. During the war of 1812 the Kansas sided with the British, but renewed peace with the United States at St. Louis, October 28, 1815.[88] June

NOTE 77.—Travels through Louisiana, London, 1771, vol. 1, p. 145; Dumont's Memoires Historiques sur la Louisiane, Paris, 1753, vol. 2, pp. 74-78.

NOTE 78.—Allen's Lewis and Clark, Philadelphia, 1814, vol. 1, p. 15.

NOTE 79.—Report of United States Bureau of Ethnology, vol. 15, p. 195.

NOTE 80.—Thwaites' Lewis and Clark, vol. 7, p. 314.

NOTE 81.—Report of United States Bureau of Ethnology, vol. 15, p. 195.

NOTE 82.—Report of United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1904, p. 606.

NOTE 83.—Thwaites' Lewis and Clark, vol. 1, pp. 64, 66-68.

NOTE 84.—Kansas Historical Collections, vols. 1, 2, pp. 280-301; Long's Expedition, Philadelphia, 1823, vol. 1, ch. 6, 7; Thwaites' Early Western Travels, vol. 14, ch. 6, 7.

NOTE 85.—Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 8, p. 425.

NOTE 86.—Report United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1846, p. 285.

NOTE 87.—Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 8, p. 211.

NOTE 88.—Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties, Washington, vol. 2, p. 123.

3, 1825, they ceded to the government their claim to all lands in Missouri, and practically all of Kansas north of the dividing ridge between the waters of the Arkansas and Kansas, to a point thirty miles below the Kansas river on the western boundary of Missouri. From this cession they retained for themselves a strip of country thirty miles wide, running west from within sixty miles of the western boundary of Missouri.[89] Though the natural right of the Kaws to land in Kansas quite equaled if not exceeded that of the Osage, they are now, through the unequal treatment of the government, a practically destitute people when compared with the former tribe.[90]

In 1724 that part of the population which accompanied Bourgmont to the plains for a summer hunt were 14 war-chiefs, 300 warriors, 300 women, 500 children, and 300 dogs (beasts of burden).[91] Lewis and Clark, 1804, give their numbers as 300 warriors,[92] the government census, in 1845, as 1607 individuals, while the agent says: "The Kanzas are a stout, active lively people; I believe they have more children among them in proportion to their numbers than any other tribe known to me."[93] In 1904 their population was 212.[94]

In regard to the characteristics of this tribe, Pike says: "In war they are yet more brave than their Osage brethren; being, although not more than one-third of their number, their most-dreaded enemies, and frequently making the Pawnees tremble"; and that the Kansas and Osages escaped the Sioux, "but fell into the hands of the Iowas, Sacs, Kickapous, Potowatomies, Delawares, Shawanese, Cherokees," and five other southern nations, "and what astonished me extremely is that they have not been entirely destroyed by those nations."[95] Lewis and Clark represent the Kansas as "a dissolute and lawless banditti, frequently plunder their traders, and commit depredations on persons ascending and descending the Missouri river; population rather increasing."[96] Richard W. Cummins, agent in 1845, reports: "The Kanzas are very poor and ignorant. I consider them the most hospitable Indians that I have any knowledge of. They never turn off hungry white or red, if they have anything to give them, and they will continue to give as long as they have anything to give."[97]

The opportunities of the Kansas Indians for improvement have been less than those of any other tribe that has lived in Kansas. Prior to 1873 the only white people to set them a good example in living were the members of the missionary family for a scanty twenty-five years, while, on the other hand, their closest white associates for 150 years had been the French trapper and trader, the United States soldier, the illicit vender of firewater, and the teamsters and guards of the Santa Fe and other trails which lay through their territory.[98]

NOTE 89.—Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties, Washington, vol. 2, p. 222.

NOTE 90.—The income of the Kansas tribe from all sources for 1904 was $2500; of the Osages, $595,883.91; population of latter tribe, 1895.—Rept. U. S. Com. Ind. Aff., 1904, pp. 538, 606.

NOTE 91.—Margry, vol. 6, p. 414.

NOTE 92.—Thwaites' Lewis and Clark, vol. 1, p. 61.

NOTE 93.—Report United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1845, p. 542.

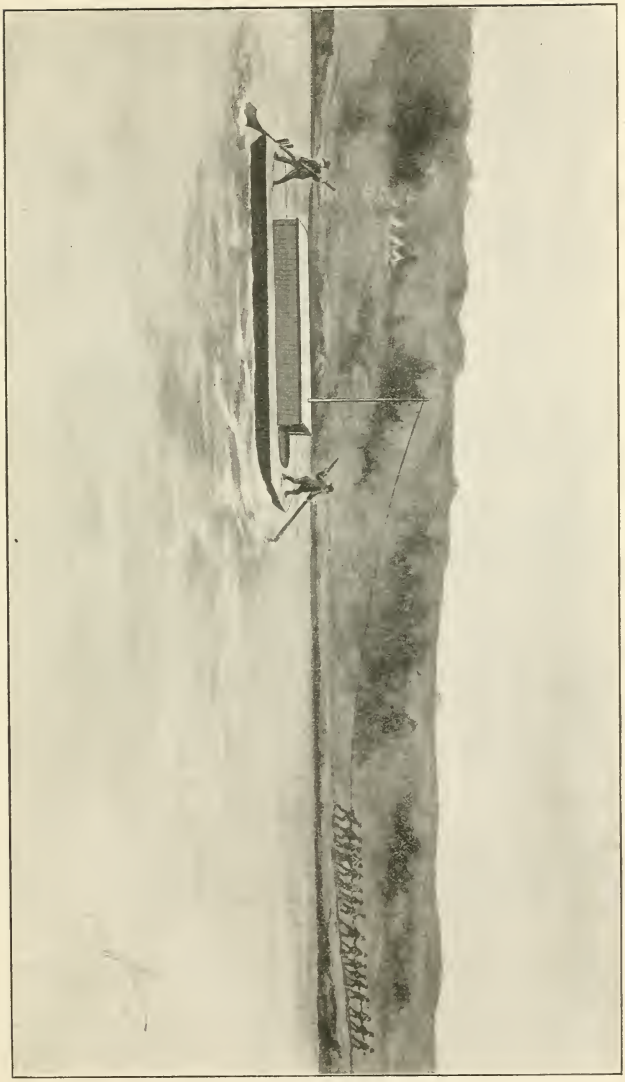
NOTE 94.—Report United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1904, p. 606.

NOTE 95.—Coues's Pike, vol. 2, pp. 526, 536.

NOTE 96.—Thwaites' Lewis and Clark, vol. 6, p. 85; see, also, vol. 5, p. 384.

NOTE 97.—Report United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1845, p. 542.

NOTE 98.—See Professor Hay's article on the name "Kansas."



The Keel-boat in the Fur Trade. About 1810.

Daniel Coxe was an Englishman, and the owner of a grant of land extending from the coast of South Carolina to the Mississippi river, or "from sea to sea," issued by Charles I of England. He owned the first ship to enter the mouth of the Mississippi, 1699, and made a futile effort to establish a colony on that river. In describing the Missouri river and the country through which it runs, he says:

"The Great Yellow river, so named because it is yellowish, and so muddy that though the Meschacebe[99] is very clear where they meet, and so many great rivers of crystalline water below mix with the Meschacebe, yet it discolors them all even unto the sea. When you are up this river sixty or seventy miles you meet with two branches. The lesser, though large, proceeds from the South. . . . This is called the river of the Ozages, from a numerous people who have sixteen or eighteen towns seated thereupon, especially near its mixing with the Yellow river. The other, which is the main branch, comes from the northwest. . . . The Yellow is called the river of the Massorites, from a great nation inhabiting in many towns near its junction with the river of the Ozages.

"It will be one great conveniency of this country, if ever it comes to be settled, that there is an easy communication therewith and the South sea, which lies between America and China, and that two ways—by the north branch of the Great Yellow river,[100] by the natives called the river of the Massorites, which hath a course of 500 miles, navigable to its heads or springs, and which proceeds from a ridge of hills somewhat north of New Mexico,[101] passable by horse, foot or wagon in less than half a day. On the other side are rivers which run into a great lake that empties itself by another great navigable river into the South sea."[102]

The Missouri river, it will be remembered, was called by Marquette the "Pekitanoui,"[103] and it is so laid down on many of the early maps. It was also called the "Ozage river," being doubtless confounded with that stream. Coxe calls it the "Yellow river," although he also refers to it by the name by which it was generally known—the "river of the Massorites." The latter name was very appropriately given it by La Salle, from the Indian

NOTE 99.—It will be observed that the early French explorers made repeated efforts to give names to the two great watercourses of the West, which fortunately failed; else they would not to-day bear the beautiful and poetic Indian names which they do. Marquette—the religious zealot—called the Mississippi the "Conception." (Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, vol. 59, p. 93.) La Salle called it the "River Colbert," after the minister of marine of France. It was called by Le Page Du Pratz the "River St. Louis," after the French king, and it remained for the Englishman, Daniel Coxe, to restore the musical Indian name, "Mescha-cebe," by which it was known by the Indians on Lake Superior as early as 1670. "The river Meschacebe, so called by the inhabitants of the north; cebe being the name for a river, even as far as Hudson's bay; and mescha, great, which is the great river; and by the French, who learned it from them, corruptly, Mississippi; which name of Meschacebe it doth retain among the savages during half its course. Afterwards some call it Chucagua, others Sessagoula, and Malabanchia." (Coxe's Carolana, French, vol. 2, p. 224.) The name is a Chippewa word, "mishisibi," and means, in the dialect of the tribe, "large river." Chrysostum Verwyst, Cheppewa Geographical Names, in Wis. Hist. Coll., vol. 12, p. 393.) It was an easy transition to the more modern name, Mississippi.

NOTE 100.—Coxe was evidently impressed with the same erroneous belief that was entertained by most of the early explorers, that there was a waterway somewhere through the western hemisphere by which the South sea and China might be reached. Marquette possessed the same idea when he first discovered the Missouri, for he said: "I hope by its means to discover the Vermillion or California sea." (Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, vol. 59, p. 141.) Frontenac had the same impression, for when he sent Joliet down the Mississippi, he wrote to his home government, in France, "that he would in all probability prove once for all that the great river flowed into the Gulf of California." The same belief is expressed in an extract from one of his letters to M. Colbert.—Margry, vol. 1, p. 255.

NOTE 101.—The description given by the writer of the Rocky Mountains is amusing, and shows how little was known, even as late as 1726, of the geography of the Western country, although both Coxe and Charlevoix must have had some conception of Great Salt Lake and the Columbia river.

NOTE 102.—Coxe's Carolana, French, vol. 2, pp. 230, 253.

NOTE 103.—"*Pekitanoui*: The Missouri river. The name here given by Marquette [meaning] 'muddy water,' prevailed until Marest's time (1712). A branch of Rock river is still called Pekatonica. The *Recollects* called the Missouri the river of the Ozages."—Shea's note in Disc. of Miss. Valley, p. 38; Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, vol. 59, note 31, p. 311.

tribe which at that time dwelt near its mouth. This name was variously spelled by the early French "Oumissourites," and "Emissourittes and Missourits."[104] In the course of time, through the jargon of the French voyageurs, it passed through many changes, until it finally settled down to the present form—Missouri. The word simply meant, in the Indian dialect, and as applied to the stream, "dwellers at the mouth of the river," and there appears to be no foundation for the general belief that the name was characteristic of the river and meant "muddy water."[105]

Excerpt from a letter of Father Louis Vivier, written at Kaskaskia, November 17, 1750:

"Before its junction with that river [Missouri], the Mississippi is of no great size. Its current is slight, while the Missouri is wider, deeper, more rapid, and takes its rise much farther away. Several rivers of considerable size empty into the Mississippi; but the Missouri alone seems to pour into it more water than all these rivers together. Here is the proof of it: The water of most—I might say, of all—of the rivers that fall into the Mississippi is only passably good, and that of several is positively unwholesome; that of the Mississippi itself, above its junction with the Missouri, is not the best; on the contrary, that of the Missouri is the best water in the world.[106] Now, that of the Mississippi, from its junction with the Missouri to the sea, becomes excellent; the water of the Missouri must, therefore, predominate."[107]

Excerpt from the History of Louisiana, Le Page du Pratz,[108] published, with a map of the country, London, 1763, p. 294; first published at Paris in 1658:

"This river [the Missouri] takes its rise at eight hundred leagues distance, as is alleged, from the place where it discharges itself into the Missisipi. Its waters are muddy, thick, and charged with niter; and these are the waters that make the Missisipi muddy down to the sea, its waters being extremely clear above the confluence of the Missouri. The reason is, that the former rolls its waters over a sand and pretty firm soil; the latter, on the contrary, flows across rich and clayey lands, where little stone is to be seen; for tho' the Missouri comes out of a mountain which lies to the northwest of New Mexico, we are told, that all the lands it passes thro' are generally rich; that is, low meadows, and lands without stone.

NOTE 104.— Margry, vol. 3, Carte de la Louisiane, 1679–1682.

NOTE 105.—"Missouri, or Ni-u-t'a-tci (exact meaning uncertain; said to refer to drowning people in a stream; possibly a corruption of Ni-shu-dje, 'smoky water,' the name of Missouri river)."—W. J. McGee, in Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 162. "A tribe of the Tciwere division of the Siouan stock of North American Indians. Their name for themselves is Niut'atci, 'those who reached the mouth' (of the river); called Nichudje by the Kansas, which appellation may have been corrupted into Missouri."—Century Cyclopedia of Names, p. 691.

NOTE 106.—The statement of Father Vivier as to the purity of the waters of the Missouri river and the Mississippi, after their confluence, is not in accord with the prevailing opinion, but is nevertheless true. While muddy, from the sand held in solution, the very presence of this sand serves to purify it and render it wholesome. And when clarified, by settling, it is true that there is "no better water in the world." Several years ago a test was made in Paris, France, of waters taken from streams in different parts of the world, to ascertain which would continue pure and wholesome for the longest period of time; it being important that this fact should be ascertained for the benefit of ships sailing on long voyages at sea. After a thorough test, the water taken from the lower Mississippi, which assumes its character from the Missouri, was pronounced the best.

NOTE 107.— Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, vol. 69, p. 207.

NOTE 108.—Du Pratz (1695-1775) lived in New Orleans, then the capital of all Louisiana. Though never up the Missouri river he was a pioneer for eight years in the Mississippi valley, and part of the time in the regions watered by the Missouri and the Arkansas. The description he gives of the river, distances, etc., information which he had doubtless obtained from the voyageurs, was approximately correct. The map which he published at the time was a valuable contribution to the geographical knowledge of the West, and on it are laid down the village of the Missouris and old Fort Orleans, at the exact spot where Charlevoix had located them thirty-five years before.

"This great river, which seems ready to dispute the preeminence with the Missisipi, receives in its long course many rivers and brooks which considerably augment its waters. But except those, that have received their names from some nation of Indians, who inhabit their banks, there are very few of their names we can be well assured of, each traveler giving them different appellations. The French having penetrated up the Missouri only for about three hundred leagues [109] at most, and the rivers which fall into its bed being known only by the Indians, it is of little importance what names they may bear at present, being besides in a country but little frequented. The river which is the best known is that of the Osages, so called from a nation of that name dwelling on its banks. It falls into the Missouri, pretty near its confluence.

"The largest known river which falls into the Missouri is that of the Canzas, which runs for near two hundred leagues in a very fine country. According to what I have been able to learn about the course of this great river, from its source to the Canzas, it runs from west to east; and from that nation it falls down to the southward, where it receives the river of the Canzas, which comes from the west; there it forms a great elbow,[110] which terminates in the neighborhood of the Missouris; then it resumes its course to the southeast, to lose at last both its name and waters in the Missisipi."

To La Verendrye [111] and sons belongs the honor of having been the first white men to visit the upper Missouri country, and to give to the world the first information of that vast unexplored domain. The result of their explorations was far-reaching, for it is probable that the memoir of their travels was the awakening cause which impressed on Mr. Jefferson the importance of the acquisition of that valuable territory by the United States.[112]

The tenacity with which Mr. Jefferson clung to that idea and the persistency with which he followed it up are matters of history. He induced John Ledyard, in 1785, to "seek the West by way of the East," and pointed out to him the road to the Pacific coast through Russia and the Bering strait.[113] In 1783 Jefferson attempted a second time the exploration of the Missouri valley. This expedition, it was proposed, should be placed under the command of George Rogers Clark, the older brother of William Clark, of the Lewis and Clark expedition, and again, in 1793,[114] he made an effort, as an officer of the American Philosophical Society, to secure by private subscription a sufficient sum of money to equip and send an expedition "to cross the Mississippi and pass by land to the nearest part of the Missouri above the Spanish settlements." All of these attempts failed; but when he became president of the United States he did not lose sight of his favorite project, but hastened, with a far-seeing wisdom, to consummate with

NOTE 109.—The author says the Missouri had not then been ascended for more than 300 leagues, or about 825 miles. He probably meant to the mouth of the Platte, for that was as high as the fur-traders were accustomed to go in that day, and was considered the dividing line between the upper and lower river. The distance is about 650 miles, or about 175 miles less than Du Pratz estimated it. He estimates the length of the entire river at 800 leagues, or 2200 miles. The actual distance from its head — three forks — to its mouth is 2547 miles.— Chittenden's American Fur Trade, p. 762.

NOTE 110.—The courses of the river, as stated, are correct. The "elbows" at the mouth of the Kaw and at the mouth of Grand river, the latter being "in the neighborhood of the Missouris," are correctly described.

NOTE 111.—In 1738 Pierre Guatier La Verendrye, commandant of northwest Canada, came down from the British possessions to the Missouri river, which he crossed at the Mandan village, near where Bismarck, N. Dak., is now located.

NOTE 112.—Journal of La Verendrye, 1738-'39, in Brymner's Report on Canadian Archives, 1889, pp. 2-29; Margry, vol. 6, pp. 581-632; biographical sketch of La Verendrye, in Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, vol. 68, p. 334.

NOTE 113.— Sparks's Life of John Ledyard, 2d ed., p. 157.

NOTE 114.— Thwaites' Lewis and Clark, vol. 1, pp. xx, xxi.

Napoleon the fortunate land deal known as the "Louisiana purchase." This masterly stroke of statesmanship fixed the destiny of this country, and resulted in placing it among the first powers of the world.

In a book entitled "The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi," published in London by Philip Pittman in 1770, it is said:

"The source of the river Missoury is unknown.[115] The French traders go betwixt three and four hundred leagues up, to traffic with the Indians who inhabit near its banks. . . . From its confluence [with the Mississippi] to its source is supposed to be eight hundred leagues."[116]

In 1792–'93 that intrepid explorer, Sir Alexander Mackenzie—the first to cross the continent—blazed a path over the Rocky Mountains, floated down the Fraser river to the Pacific ocean, and gave to the world the first intimation of the magnitude and grandeur of the Northwest. In 1804 Lewis and Clark, who followed Mackenzie, traced the great river beyond Yellowstone Park, and found the spring[117] from which it flows—the fountainhead—on the great divide. From these discoveries a correct map of the country was produced, its topography and geographical dimensions were made known, and its wonderful possibilities as a home for civilized man foretold. These reports showed that the Missouri river, including the lower Mississippi, was the longest river in the world; that the Missouri valley was the most fertile agricultural region; that it was the largest body of tillable land, and, finally, that the Louisiana purchase was the most profitable real-estate investment that had ever been made.

The purchase of Louisiana was the realization of the cherished dream of Thomas Jefferson. With the far-seeing wisdom for which he was distinguished, he probably foresaw more clearly than any man of his day the great possibilities that would result to his country from the acquisition of this immense and valuable domain. In his message to Congress, October 17, 1803, urging the speedy ratification of the treaty with France, he said: "The fertility of the country, its climate and extent, promise in due season important aids to our treasury, an ample provision for our posterity, and a wide spread for the blessings of freedom and equal laws."[118]

It is not known positively in what year the first white man entered the Missouri river, but it was probably between 1700 and 1705. The account given by Lahontan[119] of his Voyage a la Riviere Longue (1688–'89) is not worthy of credence, and it is even doubtful if Le Sueur came up in 1705. There can be no question, however, that about this time the lower part of the river, as far as the mouth of the Kaw, was first explored by the French.[120]

NOTE 115.—A hundred years had passed since Marquette's discovery of the Missouri river, and yet its source was unknown. The French voyageurs had ascended the river as high up as the mouth of the Platte, or perhaps the Mandan village, but beyond nothing was known. The time had now come, however, when the searchlight of a new race, the Anglo-Saxon, was to be turned on the dark recesses of the Rocky Mountains and the Indian myths of the "South sea," the "Vermillion sea," the "southeast passage to China," the "great lakes of the West," the "Spanish mines," and the "ridge of hills, passable by horse, foot or wagon in half a day," were all to be exploded.

NOTE 116.—Pittman's Mississippi Settlements, Hodder, 1906, p. 30.

NOTE 117.—Thwaites' Lewis and Clark, vol. 2, p. 335.

NOTE 118.—Richardson's Messages and Papers of the Presidents, vol. 1, p. 358.

NOTE 119.—Le Baron de Lahontan, par J. Edmund Roy, in Proceedings Royal Society of Canada, vol. 12, pp. 82, 129.

NOTE 120.—One Sieur Presle mentions, in Margry, vol. 6, p. 285, under date of June 10, 1718, that Bourgmont, who had lived among the Missouris for fifteen years, could make discoveries 400 or 500 leagues further up the river if he had 2000 pounds of presents for the Indians.

In the Gazetteer of the State of Missouri, published in St. Louis in 1837, on page 194, the following reference is made to the early navigation of the Missouri river:

"The French then, in 1705, ascended the Missouri as far as the Kanzas river (the point where the western boundary line of Missouri now strikes the river). The Indians there cheerfully engaged in trade with them, and all the tribes on the Missouri, with the exception of the Blackfeet and the Arickaras, have since generally continued on friendly terms with the whites. It should be observed that the French traders have always been more fortunate in their intercourse with the Indians than those of any other nation."

As early as 1700 it was reported that there were not less than 100 coureurs des bois, or trappers, domiciled among the different tribes along the Missouri river.[121] The coureur de bois was a type of the earliest pioneer, now long since extinct. He was a French Canadian, sometimes a half-breed, and in his habits were blended the innocent simplicity of the fun-loving Frenchman and the wild traits and woodcraft of the Indian. Born in the woods, he was accustomed from childhood to the hardships and exposures of a wild life in the wilderness, and was a skilful hunter and trapper. His free-and-easy-going manners, peaceable disposition and vivacity qualified him for association with the Indian, whose customs he adopted, and often marrying into the tribe, himself became a savage.[122]

It was this roving vagabond who, as he wandered up and down the Missouri river, gave the poetic and musical French names to its tributaries and prominent localities which they bear to this day; such as the Marais des Cygnes (river of the swans), Creve Cœur (broken heart), Côte sans Dessein (a hill without a cause), Petit-sas-Prairie (little cradle of the prairie), Roche Percée (pierced rock), Bonne Femme (good woman), Aux Vasse (from *au vase*, muddy), Gasconade (from *gasconnade*, turbulent), Lamine (from *la mine*, the mine), Pomme de Terre (apple of the earth, potato), Moreau (very black), and Niangue (crooked).

But while the coureur de bois, the feather-bedecked wanderer, has forever disappeared, he will not be forgotten, for—

"He has left his names behind him,
Adding rich, barbaric grace
To the mountains, to the rivers,
To the fertile meadow-place;
Relics of the ancient hunter,
Of a past and vanished race."

It is true that many of the most beautiful of these early French names have become so corrupted in their anglicization as to have lost all semblance to their original meaning. When Lewis and Clark came up the river a hunter killed a bear at the mouth of the creek not far above St. Charles. Very naturally they called the creek "Bear creek." The French hunter called the place "L'Ours creek," "l'ours" being French for "the bear." Soon thereafter the long-haired Tennesseean came along, and not knowing the meaning of "L'Ours," called it "Loose creek," and it is so laid down on the maps to-day. Another instance of the corruption of a beautiful French name occurs just below the Osage. An early French hunter, in

NOTE 121.—By the treaty of June 3, 1825, special provision was made "for each of the half-breeds of the Kanzas nation," twenty-three in all.—Laws and Treaties, vol. II, p. 223.

NOTE 122.—See Scharf's History of St. Louis, vol. 1, pp. 272-276; Chittenden's American Fur Trade, vol. 1, p. 56; Parkman's La Salle.

passing through the country, gave the name "Bois Brule" to a certain creek. The words mean "burnt woods," and it was probably owing to the fact that the woods had recently been burned over that the name was applied. The creek is now called colloquially the "Bob Ruly." There is still a town of Bois Brule in Perry county.

During the entire eighteenth century the navigation of the Missouri river was confined to the wooden canoe, and its commerce was limited to the primitive fur trade. The trader or trapper ascended the river singly or in pairs, and, after spending the winter with some favorite tribe, returned in the spring with his pirogue well loaded with furs, which he disposed of in St. Louis. Then, after a protracted debauch, he went to the priest, was granted absolution from his sins, and returned to the wilderness.[123]

It is not probable that these early voyageurs ascended the river higher than the Platte, for neither La Verendrye, who came over from the Hudson Bay Company's posts, in 1738, to the Missouri river, at the Mandan village, where Bismarck is now located, or the Mallet brothers, Pierre and Paul,[124] who ascended the Platte in 1739, mention having met them, though Bienville, in a letter dated April 22, 1734, mentions a Frenchman who, having lived several years among the Pawnees, had ascended the Missouri river to the Ricaras, who had never before seen a Frenchman, and had found on his journey silver-mines. Two voyageurs appeared with him to verify his report.[125] It is very certain, however, that at the time St. Louis was founded, in 1764, the fur trade of the French upon the Missouri had become well established. Indeed, the charter granted Pierre Laclède Liguest[126] and his associates by the governor of Louisiana gave them the exclusive right to trade on the Missouri river. But little is known, however, of the navigation of the river during the eighteenth century. The French voyageur could neither read nor write; hence no record of his early voyages was preserved. He continued to paddle his canoe up and down the river, gradually increasing his trade, and by extending his voyages higher up became better acquainted with its tortuous channel.

To Manuel Lisa,[127] a Spaniard of St. Louis, is generally accorded the honor of being the father of navigation on the Missouri river, although tradition divides that honor with one Gregoire B. Sarpy,[128] who is said to have been the first to introduce the keel-boat. As early as 1800 Lisa became the successor of Pierre Chouteau in trading up the Osage river with the Osage Indians, who were then seated in what is now Bates and

NOTE 123.— Lewis and Clark, as they ascended the river in the spring of 1804, met a number of these half-savage adventurers coming down stream in their canoes, laden with furs.

NOTE 124.— Margry, vol. 6, p. 463.

NOTE 125.— Id., vol. 6, p. 455.

NOTE 126.— Oscar W. Collet, Magazine of Western History, vol. 2, p. 301.

NOTE 127.— Manuel Lisa was not only the father of navigation on the Missouri river, but the pioneer fur-trader on that stream. As early as 1800 he was granted the exclusive right, by the Spanish government, to trade with the Osage Indians. He made thirteen trips to the Rocky Mountains in keel-boats, traveling not less than 26,000 miles, or a greater distance than around the earth. He died in 1820, and his ashes, over which a monument was erected, rest in old Bellefontaine cemetery, in St. Louis. (Sketch of Lisa in Chittenden's American Fur Trade, p. 125.) R. I. Holcombe, in his History of Vernon County, Missouri, 1887, p. 163, says that Pierre Chouteau, under Spanish license, had the monopoly of the fur trade with the Osages from about 1782 until he was succeeded by Manuel Lisa, about 1795, but that the latter divided his privileges with Chouteau until about 1802. Chouteau's establishment was called by the Spanish Fort Carondelet, and was situated near Halley's bluffs, in Vernon county.

NOTE 128.— Chittenden's American Fur Trade, p. 390.

Vernon counties, Missouri. They transported their merchandise up the Missouri in pirogues to the mouth of the Osage, and then up that stream to the Indian villages. The Chouteaus continued to trade with the Osages for many years and gained a wonderful influence over the tribe. Indeed, they intermarried with them, and there are descendants of this well-known family now living with the tribe in the Indian Territory after a period of 120 years.

For 200 years the history of the Missouri river has been the history of the country through which it flows, and its influence on its development should not now be underestimated. On its dark bosom the Indian paddled his canoe for centuries before the advent of the white man. Then came the French voyageur and his pirogue, his bateau, his keel-boat, and his mackinaw boat, without which the fur trade, the principal commerce in that day, could not have attained its great proportions. At last came the steamboat, the most wonderful invention of the nineteenth century.

For half a century the Missouri river was the great thoroughfare from the East to the West, and on it floated the travel and commerce of the trans-Mississippi section. No one can now appreciate its importance in the past. Military posts were established that supplies by the river route might be easily obtained, and settlements were made with a view to transporting the products of the farm to market on its waters. Capitals of states were located on its banks, that they might be accessible.

Perhaps there is not in the world a more difficult stream to navigate than the Missouri river. The Sieur Hubert was right when, in his report to his government in 1705, he said the birch-bark canoe could not be used to navigate its waters.

The greatest difficulty encountered in navigating the river was caused by constant changes in the shifting of the channel. From the mouth of the Platte to the Mississippi, on each side of the river are bluffs which parallel each other at an average distance of two miles. The channel, except during a flood, is confined to from one-fourth to one-half this distance, leaving the remainder bottom land. This bottom, which is alluvial soil, originally covered with a primeval forest, furnishes a leeway for the channel. It is "made land," caused from accretions, and the river has never relinquished its title to it. It may have been thousands of years in forming, but sooner or later the channel, unless restrained, will go back and claim its own. When the channel of the river changes it leaves a sand-bar, which soon becomes overgrown with willows and young cottonwoods. These catch and retain the silt of subsequent overflows, which continually raises the surface of the accretion, until, together with decaying vegetation, it becomes as high as the adjacent land. This process goes on for centuries, and in this way the bottom lands along the Missouri river are continually forming and reforming.

Surveys made along the lower river during the Spanish regime, and even during the early part of the last century, substantiate this statement; but if further evidence is required, let a hole be bored anywhere in the river bottoms, a mile or more from the present bed of the river, and it is probable that at a distance of about twenty-five feet, or when the level of the water in the river is reached, a wrack heap or an old log will be struck that has

lain there embedded in the soil for centuries, thus proving conclusively that the channel of the river at one time flowed there.[129]

The most dangerous localities on the river were the bends, and it was in them that most of the accidents occurred to the steamboats. They were formed in the following manner: The main channel of the river is disposed to follow the bluff shore, and does so until it meets with some obstruction. A trifling object, such as a wrack heap or an old steamboat wreck, will sometimes deflect the current and send it off obliquely to the opposite shore. As the land where it strikes is underlaid with a stratum of white sand, it melts before the strong current as a snow-bank before the noonday's sun. This undermining process goes on at every rise, until in the course of a few years a great bend is formed, thousands of acres of land are swept away, and the channel of the river is a mile or more away from where it formerly ran.

Some of these bends are as much as twenty miles long and have been many years in forming. The land along the shore was originally covered with a dense growth of large timber—cottonwood, elm, walnut, etc. As the banks are undermined these immense trees tumble into the channel and float along the current until their roots, the heaviest part, after dragging awhile, became anchored in the bottom of the river. There they remain for years, some extending above the surface of the water and others beneath and out of sight. The former, from being continuously in motion, caused by the swift current, are called "sawyers." From the velocity of the current, and the innumerable snags, these bends were a continuous menace to steamboats, and no pilot approached one, especially at night, without trepidation and fear.

Each bend had its own name, sometimes derived from the name of a planter who lived near by, or from some steamboat which had been previously wrecked there. Among the former were "Murray's," "Howard's," "Wolf's," "Penn's," and "Pitman's bend." Among the latter were "Malta bend," "Diana," "Bertrand," "Alert," and "Sultan bend." Among the most-noted localities on the river—noted because they were the most dangerous, and contained the greatest number of wrecks—were "Brickhouse bend," "Bonhomme bend," "Augusta bend," and "Osage chute." Many a magnificent steamer was wrecked in them, and with them the fortunes of their owners. There were other bends which bore euphonious names, such as "Nigger bend," and "Jackass bend," and a good story could be told as to how the latter received its name, if space permitted.

Where the current changed from one side of the river to the other were called "crossings," and it was there that the greatest difficulty was encountered by the navigator; although, as there were no snags in such places, there were no disasters. The water spreads out over a large space at these crossings, and instead of one main channel there are many chutes, none of which, in a low stage of water, were deep enough to float a boat heavily

NOTE 129.—In 1858, the town of Brunswick, Mo., was situated on the bank of the Missouri river, and was the shipping-point for all the Grand River country. It is now an inland town, and the river flows five miles away. In 1896 a farmer was digging a well in the river bottom near the town, where the river formerly ran. A Bible was found in the excavation, and on the cover was the name "Naomi." The book was sent to some of the old steamboat men in St. Louis to see if they could suggest any explanation of its strange presence where found. It was distinctly recalled by Capt. Jo La Barge, and others of the old steamboat men, that the steamer Naomi was wrecked at that identical spot in 1840. It was the custom of the missionary societies to present to each boat, when she came out, a Bible, which was attached to the table in the ladies' cabin by a small brass chain. On the back of the book was lettered the name of the boat. On Keemle Wetmore's map of Missouri, 1837, the town of Brunswick is placed on a sharp northern bend of the river.

loaded. The boats ran aground in low water in these crossings, and frequently were several days in getting over the bar. In such cases the spars were resorted to. They were two long poles, one on each side of the bow of the boat, attached to the capstan by tackle. They were thrown overboard, and by means of pushing on them the vessel was virtually lifted over the bar as with a pair of stilts. It was no unusual sight, in the palmy days of steamboating, to see as many as a half-dozen fine steamers aground on a crossing within a short distance of each other. It was push and pull, spar and warp, back and go ahead, night and day, without a moment's cessation until the boat was safely over the bar. The jingling of the bells, the hissing of steam, together with the swearing of the mate, rendered it an animated and interesting scene to the passenger as he stood on the hurricane deck and looked on, but it was terrible on the crew.

To return to the primitive river craft, it is not necessary to describe the canoe, as its universal use to-day has rendered it a familiar object. The birch-bark canoe, so often seen on the northern lakes, was not adapted to the Missouri, on account of its frail construction; and, besides, the birch tree, from which the bark was taken, is not found on the river. The craft universally used was the cottonwood canoe, or "dugout," made from a log fifteen to twenty-five feet long and three or four feet in diameter. The cottonwood grows along the river everywhere, and such logs were easily procured. This canoe possessed the requisites of strength, lightness of draft, and durability, and was not only the primitive craft of the French voyageur, but had been in use by the Indian from time immemorial.

The pirogue[130] was another craft used by the French in the fur trade, to which it was especially adapted. It was really a double canoe, built in the shape of a flat-iron, with a sharp bow and a square stern. Two canoes were securely fastened together a short distance apart, the whole being decked over with plank or puncheons. On the floor was placed the cargo, which was protected from the weather by skins. The boat was propelled upstream by oars or a line, and steered by an oarsman, who stood on the stern. A square sail was also resorted to, going up-stream, when the wind was in the right quarter, and a distance of from ten to fifteen miles per day could be made under favorable conditions. Such boats were usually from thirty to forty feet long and from six to eight feet beam, and, being of light draft, were good carriers. They were much safer than the canoe, as from breadth of beam they could not be upset.[131]

The bateau, as its name indicates, was still another craft employed by the early French fur-trader. It was a flat-bottomed, clumsily constructed boat, especially adapted to transporting a cargo of furs down-stream, and did not differ materially from the flat-bottomed boat. It was usually fifty to seventy-five feet long and ten to twelve feet beam. The gunwales were hewn from cottonwood logs, and the bottom was spiked onto stringers running lengthwise of the boat. The bow and stern were square, with a sufficient rake to prevent impeding headway. The oar, the pole, the line and the sail were the appliances relied upon for motive power in ascending the

NOTE 130.— See, also, Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 8, p. 428.

NOTE 131.—When Lewis and Clark ascended the Missouri river, in 1804, their fleet consisted of six small canoes and two large pirogues.—Thwaites' Lewis and Clark, vol. 1, p. 284; vol. 7, p. 320. See, also, index.

stream, but in going down the boat was allowed to float with the current, being kept in the channel by the steersman.[132]

A very unique craft in use by the fur-trader, from 1810 to 1830, on the upper tributaries of the Missouri, the Platte, the Yellowstone, and the Niobrara, was the bull-boat. It was especially adapted to the navigation of these streams on account of its extreme lightness of draft. Indeed, the excessive shallowness of the water precluded navigation by any other of the primitive craft. It was probably the lightest-draft boat ever constructed for its size, but could carry a cargo of from 5000 to 6000 pounds. The framework of the bull-boat was constructed of willow poles, twenty-five or thirty feet long, laid lengthwise, and across these other poles were laid. All were then securely fastened together with rawhide thongs. Along the tops of the vertical portions of the framework, on the inside, were then lashed stout poles, like those forming the bottom of the boat, which served as gunwales. To these gunwales were lashed cross-poles, to prevent the former from spreading. Not a nail was used in the entire structure, all fastenings being secured with rawhide thongs. The frame so constructed was then covered with buffalo hides sewed together with sinews, the seams being pitched with a cement made of buffalo tallow and ashes.[133]

A similarly constructed boat to the one described above, although much smaller and of a different shape, was in use on the upper Missouri by the Mandan Indians when they were first visited by the Hudson Bay traders, about 1790. This boat was about the size and shape of a wash-tub, and one buffalo hide was sufficient to cover it. It could safely carry one person.[133]

The return of Lewis and Clark from the Rocky Mountains, in September, 1806, and the wonderful account they brought back of the immense number of beaver and other fur-bearing animals found in that country, at once gave a new impetus to the fur trade. Companies were formed in St. Louis of the most enterprising merchants, who invested sufficient capital to prosecute the trade with intelligence and vigor.[134] The most skilful and experienced boatmen were employed to command the boats, which were destined for the mouth of the Yellowstone. The distance was nearly 2000 miles, against a strong current, and much of the route lay through a country inhabited by fierce and warlike tribes. The voyage was one of great labor, hardship, and danger, and only the most suitable and best-equipped craft that could be devised would answer the purpose of such a venture. The keel-boat was destined to supply this want. It was the steamboat without steam as a motive power.

The keel-boat was usually from fifty to seventy-five feet long and fifteen to twenty feet beam. The keelson extended from stem to stern, and it was a staunch vessel, well modeled, sharp bow and stern, and built by skilful workmen, after the most-approved methods of shipcraft of that day.

NOTE 132.—"The boats used by the Indian traders are of various sizes, but the most commonly preferred carry from 15,000 to 25,000 weight. Their sides are low and their oars short, so that they may be navigated near the shore, where the counter-currents or eddies accelerate their progress; their bottoms are nearly flat, so that they are enabled to pass in shoal water; they are also somewhat narrow, and their length is generally from forty-five to sixty feet."—Stoddard's Sketches of Louisiana, 1812, p. 303. See, also, Thwaites' Lewis and Clark, vol. 5, p. 390.

NOTE 133.—Wyeth's Oregon, p. 54; Chittenden's American Fur Trade, vol. 1, p. 35. Thwaites' Lewis and Clark has many indexed references.

NOTE 134.—The Kansas Historical Society possesses an original record-book of the Missouri Fur Company, of St. Louis, January, 1812, to January, 1814, 134 pages, containing the autographs of many of its members.—Collections, vol. 3, p. 51.

Such a boat had a carrying capacity of ten to twenty tons, a draft of thirty inches light, and cost, usually, from $2000 to $3000. Amidship was the cabin, extending four or five feet above the hull, in which was stored the cargo of Indian merchandise. On each side of the cabin was a narrow walk, called by the French "*passe-a-vant,*" on which the boatmen walked in pushing the boat along with poles. The appliances used for ascending the river were the cordelle, the pole, the oar, and the sail.[135] The cordelle was a line, sometimes 300 yards long, which was fastened to the top of the mast extending from the center of the boat. The boat was pulled along by this line by a long string of from twenty to thirty men, who walked along the shore. When an obstacle was encountered which prevented the men from walking along the bank, the line was made fast to some object on the shore, and she was pulled up by the men on the boat pulling on the line. This process was called "warping." There were shallow places along the river where it became necessary to use the poles, and in such places they were resorted to. The oars came into use when it became necessary to cross from one side of the river to the other, as it frequently did.

The crew of a keel-boat, in the fur trade called a "brigade," frequently consisted of as many as 100 men, although this number included many hunters and trappers *en route* to the mountains, who were not regular boatmen. They went well armed, and every boat carried on her bow a small cannon, called a "swivel." The captain of the boat, called the "patron," did the steering, and his assistant, called the "bosseman," stood on the bow, pole in hand, and gave directions to the men at the cordelle. It was necessary that these officers should be men of great energy, physical strength, and personal courage. The sail was seldom used, except in the upper river, where the absence of timber rendered the wind available.

It required nearly the entire boating season to make a trip to the Yellowstone, and, as may well be imagined, the labor was most arduous. If a distance of fifteen miles a day was made it was considered a good day's work. It was push and pull, through rain and storm, from daylight to dark; and it is exceedingly doubtful if men could be hired at any price at this day to perform such laborious work. The rations furnished consisted of pork and beans and lye hominy, and from this allowance the pork was cut off when game could be procured by the hunters. There was no coffee and no bread.

The boatmen employed on these voyages were French Canadians and creoles, and many of them were offshoots from the coureurs des bois.[136] These were in some respects different from their progenitors, for they were a hard-working, obedient, cheerful class, and were happy and contented under the most discouraging circumstances. They constituted a peculiar and interesting type of pioneer life on the Missouri river, now, like the woodsmen, entirely extinct. Many of the sons of these early river-men became pilots on the first steamboats on the river, and their sons, following the occupation of their fathers, stood their "trick at the wheel" as long as there was a steamboat on the river.

In the spring of 1811 there occurred on the Missouri river the strangest

NOTE 135.—Frederick Chouteau describes the keel-boat, and its use by him on the Kansas river, in the Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 8, pp. 424, 428; see, also, Chittenden's American Fur Trade, p. 32.

NOTE 136.—Wallace's Illinois and Louisiana under French Rule, pp. 118-195; Coues's Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike, p. 276.

race ever run on any river in the West. It was a race between two keel-boats from St. Louis to the mouth of the Yellowstone, a distance of 1790 miles.

John Jacob Astor was then preparing to establish his trading-post, Astoria, at the mouth of the Columbia river, and in addition to an expedition sent by sea, around Cape Horn, had projected another up to the Missouri river, to cross over the mountains and join the first on the Pacific. The latter was to be under the command of Wilson Price Hunt, a partner of Astor. Hunt wintered on the Missouri river, at the mouth of a small stream called Nodaway, a little above the site of St. Joseph, Mo., and set off up the river from this camp April 21, 1811. Manuel Lisa, the pioneer fur-trader, who had built the first house,[137] a trading establishment, in what is now Montana, was in command of a boat belonging to an opposition company. He felt that it was important for him to overtake Hunt and travel in his company, for mutual protection in passing the Sioux country. He also felt some anxiety as to whether two of Hunt's companions, rival traders on the Missouri a previous season, and whom he had served a scurvy trick, might not incite some of his Indian patrons against him. Hunt, in his turn, doubting Lisa's protestations of friendship, and sympathizing with his companions, made all haste to prevent being overtaken. Lisa left St. Louis April 2, and by great exertion overtook Hunt at the Great Bend of the Missouri, now in Lyman county, South Dakota, on June 2, after traveling 1100 miles, or about two-thirds the distance to the Yellowstone. He, therefore, made 1100 miles in 61 days, an average of 18 miles a day. The voyage was considered a most remarkable one and the time was never beaten on the Missouri river by a keel-boat.[138] The two parties continued up the river to the Aricara village; and the race finally terminated in a better feeling between the patrons and crews on the rival boats.

It is impossible, in this age of steam and electricity, for any one unacquainted with the character of the Missouri river to comprehend the difficulties of such a voyage as these boats made in 1811. At the break of day the horn of the patron called the men to the cordelle, and from that time till dark they tugged along the shore; half bent, wading in water, scrambling over rocks and through brambles and brush, they pulled the boat against the swift current, until at last the glistening snow on the peaks of the Rockies gave assurance that they were approaching their journey's end.

The mackinaw boat was made entirely of cottonwood plank about two inches thick; it was about fifty to sixty feet long, with twelve-foot beam, and had a flat bottom. The gunwales arose about three feet above the water-line amidship, and increased in height toward the bow and stern. In the bottom of the boat were stringers, running fore and aft, and to these were spiked the bottom plank, in the first years with wooden pins, but later with iron nails. The sides, which were also of plank, were supported by knees, at proper distances. The keel showed a rake of thirty inches, fore and aft, and the hold had a depth of four feet amidship and about five feet on the bow and stern.

In the middle of the boat was a space partitioned off with bulkheads,

NOTE 137.—Historical Society of Montana Contributions, vol. 2, p. 120.

NOTE 138.—Bradbury's Travels in the Interior of America, editions of 1819 and 1904; Irving's Astoria, 1836; Breckenridge's Views of Louisiana, Pittsburgh, 1814.

similar to the cargo-box of the keel-boat, which has been described. In this was stored the cargo of furs, put up in bales, which extended several feet above the gunwales. The entire cargo, consisting of beaver and other valuable furs, was then covered over with buffalo skins, securely fastened to the gunwales by cleats. The poop deck, on which the steersman stood, was used as quarters for the men. The voyage was always made on the June rise, and as the current was then swift, and there was no danger from sand-bars, a distance of 100 miles per day was made. A crew of five men was all that was necessary, as the boat simply floated down with the current. The only danger anticipated was from the snags in the bends and the Indians, and these had to be carefully guarded against. For mutual protection, the mackinaw boats usually went down in fleets of from six to twelve, but it was not unusual for a single boat to make the long voyage alone. A trip down the Missouri river was to the mountaineer an event of a lifetime and one never forgotten. They have been described by such early travelers as Catlin, Wyeth, Brackenridge, Lewis and Clark, De Smet, and others.

As the mackinaw boat was only intended for a single voyage down the river, they were cheaply built. There was near every large trading-post on the river a boat-yard, called by the French a "chantier," where the lumber was gotten out and the boat constructed. There were no sawmills in the upper country in that day, and the lumber was sawed out with a whip-saw. It was a tedious process, but answered the purpose. [139]

In the spring of 1845, as a barefooted boy, the writer stood on the bank of the Missouri, opposite Jefferson City, Mo., and saw what was probably the last mackinaw boat pass down and out of the river. There were ten or twelve boats in the fleet, and, as they passed at intervals of half an hour or more, they were all the morning in view. It was the last of this primitive mode of navigation in the fur trade on the Missouri river. The steamboat had supplanted the keel-boat in the up-river fur trade in 1832, but it never entirely supplanted the mackinaw boat while the trade continued, for that craft furnished the cheapest transportation, in this particular trade, for down-stream navigation, ever devised.

In following the evolution that has taken place in the navigation of the Missouri river, we come at last to the steamboat, the par excellence of all water crafts on Western rivers.

The new craft came none too soon to supply the rapidly increasing demand for transportation in the West; and it is a remarkable coincidence that the same year, 1807, in which the first Anglo-American settlement was made on the Missouri,[140] witnessed the successful application of steam, as a motive power, on the Hudson. The settlement of the country along the Missouri river was greatly retarded, for several years after the Louisiana purchase, by continual conflicts with the Indians; and it was not until after the war of 1812, and the conclusion of treaties of peace with the various hostile tribes, that immigration from the older states began to flow into the new territory. Previous to the advent of these pioneers, the pirogue, the batteau and the keel-boat had been sufficient to supply the limited wants of

NOTE 139.—Chittenden describes this boat in his American Fur Trade, p. 34.

NOTE 140.—"In 1807 a few American families located on Loutre island (in the Missouri river, a few miles below the present town of Hermann), at that time, with the exception of the small French settlement at Cote sans Dessein, the 'far West' of the new world."—Barns's Commonwealth of Missouri, p. 173.

the fur-trader, but the time had now come, with the change of government, the arrival of the Anglo-Saxon, and the rapid advancement of civilization, when better facilities were demanded by the growing commerce of the West. The surplus products of the alluvial soil must find transportation to the markets of the world. Without such facilities the settlement of the country would have been retarded many years, and the rapid development which did occur, would not have been witnessed. The steamboat was destined to supply this want, and proved the great factor, not only in the development of the Mississippi valley, but in revolutionizing the commerce of the world.

For several years, foreseeing the urgent need of additional transportation, especially on inland waters, the inventive genius of the American mind had been engaged in an endeavor to supply this want by applying steam as a motive power to river craft. As early as 1736 Jonathan Hulls, an Englishman, had made some experiments along this line, but had failed. The first attempt made in this country was by James Rumsey. He was so far successful as to construct a steamboat, which he propelled on the Potomac river in 1786 at the rate of four or five miles an hour, but the experiment, for some reason, proved a failure. Others during the same period were endeavoring to accomplish the same object—Symington, in Scotland, John Stevens, at New York, and Oliver Evans, at Philadelphia. Each partially succeeded, but all failed, either from the want of proper facilities for manufacturing the machinery, from a proper conception of the application of the power of steam, or more likely from the want of sufficient means to advantageously prosecute their experiments. Without an exception, having exhausted their resources, they died poor.

In 1786, the same year in which Rumsey was experimenting on the Potomac, John Fitch, a Connecticut Yankee, was making similar experiments on the Delaware; and was so far successful that in 1788 he built a boat that ran at a speed of eight miles an hour on that stream. He, however, like his coworkers, finally failed for want of sufficient means to carry forward his efforts to a successful termination. He died a pauper, and the following record, found in his diary, after his death, is pathetic. He said: "The day will come when some more powerful man will get fame and riches from my invention; but nobody will believe that poor John Fitch can do anything worthy of attention."

The dying prediction of John Fitch proved prophetic. A young mechanical genius of Philadelphia, Robert Fulton, came into possession of Fitch's plans and drawings, and, with the financial assistance of Chancellor Robert R. Livingston, of New York, who became associated with him, carried into practical effect the ideas and plans of the man who was, in fact, the inventor of the steamboat. The world has given to Fulton the honor which justly belongs to the unfortunate genius whose ashes repose at Bardstown, Ky., where he was buried on the banks of the Ohio. During his lifetime he had expressed his desire to be buried there, that, as he said: "The future traveler on that stream may point to my grave and say: 'There lies the man who invented the steamboat.'" [141]

It was in August, 1807, that the Clermont, Fulton's boat, made her first successful trip on the Hudson; and from that day and that trip steamboat

NOTE 141.—Justice to the Memory of John Fitch, by Chas. Whittlesey, Cincinnati, 1845.

navigation became an assured fact and the trade and travel of the world entered on a new era.

The complete success attending steam navigation on the Hudson immediately turned the attention of the principal projectors and others to its application on the Western rivers, and, in 1809, Nicholas J. Roosevelt, a relative of President Roosevelt, who had become associated with Fulton and Livingston, went to Pittsburg and there built a boat, called the New Orleans. The history of this boat, the first built west of the Alleghanies, is interesting. She was a lubberly craft, propelled by a wheel at the stern, 138-foot keel, 20-foot beam, and had a measurement of about 400 tons. She had two small cabins in the hold, one aft for ladies and one forward for gentlemen, and was built at a cost of $38,000. Before building the boat Captain Roosevelt constructed a flatboat and went down the river to New Orleans, for the purpose of determining if his steamboat could stem the current of the Mississippi. He then returned, and began her construction in 1810. In was not until the latter part of October, 1811, that the New Orleans cast off her moorings at Pittsburg. As she proceeded down the river her appearance created a mixture of fear and surprise among the settlers along the banks, many of whom had never heard of such an invention as a steamboat. The vessel reached Louisville, a distance of 678 miles, in sixty-four hours. She was detained above the falls because of low water until December, and passed New Madrid, Mo., on the night of December 16, just as the first shock of the great earthquake[142] occurred, the most astounding convulsion of nature ever known in the West. Finally, after a long and tedious voyage, she arrived at the city of New Orleans. She ran between Natchez and New Orleans at a profit to her owners until July 14, 1814, when she was snagged near Baton Rouge and sank.[143]

While other boats of crude and imperfect construction followed the New Orleans, such is the velocity of the current in the Mississippi that it was not until 1815 that sufficient improvement had been made in their machinery as to enable them to overcome this obstruction to navigation. In that year the Enterprise made the first successful trip up the river. She left New Orleans on May 6, and arrived at Louisville on the 31st, making the voyage in twenty-five days; a remarkable achievement in that day.[144]

Owing to the difficulty that has been referred to, the swift current of the Mississippi, it was not until 1817 that any steamboat succeeded in ascending that stream above the mouth of the Ohio. On August 2, 1817, the steamer Zebulon M. Pike, a side-wheeler, came up the river to St. Louis, being the first steamboat to land at that place. Her arrival was attended with great demonstrations of joy among the inhabitants, who justly considered the event as the beginning of a new era in the destinies of the Mississippi valley.[145]

It was not until 1819 that any attempt was made to navigate the Mis-

NOTE 142.—The Navigator, Pittsburg, 12th ed., 1824, p. 234.

NOTE 143.—The Navigator, Pittsburg, 12th ed., 1824, p. 27; also, in Scharf's History of St. Louis, p. 1094; Niles's Weekly Register, May 21, 1814, p. 197; Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, 1845, vol. 1, pp. 150, 157; Lloyd's Steamboat Directory, 1856, p. 41.

NOTE 144.—Built at Brownsville, Pa., 1814, Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, p. 151. For further information, see Niles's Register, 1814, p. 320; 1815, pp. 320, 404; also, Lloyd's Steamboat Directory, p. 43.

NOTE 145.—Scharf's History of St. Louis, 1883, vol. 2, p. 1096; Chittenden's American Fur Trade, vol. 1, p. 106.

souri river by steam. The voyageurs and traders up that stream had given it as their opinion that the tortuous channel, the strong current, and the innumerable snags and sand-bars would render steam navigation impossible. Such, however, were the increasing demands of commerce that Col. Elias Rector and others, of St. Louis, in the spring of that year, chartered a steamboat called the Independence, John Nelson, master, to make a voyage to old Chariton, the name of a town then located near the town of Glasgow, Mo., but which has long since disappeared from the maps. The Independence left St. Louis May 15, 1819, and arrived at old Franklin, another town now abandoned, on the 28th. She continued her voyage to Chariton, and returned to St. Louis June 5. It was a slow and tedious voyage, but it solved the question of navigating the Missouri river by steamboat.[146]

During the same year a fleet of steamboats arrived at St. Louis intended for a voyage up the Missouri river—the first Yellowstone expedition. This undertaking, which was partly military and partly scientific, the troops being in charge of Col. Henry Atkinson, is known in history as "Long's expedition," from the name of Maj. Stephen H. Long, an army officer, who had charge of the scientific party. The instructions were to proceed up the river as far as the Yellowstone, to ascertain if the upper river could be navigated by steamboats, and also to establish military posts. It was intended to make a grand military display, and thus, by overawing the northern Indians, withdraw them from the influence of the British, who were then contending for the fur trade in that region.

The names of the four steamboats which constituted the fleet were Thomas Jefferson, R. M. Johnson, Expedition, and Western Engineer, the latter being in charge of Major Long. The Jefferson struck a snag in Osage chute, at the mouth of the Osage, and sank,[147] being the first steamboat of the many wrecked on the Missouri river. The Western Engineer had been built expressly for this expedition, and from her unique construction is worthy of a description. She was a small stern-wheeler, seventy-five feet long, thirteen feet beam, and drew nineteen inches light. She was intended to impress the Indians with awe, and there is no doubt she did so. On her bow, running from her keelson forward, was the escape-pipe, made in imitation of a huge serpent, painted black, and its mouth and tongue painted a fiery red. The steam escaped from the mouth of the serpent, and we can readily imagine that the Indian who saw this wonderful piece of marine mechanism recognized in it the power of the great Manitou.[148]

There is a difference of statement among the various writers as to the movements of the boats of this expedition. James's account of Long's expedition may be relied upon for those of the Western Engineer, which left St. Louis June 21, reached Cow island or Cantonment Martin[149] August 18, and finally arrived at Council Bluffs on the 17th of September.[150] The Thomas

NOTE 146.—Barns's Commonwealth of Missouri, 1877, p. 199; Scharf's History of St. Louis, 1883, p. 1100; Chittenden's American Fur Trade, vol. 1, p. 106; Niles's Register, July 10, 1819, p. 336.

NOTE 147.—Paxton's Annals of Platte County, p. 5.

NOTE 148.—Niles's Register, July 24, 1819, p. 368; Barns's Commonwealth of Missouri, p. 200; Scharf's History of St. Louis, vol. 1, p. 1099.

NOTE 149.—Cantonment Martin, the first United States military post established on the Missouri west of the Kaw, was located on an island below Atchison, Kan., called by the French "Isle au Vache," and by the Americans "Cow Island."

NOTE 150.—Thwaites' Western Travels, vol. 14, preface; Niles's Register, July 31, 1819, p. 377.

Jefferson, R. M. Johnson and Expedition left St. Louis July 5, and the last two seem to have reached Cow island in the latter part of August.[151]

On their arrival at Cow Island the Expedition and Johnson tied up, and the troops went into winter quarters. As these boats were found to be entirely unfit for the river they returned to St. Louis in the spring. The Western Engineer, which proved to be the only boat of the fleet at all adapted to the navigation of the river, although she could make only three miles an hour upstream, proceeded up the river, and on the 17th of September arrived at Fort Lisa, a trading-post established by Manuel Lisa in 1812, about five miles below Council Bluffs.[152] Here she also went into winter quarters, and returned to St. Louis in the following spring. It having become apparent that the marine part of the expedition was an unqualified failure, the river was abandoned, and Major Long, with his company of scientists, went overland to the Platte. The machinery of the boats was so imperfectly constructed that it was continually breaking, and, besides, the boats, excepting the Engineer, were so slow and drew so much water that but little headway could be made. To the little Engineer, however, belongs the distinction of being the first steamboat to ascend the river as far as Council Bluffs.[153]

From the sparsely settled condition of the country, the limited demand for transportation, and the difficulties of navigation, there were but few steamboats on the Missouri river previous to 1840. Side-wheelers were the favorites then, and have ever been since, as they were more easily handled in a swift, crooked channel, among snags. The boats in use during this period were heavy, clumsy craft, built of strong timbers, and were usually from 100 to 130 feet in length, twenty to thirty feet beam, and six to seven feet hold. But little attention was paid to the model, and they drew, with an ordinary cargo, from three to five feet.[154] They carried a single engine, with one or two boilers. Of course, with such heavy draft and imperfect machinery, the progress of such boats up-stream was exceedingly slow; indeed, they did not make more than five or six miles an hour, and the puffing of the steam from their escape-pipes could be heard for miles. There were no steam-whistles in that day; they were not invented until 1844, nor were they needed on those primitive boats.

During the period from 1820 to 1840 the entire traffic on the lower river was confined to the towns, the Santa Fe trade at Westport Landing, now Kansas City, and the government trade at Fort Leavenworth. As early as 1829[155] there was a regular packet between St. Louis and the latter place,

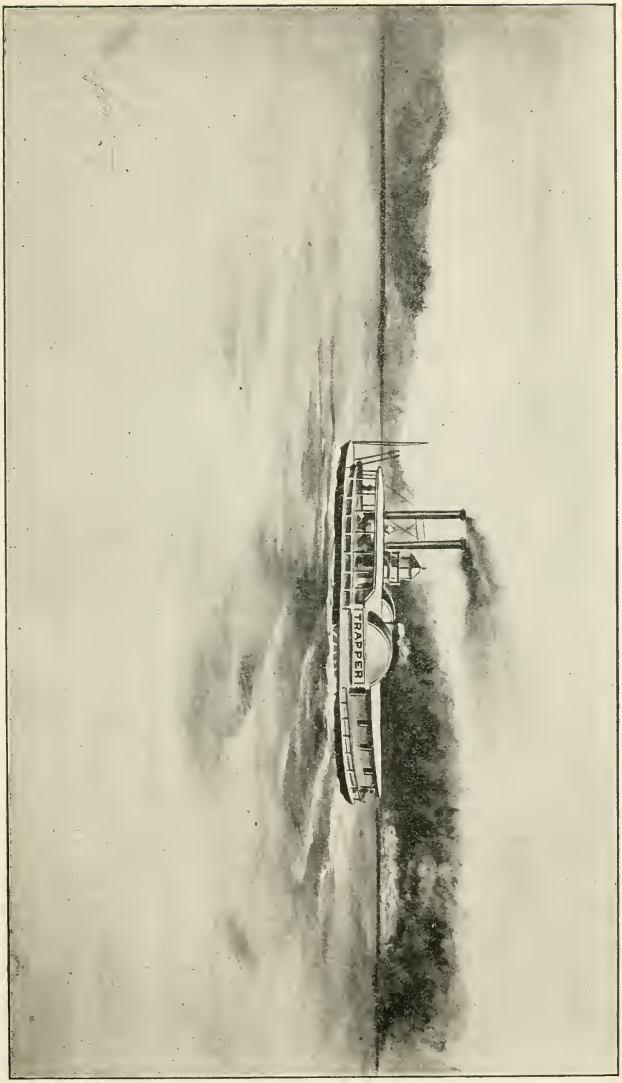
NOTE 151.— Judge W. B. Napton, of Marshall, Mo., has in his possession a number of old letters written by Captain Martin, Col. John O'Fallon, General Atkinson, and other officers of this expedition, at different points on the river, to Gen. Thomas A. Smith, the general in command of the district, who was then at Franklin, and who, Mr. Napton says, died on his estate, in Saline county, Missouri, in 1844. From this correspondence the following extracts are made: "The Engineer passed St. Charles four days since."— Letter of John O'Fallon to Gen. T. A. Smith, June 28, 1819. "St. Louis, July 7, 1819. The residue of troops embarked on board of the steamboats Johnston, Jefferson, and Expedition, and four keel-boats, on the 5th, and short of St. Charles the two first were badly grounded, and 't is probable that ere this that the last is in the same predicament; the river is falling. Colonel Atkinson is here and believes that these boats, in the present state of the water, cannot navigate the Missouri."— O'Fallon. "September 3, 1819. The steamboat Expedition arrived a few days ago. . . . It seems that the steamboats are not to go further unless perhaps the Johnston, which has not reached this place. The last accounts from her she was below the channel bar."— Willoughby Morgan.

NOTE 152.— Thwaites' Long's Expedition, vol. 1, p. 221.

NOTE 153.— See Niles's Register, July 24, 1819, p. 368. Also *Missouri Intelligencer*, June, 1819. Transactions of the Nebraska State Historical Society, vol. 4, p. 20.

NOTE 154.— Chittenden's La Barge, p. 111.

NOTE 155.— Paxton, in his Platte County Annals, says: "Prior to 1830 only an occasional steamer ventured up the dangerous Missouri."



The Pioneer Steamboat. 1820-1830.

which continued in the trade for several years. There were no settlements above, except at St. Joseph and Council Bluffs. There was but little travel on the river during that period, and the modern cabin was not adopted until 1836. Previous to that time the usual accommodations for passengers and crew were the two small cabins placed in the hull of the boat. During 1831 there were only five regular boats on the Missouri river, but by 1836 the number had increased, so rapidly had the country become settled, to fifteen or twenty, which made thirty-five round trips to Boonville and Glasgow.[156]

About 1840 the rapidly increasing population along the Missouri river caused a corresponding demand for additional transportation facilities. A better class of boats was built; full-length cabins were adopted, and double engines, with a battery of boilers, in place of the single engine, one-boiler "dingey." Great improvements were also made in the model of the hull, and they were so constructed as to have the same carrying capacity and draw much less water. The same inventive genius that had invented the steamboat was continually making improvements, both in the machinery and hull, so as to add to the speed of the boat and also increase her carrying capacity.

During the year 1842 there were twenty-six steamboats engaged regularly in the lower river trade. They were a much better class of boats than were formerly built, and were generally from 140 to 160 feet long, about 30 feet beam, and a 6-foot hold. They had full-length cabins and side wheels. There were 312 arrivals and departures from Glasgow during the year, and the Iatan, the regular Glasgow packet, made twenty-four weekly trips from St. Louis. During the season, 46,000 tons of different kinds of freight were transported.[157]

The fur trade had so increased by 1830 as to require a better method of transportation, and, besides, such improvements had been made in the construction of the steamboat as to lead the fur companies to believe that they could successfully be used in navigating the upper river as well as the lower. In 1831 Pierre Chouteau, who was then at the head of the American Fur Company, built a boat called the Yellowstone, intended for the mountain trade. She was 130 feet long, 19 feet beam, 6-foot hold; good model; side wheel; single engine, two chimneys; fly-wheel; ladies' cabin in the stern hold; boiler decks open; no hurricane roof; pilot-house elevated; and drew six feet, loaded to seventy-five tons. The Yellowstone left St. Louis April 16, 1831, on her maiden voyage, and arrived at the mouth of Bad river, in South Dakota, on June 19. After discharging her cargo of Indian goods she took in a cargo of furs and buffalo-robes and returned to St. Louis, where she arrived July 15. She was the first boat to ascend the Missouri river above Council Bluffs.[158]

In the following year, 1832, the Yellowstone made her second trip "to the mountains," as the old river men always called the upper Missouri, reaching Fort Union, at the mouth of the Yellowstone, about June 17. On her return she arrived at St. Louis on July 7. She was the first steamboat to ascend the Missouri to the mouth of the Yellowstone, and demonstrated

NOTE 156.—"The steamboat arrivals ascending the Missouri river at Boonville, in 1831, were only five. In the year 1836, on the 20th of September, the arrivals at the same port had amounted to more than seventy."—Wetmore's Gazetteer of Missouri, p. 69.

NOTE 157.—Missouri *Intelligencer and Patriot.*

NOTE 158.—Chittenden's American Fur Trade, p. 339.

what Major Long had attempted to establish, that the upper Missouri was navigable by steamboats as high up as that river. The Yellowstone made two trips during the year 1833. The preceding year will be ever memorable as that in which the Asiatic cholera first made its appearance in the United States.[159] The terrible scourge followed the watercourses, where at that day the population dwelt, and, in proportion to the inhabitants, was more fatal than it has ever been since. In 1833 there was a recurrence of the plague, which the Yellowstone did not escape. That year she made two trips, Prince Maximilian's party ascending the river on the first, leaving St. Louis on April 10 and arriving at Fort Pierre May 30.[160] The prince then changed his quarters to the steamer Assiniboine, which had also ascended that spring. The Yellowstone immediately returned to St. Louis with a load of furs and began her second voyage. By the time she arrived at the mouth of the Kaw half of her crew were dead. There was no Kansas City there then, but only a landing at Chouteau's trading-post, just below the present city.

It being impossible to proceed further with a diminished crew, Captain Bennett, the commander, manned the yawl with a few men and returned to St. Louis for the purpose of obtaining an additional crew. During his absence the boat was left in charge of Joseph La Barge, then eighteen years of age, who was just beginning his long career of more than fifty years as a steamboat man on the Missouri river. Alarm soon spread among the inhabitants who were then living near the landing, and created such consternation that they threatened to burn the boat.[161] La Barge, perceiving the

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NOTE 159.—Cholera first visited the western United States in 1832, through emigrants from Ireland by way of the St. Lawrence. The epidemic rapidly spread up that river and the lakes, from Chicago to the troops at Rock Island and Jefferson barracks, and down the Mississippi river. (Dr. John M. Woodworth, "Cholera Epidemic of 1873," U. S. Ho., Ex. Doc., No. 95, 43d Cong., 2d sess., p. 563.) Niles's Register, August 25, 1832, p. 452, states that "the cholera was prevailing at St. Louis at our latest dates," and in the issue for December 1, p. 226, that St. Louis was practically free from cholera. The disease also spread among the Sacs and Foxes, and this issue of the Register mentions the death of Keokuk, an error, as that famous chief afterwards moved to Kansas with his tribe. (Hist. Coll., vol. 8, p. 180.) This year the cholera does not seem to have ascended the Missouri. In 1833 the cholera reappeared, first on the Mississippi, ascending that stream and its branches, and reaching St. Louis in May. (Niles's Register, June 1, p. 224.) The issue of August 17, page 401, copies from the St. Louis *Republican*: "The Western mails bring melancholy tidings of the spread of cholera," and states that St. Charles lost sixty of her best citizens in July. Cholera was again introduced into Canada and the United States from Europe in 1834, and from Cuba in 1835. (Doctor Woodworth's report, p. 592.) In December, 1848, cholera was introduced at New Orleans from Europe, and from thence traveled by boat up the Mississippi and the Missouri. At St. Louis, early in April, 1849, "the disease was again epidemic, and during May and June the mortality was excessive." The steamer Sacramento, a cholera-infected vessel, reached St. Joseph, Mo., April 21, loaded with California emigrants. "September 7 it was reported at St. Louis that cholera was raging among the Northwestern Indians to an alarming extent." "From St. Louis the disease was carried to the head waters of the Mississippi and Missouri." (Doctor Woodworth, pp. 609, 617.) D. D. Mitchell, superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, reports, September 14, 1850, page 18: "I am informed by Indian traders, recently from the Platte and upper Missouri, that several bands of the Sioux Indians have suffered severely by the cholera, and that this epidemic was introduced by the whites." The Western Journal, a St. Louis monthly, February, 1851, page 264, reports the number of deaths from cholera at St. Louis, in 1849, as 4285, and, in 1850, as 872. During 1851 to 1853, slight epidemics occurred in the East and West. In 1854 there was great loss of life from cholera at New Orleans. "St. Louis suffered more severely than any other city in the United States. The river steamboats became again infected; the disease was carried to the head waters of the Mississippi, Missouri, and Ohio. From St. Louis the disease was carried into St. Charles, Gasconade, Boone, Cooper, Chariton, Lafayette," and other Missouri counties. (Woodworth, pp. 635, 636.) The cholera was again on the Missouri river in 1855, and in Kansas.—See Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 7, pp. 101, 326.

NOTE 160.—The dates of the first trip of the Yellowstone in 1833 are taken from Maximilian's account in Thwaites' Early Western Travels, vol. 22, pp. 237-316.

NOTE 161.—Joseph S. Chick, of Kansas City, in a letter written in May, 1906, says: "I was born in Howard county, Missouri, August 3, 1828; arrived in Westport, Mo., March 7, 1836, and in Kansas City, Mo., December, 1843. At that time there was, as I remember, the Evans tavern, at the foot of Main street and levee, a warehouse, and two other houses. My father built the next houses — a warehouse on the levee and the first residence on the hills in Kansas City. Kansas City's corporate limits extended south from the river about one-half mile. Since then, by

danger, raised steam himself during the night, and, taking the wheel, ran the boat above the mouth of the Kaw, where she remained undisturbed. On Captain Bennett's return the boat proceeded on her voyage, and arrived at Council Bluffs in August.

It was the custom of the American Fur Company, which by 1831 had obtained a complete monopoly of the fur trade,[162] to send up annually to the mountains one boat. Occasionally two were dispatched, but usually one was sufficient to carry up the supply of goods. These voyages were always attended with great danger and hardship and required the most skilful navigation. The lurking savage, as he lay concealed in the grass on the banks of the river ready to fire on the unsuspecting boatmen, was a continual menace, and many a brush occurred between the red man and his white brother. The greatest difficulty encountered in navigating the boats was from the scarcity of fuel. There were no settlements above St. Joseph at that day, and above the Platte there was but little timber. The only wood to be obtained was from the wrack heaps, and this, being driftwood, wet and sodden, would scarcely make steam at all; but it was the only dependence for fuel, and while half the crew were engaged in cutting wood, the other half stood guard, muskets in hand, to protect them from a surprise by the Indians.[163]

There were other difficulties to be overcome by these navigators of the upper river. In ascending the quantity of water naturally diminished, and the narrowing of the channel made it absolutely essential that the trip should be made on the June rise. This rise, caused by the melting of the snow in the Rocky Mountains, begins in May and continues to the latter part of July.[164] It required quick work and skilful navigation to take a boat from St. Louis to the Yellowstone, a distance of nearly 2000 miles, and back, before the subsidence of the annual rise.

During the period from 1831 to 1846 the navigation of the upper Missouri river was confined almost entirely to the boats belonging to the American Fur Company. Among these boats the following made the annual voyage in the years indicated: Yellowstone, 1831-'33; Assiniboine, 1833; Diana, 1834;

various expansions, it has taken in the town of Westport; therefore, I can claim residence in the present Kansas City from March 7, 1836. In 1833 there may have been a few French and half-breed families at the mouth of the Kansas river. I hardly think cholera could have prevailed at that time, for the reason that there was no material to work on. Farther up the Missouri, where many tribes lived on the river, cholera was very destructive. The first appearance of cholera in Kansas City was in the spring of 1849, and was introduced by a colony of Belgians brought here by Chouteau and Guinotte, just at the commencement of the California emigration. A great many citizens and emigrants died from the disease, and the town was largely deserted for several months. After the first appearance nearly every boat ascending the river was a hotbed for the disease, and it prevailed annually for several years, but never as bad as at the first outbreak. Probably 1855 was the last, until 1866, it appeared again. Since then there has been no recurrence" The cholera "came first in 1849. It first made its appearance among some Belgians brought here by Mr. Guinotte and Mr. Chouteau. There were about eighty of them camped below town, and the cholera proved very fatal among them, and soon spread to other classes of the population and to Independence, Westport and other neighboring places. . . . Kansas City, this year having a large trade and many steamboats touching her levee from points below, received the scourge in its most fatal form. It followed the California emigrants in 1849 and 1850 on to the plains, and besides decimating their numbers also greatly depressed the trade and emigration."— History of Jackson County, Missouri, 1881, p. 411.

NOTE 162.— Chittenden's American Fur Trade, p. 337.

NOTE 163.— See, also, Chittenden's La Barge, p. 117.

NOTE 164.— "The river has two regular floods every year, one usually in April and the other in June. The first flood is short, sharp, and often very destructive. The second flood is of longer duration and carries an immensely greater quantity of water, but does less damage than the first. The April flood is due to the spring freshets along the immediate valley, as the snow melts off and the first rains come. The June rise comes primarily from the melting snows in the mountains."—Chittenden's Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri River, p. 83.

Antelope, 1835; Trapper, 1836–'37; St. Peter, 1837; Elk, 1838; Platte, 1839; Emilie, 1840; Otter, 1841; Shawnee, 1842; Omega, 1843; Nimrod, 1844; Iatan, 1845; St. Ange,[165] 1851; Robert Campbell,[166] 1853; Spread Eagle,[165] 1859–'62; and Chippewa, 1861. Other boats which made trips to the mountains during this period, some of which belonged to opposition companies, were the Astoria, Big Horn, Dacota, Chian, St. Croix, St. Anthony, A. S. Bennett, and W. H. Ashley.

The voyage of 1843 was made by the Omega. She left St. Louis April 25, and the following incident, taken from her log, furnishes a living picture of the dangers to which these early boatmen were exposed. A band of Indians, hidden in the tall grass, opened fire on the boat as she passed along close to the shore. Captain La Barge, who has been referred to, was at the wheel, and a negro called Black Dave, who stood the alternate watch, was also in the pilot-house. Both were Frenchmen, as were most of the early boatmen on the upper Missouri, and Dave could scarcely speak the English language. He was as black as the ace of spades, always dressed well, with a profusion of jewelry, and might well have been taken for the king of Dahomey. Dave, whose real name was Jacques Desiré, had but one fault, his fear of the Indians. But he knew how to handle the wheel, and was recognized as one of the best upper-river pilots in his day. When the bullets crashed through the pilot-house, shattering the glass, Dave deserted the wheel, ran out of the pilot-house, and took refuge behind one of the smoke-stacks, where he remained until the attack was over. On being reprimanded for his cowardice, in deserting his post in time of danger, he replied that it was not from fear of the bullets, but that his eyesight was all he had to depend on to make a living, and he was afraid the flying pieces of glass would strike him in the eyes and put them out.

By the year 1855[167] the government had established military posts on the upper Missouri, and a few straggling settlements had sprung up. The supplies necessary for these posts were transported on steamboats other than those belonging to the fur company. The number of boats, however, was still limited to one or two a season. The principal points above Council Bluffs were Fort Pierre, on the west side of the Missouri river from the present Pierre, S. Dak.; Fort Clark, south of the mouth of Big Knife river, N. Dak.; Fort Union, in Montana, on the north bank of the Missouri, nearly opposite the mouth of the Yellowstone; Fort Benton, just above the mouth of the Teton river, in Montana; and Handy's Point, S. Dak., where Fort Randall was established by Gen. William S. Harney in 1856. Some of these places, once so well known, have since been wiped off the map.

The voyage of 1844 was made by the Nimrod. She was a new boat, built by the American Fur Company, and her log of the voyage, like that of others during this period, has been preserved. This was the year of the great flood in the Missouri river,[168] the greatest, not excepting that of 1903, that

NOTE 165.— De Smet's Life and Travels, Chittenden and Richardson, pp. 638, 783.

NOTE 166.— Montana Historical Society Contributions, vol. 4, p. 232.

NOTE 167.— Fort Pierre, South Dakota, the first military post on the upper Missouri, was established July 7, 1855. (List of military forts, arsenals, etc., in Army and Navy Register, 1776-1887, p. 148.) This post, named for Pierre Chouteau, jr., was originally built for a trading-post, in 1831–'32, to replace Fort Tecumseh, abandoned on account of the erosion of the river.— Chittenden's History of the American Fur Trade, p. 955.

NOTE 168.— See Jotham Meeker's diary for May and June, 1844, giving an account of the rise and progress of the flood on the Osage river.— Kan. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. 8, p. 473.

has occurred since the settlement of the country. When the Nimrod arrived at the village of the Maha Indians, a short distance below the present location of Sioux City, she found the water so low that she was compelled to tie up and wait for a rise. After a delay of several days she proceeded on her voyage. As this was early in May, it is a noteworthy fact, and refutes the popular impression that the overflows of the Missouri always come from the annual mountain rise, caused by the melting of snow. It is true that the melting of snow in the mountains serves to augment the flood by keeping the stage of water high, and thus becomes an important factor in an overflow, but no great flood in the Missouri was ever caused by the melting of the snow alone. They are invariably accompanied by an unusual precipitation in the vast watershed of the Kaw and other tributaries flowing into the upper part of the river just as the annual spring rise reaches this part of the river, which is about the 1st of June.[169]

In the history of steamboat navigation on the Missouri river the decade between 1850 and 1860 may be properly termed the "golden era." The improvements which had been made, both in the machinery and in the construction of the hull, the adaptation of the stateroom cabin and the systematizing of the business all tended to lessen the danger of navigation and increase the profits. The advancement made in navigation on the Missouri river had kept pace with the march of commerce in other parts of the world.

The first navigator on the Missouri river was the little blue-winged teal; the next the Indian, with his canoe; then came the half-civilized French Canadian voyageur, with his pirogue, paddling up-stream or cordelling around the swift points. At a later day came the fur-trader, with his keelboat; still later there came up from below the little "dingey"—the single-engine, one-boiler steamboat, which has been described. At last the evolution was complete, and there came the magnificent passenger steamer of the '50's, the floating palace of the palmy days of steamboating, combining in her construction every improvement that experience had suggested or the ingenuity of man had devised to increase the speed or add to the safety and comfort of the passenger.

The fully equipped passenger steamer, in the heyday of steamboating on the Missouri river, was a magnificent specimen of marine architecture. She was generally about 250 feet long, 40 feet beam, and had a full-length cabin, capable of accommodating from 300 to 400 people. The texas, occupied solely by the officers, was on the hurricane roof. In addition to her passenger accommodation, she had a freight capacity of from 500 to 700 tons. She was well proportioned, symmetrical, trim, fast, and sat on the water like a thing of life. Her two tall smoke-stacks, with ornamental tops, between which was usually suspended some gilt letter or device, added much to her beauty. The pilot-house, on top of the texas, was highly ornamented with glass windows on every side; a fancy railing of scrollwork surrounded the guards of the boiler deck and texas. The entire boat, except the smoke-stacks, was painted a dazzling white.

The cabin of the boat, a long, narrow saloon, was a marvel of beauty in its snow-white splendor. The floors of the cabin were covered with the softest Brussels carpets, and the staterooms were supplied with every con-

NOTE 169.—See, also, Chittenden's Life of La Barge, p. 83.

venience. Indeed, the bridal chambers were perfect gems of elegance and luxury. The table was elegantly furnished, and the menu unsurpassed by that of any first-class hotel. Each boat had, in the ladies' cabin, a piano, and generally a brass band, and always a string band, was carried. After the table was cleared away at night a dance was always in order, the old Virginia reel being the favorite dance. The social feature of a trip on one of these elegant boats was most charming.

The machinery and boilers of the boat were on the main deck. The latter, consisting of a battery of six or eight cylinders, was placed over a huge furnace. The machinery, consisting of two ponderous engines, ran as smoothly as the movements of a watch, and furnished the motive power to turn the two immense wheels, one on either side of the boat. The cost of such a boat as has been described was, during the period between 1850 and 1860, from $50,000 to $75,000.

The crew of a first-class passenger steamer consisted of a captain, two clerks, two pilots, four engineers, two mates, a watchman, a lamplighter, a porter, a carpenter, and a painter. There were, besides, a steward, four cooks, two chambermaids, a deck crew of about forty men, and a cabin crew, generally colored, of about twenty. There were also a barber and a barkeeper, for a bar was always an indispensable attachment to a first-class Western steamboat. The entire crew consisted of from seventy-five to ninety people.

The wages paid were commensurate with the size of the boat, the labor, and danger, as well as the profits of the business. Captains received about $200 per month; clerks, $150; mates, $125; engineers about the same as mates. Of course, these wages included board.

It was the pilot, however, who divided the profits with the owner, and sometimes received the larger share. He was the autocrat of the boat and absolutely controlled her navigation. It was for him to determine when the boat should run at night and when she should lay by. He received princely wages, sometimes as much as $1200 per month, and he spent it like a thoroughbred. These exorbitant wages were demanded and paid as a result of a combination among the pilots called the "Pilots' Benevolent Association." It controlled the number of apprentices, and, as no man could "learn the river," as it was called, without "being shown," it absolutely controlled the number of pilots. It had a "dead-sure cinch," and in compactness, in rigid enforcement of rules and in keeping wages at high-water mark it was a complete success, and continued to maintain its organization as long as steamboating was profitable.[170]

NOTE 170. — "*Messrs. Editors:* I noticed in your paper, some days ago, some very forcible editorial remarks on the late monopoly of the steamboat trade of the Missouri river. It appears that all the pilots have been hired at extravagant wages, whether they work or not, so as to keep out all transient boats. You notice the case of the Tropic. This boat started on a voyage from Pittsburg to St. Joseph, on the Missouri river; on her arrival at this point she could get no pilot at any price; and, after waiting three days, was compelled to give up her trip, paying to the boat that took it two-thirds of all she got for the whole voyage. Had there actually been no pilots in port, it might have been set down as one of the misfortunes of trade; but, in this case, I understand, there were plenty of pilots walking about the levee, rejoicing at the success of their scheme. They were all under wages. Now, I pronounce this combination illegal, and every man concerned in it liable for the damage the captain and owners of the boat suffered, and if a suit had been brought against any one, or all of them, every dollar of it would have been recovered; and they are now subject to indictment, in either the state or United States courts. In 1845 a similar combination occurred among the boat owners on the Pennsylvania canal, and the first thing they knew a number of the most active business men connected with the combination found themselves in jail, and it was with great difficulty that they got out. They were taken up for *conspiracy*. Aware of these things, our Missouri boatmen have acted very cunningly. The case of the Tropic was so glaring, and the damage so easily procured, that the monopolists have

Piloting on the Missouri river was a science, and the skilful pilot was a man of wonderful memory of localities. No man, indeed, ever became a first-class pilot who was not endowed with this peculiar faculty. He was required to know the river throughout his entire run as a schoolboy knows a path to the schoolhouse, upside down, endways, inside, outside, and crossways. He had to know it at midnight of the darkest night, when called on watch, as well as in daylight. He was expected to know every sand-bar, every crossing, chute, towhead, and cut-off; the location of every wreck and every dangerous snag, from one end of the river to the other. He had also to be able to determine the location of the boat on the darkest night from the reverbration of the sound of the whistle as the echo resounded from the adjacent bluffs. He was expected to know every landmark on the shore, the location of every cabin, and the peculiar bark of every squatter's dog.

On one occasion a pilot attempted to make a crossing near Hill's Landing, on the lower river, on an exceedingly dark night. He missed the channel and ran the bow of the boat square up against a bluff sand-bar. On being scolded by the captain, he admitted that he could not recognize a single landmark, so extreme was the darkness, but had guided the boat solely by the familiar bark of a dog, which belonged to a wood-chopper whose cabin stood near the head of the crossing. The dog was accustomed to come out on the bank of the river, whenever a boat approached, and salute it vigorously, by barking, until it had passed. Unfortunately, on this particular night, the dog had changed his position and was farther up the river than his usual location, which was in front of his owner's cabin.

As has been stated, the dangerous localities on the Missouri river were the bends, on account of the snags, and it was in them that most of the accidents occurred. Often has the writer stood in the pilot-house, in going down-stream, when on looking ahead it seemed impossible to find a space sufficiently wide for the boat to pass between the snags. Good judgment, a keen, quick eye and an iron nerve were prerequisites in a pilot; for there were times in the experience of every one when a miscalculation as to the power of the wind, the force of a cross-current or even the wrong turn of the wheel would have sent his boat to the bottom of the river. It was the custom, in running such dangerous localities, to straighten the boat at the head of the bend and then "belt her through," by throwing the throttles wide open and putting on every pound of steam. Only in this way would the boat respond to the rudder, and thus prevent flanking on the dangerous snags.

On one occasion, on a down-stream trip, which the writer recalls, there were two pilots on the boat, Capt. Bob Wright and his son-in-law, Gates McGarrah. The former was an old, experienced pilot, and was recognized as among the best on the river. The young man, who was scarcely of age, was also a skilful pilot, but a reckless, nervy, dare-devil. It was Captain Wright's watch when we came to the head of the bend, and he was at the wheel. McGarrah was in the texas asleep. The old man was generally

bought the boat, and thus quieted her owners' claims. As what is everybody's business is nobody's business, there is no man who has sufficient interest to bring suit; and if the community will tamely submit to it, they can go on and buy up every dangerous opponent. But, gentlemen, remember that these high wages and these high-priced boats have to be paid for, with large additions, by the *producers*, the *consumers*, the *merchants*, and the *immigrants*, in the shape of freights and passage. It is an attempt to arrest the great principle of trade; to cut off the supply of boats demanded in that section of country. It is, therefore, now, with this whole community, either to raise means to bring this matter before the courts of law, or to bear with it as it is."—St. Louis *Intelligencer*, April 26, 1855.

cool and collected, but on this occasion, as the boat was heavily loaded and full of people, he seemed to realize his responsibility. His hands trembled like a leaf, and as I watched him I saw that he had lost his nerve. The boat was held back, and he sent for McGarrah. The young fellow came running into the pilot-house laughing and whistling, took the wheel, and, putting on a full head of steam, ran through the snags without a scratch.

Such was the amount of business done on the river during the '50's, and such the skill of the pilots, that boats in the lower trade ran day and night. No night ever became so dark as to render it necessary for the boat to tie up, especially in going up-stream. A speed of ten miles an hour, up-stream, was not unusual, and a distance of 150 miles was made down-stream in a day. In July, 1856, the James H. Lucas, one of the fastest boats on the river, ran from St. Louis to St. Joseph, a distance of 600 miles, in sixty hours. In 1853 the Polar Star, another remarkably fast boat, and a great favorite, made the same run in sixty-eight hours.[171] When the difficulty of navigating the river, the swiftness of the current and the crookedness of the channel are considered, the time made by these boats is remarkable, and shows what was accomplished, in the way of speed, in the heyday of steamboating on the Missouri.[172]

From the peculiar character of the Missouri river, and the many obstacles to navigation, racing was never practiced on that stream as it was on the lower Mississippi. As in the case of the Lucas and Polar Star, a particularly fast boat would sometimes make a run against time, the wager being a large pair of gilded elk horns, which were carried by the successful boat until some other boat beat her time. But racing was risky in any case, especially on the Missouri, for the temptation always existed to increase

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NOTE 171.—"The Polar Star was built and owned by Capt. Tom Brierly, whose home was on a farm near this city [St. Joseph]. She was very fast, and made the run from St. Louis in two days and twenty hours. Across her forecastle was a streamer inscribed: "Beat our time, and take our horns—St. Louis to St. Joseph, two days and twenty hours." Prominent citizens here presented Captain Brierly with a fine pair of elk horns, mounted with silver, with an appropriate inscription. That evening the society people attended a swell ball on the boat, in honor of the occasion. This boat was used as a flag-ship before the siege of Vicksburg, in 1863, and was afterwards burned in the Tennessee river. The James H. Lucas was brought out and run by Capt. Andy Wineland, a very popular master. She beat the time of the Polar Star, making the run to this city in two days and twelve hours, the quickest time ever made. Andrew B. Symns, Atchison's wholesale grocer, was clerk on the Lucas." (History of Buchanan County and St. Joseph, Mo., p. 223.) Lloyd's Steamboat Disasters, p. 280, claims that the trip was made by the Polar Star in sixty-four hours.

NOTE 172.—

"ST. LOUIS AND ST. JOSEPH
UNION PACKET LINE!!!

"In order to promote the general interest of the traveling public, as well as that of the shippers, we, the undersigned, captains of steamboats running on the Missouri river, have associated ourselves together for the purpose of carrying out the above-stated objects, knowing, as we do, that there has been a great want of system and regularity on the part of boats, whereby shippers and passengers suffered great loss by delay. Our interests being identified with that of the people throughout the valley of the Missouri river, we deem it our duty to protect their interests as well as ours, and in order to effect that object have established a daily line of packets from St. Louis to St. Joseph, composed of the following boats.

Boat.	*Captain.*	*Leave St. Louis.*	*Leave St. Joseph.*
Peerless	Bissell	February 15, 1858	February 21, 1858.
Morning Star	Burke	February 16, 1858	February 22, 1858.
Star of the West	Ohlman	February 17, 1858	February 23, 1858.
A. B. Chambers	Gillham	February 18, 1858	February 24, 1858.
D. A. January	P. Yore	February 19, 1858	February 25, 1858.
Minnehaha	C. Baker	February 20, 1858	February 26, 1858.
Twilight	J. Shaw	February 22, 1858	February 28, 1858.
The Hesperion	F. B. Kercheval	February 23, 1858	March 1, 1858.
The Southwester	D. Hoover	February 24, 1858	March 2, 1858.
Ben Lewis	Brierly	February 25, 1858	March 3, 1858.
Kate Howard	Nauson	February 27, 1858	March 5, 1858.

T. H. BRIERLY, *President.*
F. B. KERCHEVAL, *Secretary.*"

[Advertisement in Lecompton *National Democrat*, February, 1858.]

the pressure of steam above the safety limit. Of all the disasters that ever occurred on the river, the most terrible were those caused by boiler explosions.

The next most common cause of accidents on the Missouri, after snags and sunken wrecks, was fire. The cabins of the boats were constructed of white pine, as light as they could be built, and were thoroughly saturated with lead and oil. Constructed of such combustible material, when once on fire the flames could not be extinguished, and the vessel burned with such rapidity as often to cause the loss of life.

Accidents from explosions of boilers were frequent in the early days of steamboating on the river, and the fatality in some cases was appalling. The boat always caught fire after the explosion, and those who escaped immediate death were confronted by the flames. The improvement in the material and construction of the boiler, however, and the most rigid enforcement of the inspection laws by the government, tended materially to decrease the number of disasters from this cause in the last years of steamboating.

The most terrible disaster that ever occurred on the Missouri river was that of the explosion of the Saluda, at Lexington, Mo., in 1852. The Saluda was a side-wheel steamer, with a battery of two boilers, and was on her way up the river, with her cabin and lower deck crowded with passengers, the most of whom were Mormons. The river was unusually high and the current at that place exceedingly swift. Capt. Francis T. Belt, the commander of the boat, had made repeated efforts to stem the current, but, having failed, fell back to the levee. At last, on the morning of April 9, after waiting several days for the flood to subside, he again ordered steam raised for a final effort. He went to the engine-room, and, looking up at the steam-gage, asked the engineer how much more pressure she could stand. On being answered that she had already every pound of steam that it was safe to carry, he said: "Fill her up; put on more steam," and remarked to the engineer that he would "round the point or blow her to h—l." He then returned to the hurricane roof, rang the bell, and gave the order to "cast loose the line."

The bow of the boat swung gently out into the stream and was caught by the current. The engine made but one revolution; then came a terrific crash, and all was chaos, darkness, and death! The number of those who lost their lives was never known. About 100 bodies were recovered, and it was supposed that there were as many more victims whose bodies were blown into the river and never recovered. Nearly all the officers of the boat were killed, among them Captain Belt. He was at his post on the hurricane roof, standing with his arm resting on the bell, when the explosion occurred, and was blown high up on the bank. His body when found was a mangled mass of flesh and bones. The bell which had just sounded the death-knell of so many souls was sold with the wreckage to an old German, who afterward sold it to the Christian church at Savannah, Mo., where it has hung in the belfry for more than half a century. On any Sabbath morning its clear, silvery peals can be heard, but it is doubtful if there is one among all those who are called to the house of God who knows anything of its tragic history.

A partial list[173] of boats wrecked on the Missouri river has been pre-

NOTE 173.—"List of steamboat wrecks on the Missouri river, from the beginning of steamboat navigation to the present time," in An. Rept. of Mo. River Comm'n, 1897, U. S. Ho. Rep., 55th Cong., 2d sess., Doc. No. 2, pp. 3872-3892.

served, with the names of the captains and owners, the date and place where wrecked, the cause, and many other particulars. It contains the names of 300 boats, but is not complete, as no regular record was kept of the number. Of those named, 193 were sunk by coming in contact with snags, twenty-five by fire, and the remainder by explosions, rocks, bridges, storms, and ice. More than three-fourths of the number were wrecked between Kansas City and the mouth of the river, as most of the boats ran in the lower trade. In fact, there lie buried in the lower bends the wrecks of more than 200 steamboats, covered with the accumulated sands of half a century.

Marvelous tales of gambling on the river, in old times, have been told, and it is to be regretted that many of these stories have not been exaggerated. There were boats on which gambling was permitted, and it was not unusual for a professional gambler to travel on a boat and run his game openly and aboveboard. Indeed, there were certain boats on which it was said the captain or clerk "stood in" with the gambler and shared his nefarious profits. I never saw a planter bet his negro servant on a game of cards (that is said to have occurred on the lower Mississippi), but I have witnessed scenes equally as pathetic and sad. I have seen men, after losing their last dollar, take their watches and jewelry and cast them into the jackpot. Poker was the game universally played on the river; big games they were, too; and the excitement ran high, as the passengers crowded around the table, in the cabin, on which the gold and silver were stacked.

The steamer John D. Perry left St. Louis one evening in July, 1858, with her cabin crowded with passengers. Among the number was an old gentleman, a farmer from the lower-river country, who had gone down on the previous trip with his crop of hemp, which he sold. The writer was clerk of the boat, and just as the lines were cast off the old gentleman came to the office and handed me a well-filled pocketbook, which he requested me to place in the safe. About nine o'clock that night, after the boat had gotten several miles above the mouth of the Missouri, he came to the office again and requested me to return his pocketbook. I did so, and, being busily engaged at the time, did not give the matter any further attention. It soon occurred to me, however, that it was strange that he should want his money at that time of night, and I walked back into the cabin to see what was going on. There I saw my old friend sitting at a table, on which was stacked a pile of money, playing poker with two men, whom, from their appearance, I suspected were professional gamblers.

We did not permit gambling on our boat, and our captain was violently opposed to it, and utterly abhorred a professional gambler. I went at once to the hurricane roof, where I knew the "old man" was on watch, and informed him of what was going on below. He came down in a hurry, and walking back to the table, said: "This game must stop right here. You sports can't make a gambling-house out of this boat. Mr. ———," calling the old farmer by name, "get up from that table and take your money. These men are professional gamblers and are robbing you. Now," he said, turning to the other two men, "you fellows get your baggage and get ready to go ashore."

The gamblers first undertook to bluff the captain, and then began to beg, but it was all in vain; he was inexorable. It was a dark and stormy night and the rain was pouring down in torrents, but, notwithstanding the storm,

the boat was landed alongside a dense forest and the two sporting gentlemen were made to walk a gangplank. We shoved off and left them standing there in the dark woods, miles from any human habitation, and as the buckets of the wheels struck the water we could hear their curses, loud and bitter, as they swore eternal vengeance against the boat and her officers.

During the early cholera epidemics, when a passenger died, especially a deck passenger, who was generally an emigrant, the body of the unfortunate victim was hastily placed in a rude wooden box, the boat run along shore, where a shallow grave was dug, in which the body was hastily interred. There it remained, unmarked, until the shifting current of the river invaded the sacred spot and swept away all that was mortal of the unfortunate stranger, whose friends, perhaps, never knew his fate. There were many such graves along the river in olden times, and it was not unusual for a coffin to be seen protruding from the bank, where the current had encroached.

The rough wooden boxes used as coffins were made by the boat's carpenter, who worked day and night in preparing them in advance of the death of the victims, so that when a death occurred there might be no delay in disposing of the body. On one occasion a boat was ascending the river with the cholera on board. Death was stalking the decks, and one morning, among those who had died during the night, was a man of unusual height. No box was found of sufficient length to contain the body. What was to be done? The captain, whose name need not be mentioned, although he has been dead for more than forty years, called for an ax, and deliberately cut the man's legs off and laid them beside the body in the box, and thus the poor fellow was laid away in a hastily dug grave.

In the spring of 1849 the steamer James Monroe left St. Louis, bound for the Missouri river, crowded with people, who, for the most part, were California emigrants. On approaching Jefferson City the people of that town—such was the fear of the epidemic—forbade the boat landing, and, to enforce their command, planted an old cannon called the "Sacramento" on the bank of the river and threatened to blow the boat out of the water if she attempted to touch the wharf. The boat stopped about a mile below the town, and the poor, unfortunate passengers, in their effort to escape from the plague-ridden vessel, came up the bank of the river, where afterwards many of their dead bodies were found. Finally, the compassion of the citizens overcame their fear, and churches were turned into improvised hospitals, and the best care possible was given those who had survived. Those of the unfortunate crew who had escaped death fled from the pestilence, and the ill-fated boat, after lying there for several months, was taken back to St. Louis.

The most unfortunate trip that was ever made by a steamboat up the river, and the most far-reaching in its results and in the sacrifice of human life, was that of the St. Peter. She was a single-engine boat, built by Pierre Chouteau and Peter Sarpy for the fur trade. She left St. Louis in the spring of 1837, bound for the mountains, loaded with supplies for the different posts. Her deck crew was composed of negroes, and before she arrived at St. Joseph, then called the "Blacksnake Hills," the smallpox had broken out among them, and one who had died was buried there. The contagion immediately extended to other members of the crew, and the danger of communicating the disease to the Indians, who were then numer-

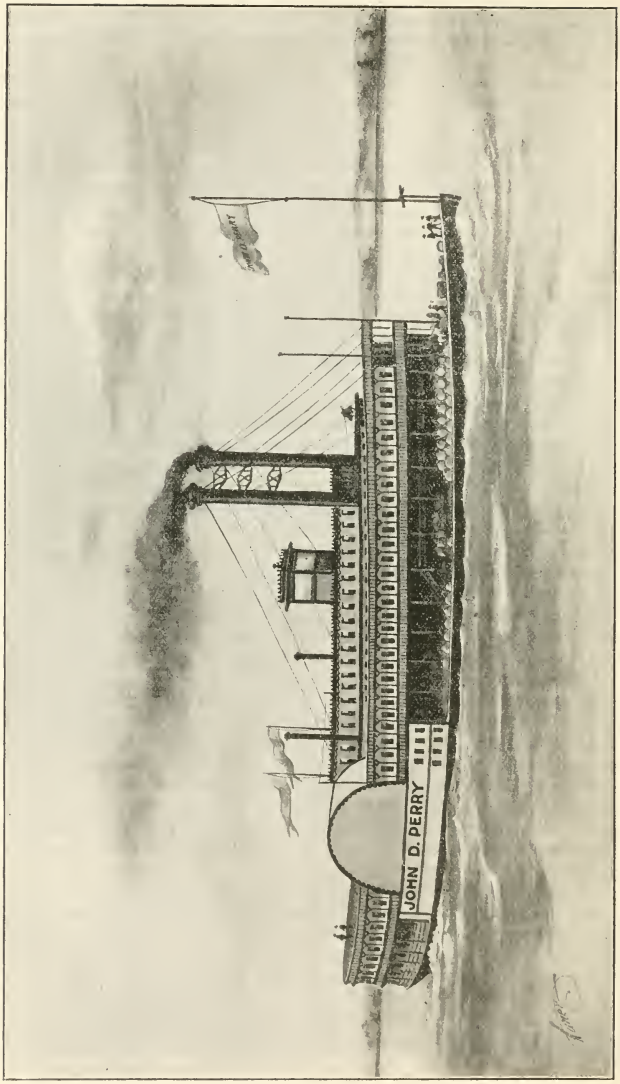
ous along the river, became apparent. Runners were sent forward to give the alarm and warn them to keep away from the banks; but notwithstanding this precaution the terrible contagion spread, and was communicated to every tribe east of the Rocky Mountains. The fatality, as the Indians knew no way to treat the disease, was appalling, and among some tribes amounted to annihilation. In the case of the Mandans, a tribe then seated near where Bismarck, N. Dak., is now located, a population of 1700 was reduced to 31. Among the Pawnees, who were then on the Platte, the death rate was so great that, according to the official report made to the government, they were reduced, within a year, from 10,000 to 4500—one-half the tribe had died. Utter dismay pervaded all the tribes, and they fled from the pestilence in every direction, leaving the bodies of their dead to be devoured by the wolves.

The year 1858 may be taken as the year in which steamboating on the Missouri river reached the summit of its prosperity. There were then not less than sixty regular packets on the river, besides perhaps thirty or forty transient boats, called "tramps," which came into the river from other streams and made one or two trips during the season. Packet lines were established to Miami, Kansas City, St. Joseph, Omaha, and even to Sioux City. They carried the United States mail and the express freight, and the semiweekly or daily arrival of the regular packet was looked forward to with the same degree of certainty as we now look forward to the arrival of a railroad-train. So numerous were the boats on the lower river, during this period, that it was no unusual sight to see as many as five or six lying at a landing at the same time, and at no time was a boat out of sight during the boating season, which continued from March till November. The prosperity which this great traffic brought to the river towns was phenomenal, and the population of many of them was greater fifty years ago than it is to-day.

The usual life of a steamboat, barring accidents, was from five to ten years,[174] and she was expected to make money from the first turn of the wheel. If she did not she was considered a failure, for the depreciation was estimated at ten per cent. the first year and twenty-five per cent. each year thereafter. There were many boats in the regular trade which paid back their cost the first year, and by the end of the second year at furthest they were expected to show a clean balance-sheet. Steamboating was a hazardous business, and one attended with great risk, both to life and property, but the profits, with the rates of freight from fifty cents to one dollar per hundred pounds, and passage from St. Louis to Kansas City twenty-five dollars, were commensurate with the risk. No insurance could ever be obtained against explosions, and the hull risk was from twelve to fifteen cents per hundred.

But the business of steamboating, notwithstanding all its drawbacks, was both profitable and pleasant, and there was a fascination about it which prevented those who had once followed the river ever becoming exactly satisfied on shore. The continual change of scenery, the panoramic views of forests and farmhouses, the meeting with interesting people, and above all

NOTE 174.—The Ontario, built in 1863, "is already considered as past its prime. The constant service in which boats are kept on our great rivers of the West, where commerce and transportation are very considerable and much varied, uses them up in a very few years."—From a letter written June 10, 1866, in Father De Smet's Life and Travels, Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, p. 846.



A Missouri River Steamboat. 1850–1860.

the social feature of steamboating, rendered the avocation a pleasant one. The most pathetic feature connected with steamboating on the Missouri river was the tenacity with which the old steamboat man clung to the river. He seemed never to be able to realize the changed condition in the method of transportation which came, but continued the unequal contest with the new method, hoping for the return of the good old days, until the fortune he had acquired was lost. There were but few instances in which they did not die poor.

It cannot be expected that in so brief a paper the names of all the steamboats that navigated the river in its palmy days can be given, but among the finest and most popular which were on the river in 1858, the banner year, were the following: Kate Howard, John D. Perry, David Tatum, Clara, Platte Valley, Asa Wilgus, Alonzo Child, F. X. Aubrey, Admiral, D. S. Carter, Emigrant, E. A. Ogden, Empire State, Isabella, James H. Lucas, Meteor, Minnehaha, Polar Star, Peerless, Spread Eagle, War Eagle, South Western, C. W. Sombart, Twilight, Thomas E. Tutt, White Cloud, and Edinburg.

Among those which came later, and which were built for some special trade, were the R. W. Dugan, E. H. Durfee, Phil. E. Chappell, Montana, Dakota, A. L. Mason, State of Missouri, and State of Kansas. Some of these ran as late as 1888. They were the last boats built for the Missouri river.

But steamboating on the Missouri river is dead. Like the cowboy and the prairie-schooner, the steamboat is a thing of the past. The whistle of the first locomotive, as it reverberated through the Blacksnake Hills, on the completion of the Hannibal & St. Joseph railroad to the Missouri river, at St. Joseph, in 1859, sounded the death-knell of steamboating on that stream. It was the beginning of the end. Steamboating began in 1819. At the end of twenty years it had grown to large proportions, and continued to grow for the succeeding twenty years. Then it began to die, and in another twenty years was dead. As the different railroads penetrated the interior, touching the different points on the great watercourse, its commerce began to wither, and it became evident, to those who watched the trend of events, that river transportation could not compete successfully with the cheaper and more rapid method.

Then came the war of 1861, causing the loss of many boats, and driving others out of the river, the presence of the guerrilla rendering navigation even more hazardous than it had been. A few boats remained, but even they, for the most part, went higher up the river, to escape competition with the railroads, and ran between Sioux City and Fort Benton.

In 1862 gold was discovered in Montana,[175] and, as usual in such discoveries, a great rush of population began to flow into that country. As the only means of transportation was by way of the Missouri river, this unexpected demand caused a wonderful revival in steamboating. There were but few regular boats on the Missouri at that time, but others began to crowd in from every stream west of the Alleghanies, side-wheelers, stern-wheelers, and old tubs.[176] The voyage to Fort Benton, the nearest point to the mines,

NOTE 175.— Montana Historical Society Contributions, vol. 2.

NOTE 176.— The Montana Historical Society publishes, in its first volume of Contributions, p. 317, a list of steamboat arrivals at Fort Benton and vicinity during the years 1859 to 1874. The following totals, obtained from the list, will show the rise and fall of this period of up-river navigation: 1859, 1; 1860, 2; 1861, none; 1862, 4; 1863, 2; 1864, 4; 1865, 8; 1866, 31; 1867, 39; 1868, 35; 1869, 24; 1870, 8; 1871, 6; 1872, 12; 1873, 7; 1874, 6.

was 2200 miles, and it was beset with danger, both in the navigation and from the Indians.

This trade, which was of short duration, proved to be exceedingly profitable, as the rates demanded and paid were exorbitant. The usual rate on freight was from ten to fifteen cents per pound, and a first-class passage to Fort Benton cost $300. Enormous profits were made by some of the boats. On one trip the St. John cleared $17,000, the Lacomy $16,000, and the Octavia $40,000. The W. J. Lewis, a new boat built in 1865, went to Fort Benton in 1866, and when she returned to St. Louis, after an absence of sixty days, had cleared her cost, which was $60,000. The Peter Balen, an old tub, not worth over $15,000, but a good carrier, made a profit of $80,000 on one trip.

But this rich harvest only continued ten years, for, like a Nemesis, the railroad pursued the steamboat. In 1873 the Northern Pacific railroad reached Bismarck,[177] and for a second time the steamboat was forced to surrender to its invincible enemy. It was the last stand of the steamboat on the Missouri river, in its battle with the railroad.

There is not to-day a single steamboat engaged in navigating the Missouri river. All are gone. The glory of the past is gone. The evolution is complete. The Indian canoe, the pirogue, the bateau, the keel-boat, the mackinaw boat, the steamboat, have all passed away, and there now remains, on what was once the great commercial thoroughfare of the West, only the original navigator, the little blue-winged teal. The recollection of steamboating on the Missouri river is, to the old steamboat man, but a pleasant dream of the past.

NOTE 177.—"In July of this year [1873] the Northern Pacific railroad was put into operation as far west as the Missouri river."—Goodspeed's Province and the States, vol. 6, p. 267.

MISSOURI RIVER STEAMBOATS.

THE list following, embracing the names of more than 700 steamboats that navigated the Missouri river during the period of steam navigation on that stream, has been compiled by Phil. E. Chappell, of Kansas City, Mo. It is not complete, as many names have doubtless been omitted, but it is perhaps the most complete list that has been preserved.[1]

The first steamboat to ascend the Missouri river was a boat called the Independence. She came up as high as the mouth of the Chariton river in the spring of 1819, and thus demonstrated that the river was navigable by steamboats. There were few steamboats, however, on the river previous to 1840,[2] owing to the sparsely settled condition of the country and the limited demands of commerce. Those that were built for the trade during this early period were small, lubberly craft, exceedingly slow and of heavy draft. They were single-engine, one-boiler side-wheelers, without the modern cabin, and had no conveniences for the comfort and safety of the passengers. With the rapid increase of population along the lower river, in the decade from 1830 to 1840 came an increased demand for additional transportation facilities; larger boats were built; the modern cabin was adopted; and additional improvements were made, both in the hull, so as to lessen the draft, and in the machinery, to increase the speed. These improvements kept pace with the trade as it increased until the '50's, when the boats built for the lower river during the decade from 1850 to 1860 were veritable float-

NOTE 1.—Sources of information concerning steamboats; the figures following descriptions of boats refer to this list:

1. Lloyd's Steamboat Directory, 1856.
2. Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri River, Chittenden, 2 v., 1903.
3. Life and Travels of Father De Smet, Chittenden and Richardson, 4 v., 1905.
4. Annals of Platte County, Missouri, Paxton, 1897.
5. History of Jackson County, Missouri, 1881.
6. History of Kansas City, Mo., Case, 1888.
7. History of Buchanan County and St. Joseph, Missouri, 1881.
8. American Fur Trade of the Far West, Chittenden, 3 v., 1902.
9. Historical Collections of Montana, vols. 1-3.
10. *Western Journal*, St. Louis, 1850.
11. Nebraska Historical Collections, 2d ser., vol. 1.
12. Atchison *Champion*, 1859.
13. Early Western Travels, Thwaites.
14. Early files of St. Louis and Kansas City papers.

NOTE 2.—The Kansas State Historical Society has among its records of Gen. William Clark a diary kept at headquarters, in St. Louis, beginning with May, 1826, and ending July, 1829. It covers such topics as the temperature, wind, condition of the weather, stage of river, the arrival and departure of steamboats, and the arrival and departure of members of various Indian tribes. There was a constant coming and going of Kickapoos, Kansas, Sacs, and Shawnees. The river was stationary but a day or two at a time—seems to have been constantly rising and falling. There is no mention of a steamboat to or from the Missouri river. Trade was then limited to the upper Mississippi and with New Orleans. Louisville was the most prominent boating point; occasionally a boat came from Pittsburg. The following boats are frequently mentioned: Mechanic, Marietta, Sciota, Lawrence, Tuscumbia, Plough Boy, Indiana, Eclipse, Pittsburgh, Helen McGregor, Brown, Muskingum, Decatur, Magnet, Virginia, Columbus, General Hamilton, Liberator, Cleopatra, Hercules, America, William Penn, Oregon, Courtland, Maryland, Rover, Velocipede, Criterion, Josephine, Pilot, Missouri. Mixed in with the statements of the condition of the river, movements of the boats and Indians, the diary contains many things of general interest, samples being herewith given:

"January 21, 1827.—Captain Patrick Ford, agent for the Iowas, died last night at Doctor Tiffany's.

"February 11, 1827.—House boat sunk to-day.

"February 18, 1827.—On this day George R. Clark, son of General Clark, when hunting with Henry (a yellow fellow), by accident was wounded under the right eye by the discharge of Henry's gun.

"March 1, 1827.—Four inches of snow fell. Rain and hail for an hour on the 6th; rain on the 7th; rain on the 12th; snow on the 14th; very cold on the 18th; ice in the river April 12.

"April 30, 1827.—'Mississippi and Missouri, both of them, above their junction, higher at this time than they have been since the recollection of the oldest inhabitant. At Prairie du Chien the people have been obliged to desert the town. At Fort Crawford the troops have been

ing palaces, and were unsurpassed in speed, splendor and luxurious furnishings by any inland water craft in the world.

It was during this period (1859), when the Missouri river steamboat had reached its perfection, and the business its highest degree of prosperity (there being not less than 100 boats on the river), that the railroads invaded the country tributary to the lower Missouri, and sounded the death-knell of steamboating. The contest which ensued between the two rival methods of transportation was short and decisive, and it soon became apparent to the steamboat-owner that he could not compete successfully with this modern competitor for the commerce of the West.

After 1860, for a period of two or three years, there were but few steamboats on the river. The competition with the railroads, together with the general depression of the country, caused by the civil war, drove many of them into the Mississippi. Even those that remained, for the most part, retreated further up the river, and sought new trades from St. Joseph, Omaha and Sioux City to upper-river points. It was during this period (1862) that gold was discovered in Montana. There were no railroads in that day extending so far up the river, and the cheapest and most practicable route to the mines was by way of the Missouri river. A great rush of miners and adventurers to this new El Dorado set in at once, which caused an unexpected demand for transportation. There were no boats on the Missouri to supply this demand, but it was not long before they came crowding in from every stream west of the Alleghanies. There were many strange craft, but for the most part they were small stern-wheelers from the Ohio and other streams, ill adapted to the navigation of the tortuous channel and strong

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obliged to evacuate the cantonment and go into tents some distance back of the fort. The Missouri has washed away entirely the trading establishment of a Mr. Chouteau, at the mouth of the Kansas (or a little below). The First regiment, on the Missouri, have been obliged to leave their garrison.

"May 12, 1827.—The river wants twenty inches of being up to the door of General Clark's stable.

"July 23, 1827.—The Kaskaskias arrive. The whole remnant of that great nation consists at this time of thirty-one soles—fifteen men, ten women, and six children.

"August 7, 1827.—Earthquake last night.

"September 8, 1827.—Party of Shawonees set out for the Kanzas. Two families of the Shawonee nation of Indians renounced their intention of emigrating to the Kanzas, and set off in return to their former residence in Ohio.

"April 22, 1828.—The steamboat Plough Boy arrived this morning from Louisville. Also steamboat Jubilee, from New Orleans. This night at eleven o'clock, by this boat is received the melancholy intelligence of the loss of twenty-four lives by the bursting of the boiler of the steamboat Car of Commerce. It is further ascertained that two of the aforesaid twenty-four encounterers of an untimely fate were the first and second engineer. The Egyptian mummy, from the pyramids, supposed to be 3000 years old, is brought by this boat, the Jubilee, and is intended for exhibition, when many of our fair citizens will be gratified by a sight of one of these rare relics of antiquity, it being the first one that has ever honored our city with a visit.

"May 18, 1828.—Gen. M. G. Clark departs for the Kanzas river.

"June 21, 1828.—The Jubilee, Captain Hinckle, arrived from New Orleans: freight, 1462 packages dry-goods; passengers, 160. By the arrival of this boat the Catholics of the city had the pleasure of seeing the Right Reverend Bishop Rosate, appointed to officiate in this place.

"December 31, 1828.—Beautiful morning; fine day and pleasant. Here the year 1828 ends and a new year commences; consequently we shall begin on a new page, for which turn over a new leaf, and change our ways for the better.

"TO THE DIARISTS.

"Turn over here a leaf again
Together with a year;
Fill leaf and year without profane,
For time and paper 's dear.

"January 1, 1829.—New Year's day. Fine morning, summer heat. Fine evening.

"March 5, 1829.—The explosion of the steamboat Helen McGregor took place at Memphis, on her passage from New Orleans to Nashville, on the 25th of February, by the bursting of her boilers, at which it is supposed between 50 and 100 persons were killed and wounded. (Information by Messrs. Maginnis and Wm. P. Clark, who were passengers on the boat.) Those who perished principally deck passengers."

current of the Missouri. They were in strange contrast to the magnificent side-wheel steamers built for the lower river during the palmy days of steamboating.

The nearest point to the mines on the Missouri river was Fort Benton, the head of navigation. It was a distance of 2200 miles, and the voyage consumed most of the boating season. It was a voyage attended with great danger, both from the savages along the shore and the many obstacles necessary to be overcome in navigating a treacherous stream, even the channel of which was unknown to the most experienced and skilful pilot. As will be seen from the number of wrecks in the accompanying list, many a boat went up the river during this period never to return.

The dates indicate the years in which the boats ran the river.

1855–'56. A. B. Chambers (No. 1). Alex Gilham, master. Sunk near Atchison, Kan., in 1856. See, also, "The Kansas River—its Navigation," by A. R. Greene, in this volume; also 7.

1860. A. B. Chambers (No. 2). Sunk near St. Charles on her first trip, September 24, 1860. Both of these boats were named for the editor of the *Missouri Republican.*

——. A. C. Bacon. Sunk in the Missouri river. 7.

1870–'75. A. C. Bird. Captain, Burris. A small boat. Sunk at Liberty Landing, below the mouth of the Kaw. See, also, 7.

1854–'57. A. C. Goddin. Jack Ivers, master. A popular boat in her day. She sunk at Bonhomme island, above St. Charles, April 20, 1857.

1845–'47. Admiral (No. 1). Sunk near Weston, Mo. See, also, 6.

1853–'58. Admiral (No. 2). Another boat of the same name. Brooks, master. Both of these boats were side-wheelers, in the lower river.

1860–'65. Admiral (No. 3). C. K. Baker, master. Sunk by the ice at St. Louis, December 16, 1865.

1880–'85. Aggie. Perren Kay and Alex Stewart, masters. Sunk at Kansas City in 1885.

1866. Agnes. 2.

1857. Aleonia. Made one trip, in 1857.

1835–'40. Alert. Sunk in Alert bend, above Fisher's Landing, near Hermann, Mo., in 1840.

1860–'66. Alex Majors. Built in 1860, and then called "Mink," on account of her color, which was brown. She was afterwards painted white, and her name was changed. Sunk at Grand river, in 1866; raised, and burned at St. Louis. See "The Kansas River—its Navigation," by A. R. Greene, in this volume.

1847–'49. Algoma. Miller, master. Sunk below Lexington, Mo, in 1849.

——. Algomar. 7.

1845–'49. Alice (No. 1). Lower-river packet. Burned at St Louis, May 17, 1849.

1862–'65. Alice (No. 2). Built for Joe Kinney; ran the lower river.

1870–'75. Alice Gray. A small boat. Exploded her boiler and sunk at Rocheport, Mo., December 16, 1875. The captain's wife, who was an expert swimmer, jumped overboard and swam ashore.

1855. Alma. Was on the river in 1855. Tonnage, 311. 1.

1888–'89. A. L. Mason. One of the three boats built by the Kansas City Packet Company in the last effort to restore navigation on the river; she was lost on the lower Mississippi, below Memphis.

1864. Alone. This was one of the boats sent into the Yellowstone by General Sully with rations and material for a new post which it was proposed to establish at the mouth of the Powder river. 2.

1856–'63. Alonzo Child. J. B. Holland, master. A large side-wheel passenger packet on the lower river. She was taken into the lower Mississippi in 1859, with many other fine boats. On the fall of Vicksburg, she, with twenty-three other steamers, was taken by the Confederates into the Yazoo river and burned, to prevent them falling into the hands of the Union army. Before she was destroyed, however, her machinery was removed and hauled overland to Selma, Ala., on the Alabama river, where it was placed in the Confederate gunboat Tennessee. This boat was afterward captured by Farragut, at Mobile. Governor Pinchback, governor of the state of Louisiana during the reconstruction period, was steward of the Alonzo Child when she ran the Missouri river. He was a mulatto. Ex-Gov. George W. Glick and wife came to Kansas on this boat about March 14, 1859. 7.

1847. Alton. Measurement, 344 tons. Built for the St. Louis trade. 10.

1850–'53. Alton. A transient boat. Nothing known. 1.

1866. Amanda. A small boat in the employ of the War Department, on the upper river. 2.

1837–'47. Amaranth (No. 1). George W. Atchison, master. A lower-river packet, built in 1837.

1867–'68. Amaranth (No. 2). Sunk at Smith's bar, 1868. Used in upper-river trade. 7, 9.

1842. Amazon.

1855–'56. Amazon. McLean, master. Sunk at mouth of Missouri in 1856.

1855–'62. A. McDowell. Edds, master. A fine side-wheel boat; she sank at Murdock's, below Washington, Mo. The A. McDowell Wm. Wilcox, then commander) was one of the three steamboats that were sent up the river to Jefferson City, a day or two before the capture of Camp Jackson (May 10, 1861), loaded with gunpowder for Confederate forces, then called "The Missouri State Guard." This powder was from the firm of Laflin-Rand Powder Company, of St. Louis, and, it has been said, was never paid for. On the arrival of the boats the powder was distributed in the country in wagons, where it was hidden away in old barns and secluded spots until the arrival of Gen. F. P. Blair and the abandonment of the capital by General Price, when the most

of it was dumped into the Missouri river, to prevent its falling into the hands of the Union forces. Just before the evacuation of the capital (June 13, 1861) the three steamboats were run across the river to Cedar City and tied up and abandoned by their officers. The writer, in whose care they were left, surrendered them to General Blair on the evening of the 15th.

1846–'49. Amelia. Built in St. Louis in 1846, by Emerson, and cost $12,000. Thomas Miller, master. A side-wheel steamer; measured 150 tons. Sunk near Glasgow, Mo., in 1849. She was owned in Jefferson City, Mo., and named for Miss Amelia Cordell, a belle of that city in her day. Captain Miller used to tell the following story illustrative of one of the peculiarities of the Indian race — their stoical indifference to danger. He said: "On one trip of the Amelia to the mountains she had on board fifteen or twenty Indians who were returning from Washington city, where they had been to visit their 'great father,' and were on their way to the upper river. They were not allowed in the cabin, nor even on the lower deck, on account of the peculiar odor that always hangs around an Indian, but were required to remain on the hurricane roof, where they could have the full benefit of the breeze. There they sat, perched over the skylight, with their red blankets wrapped around them, from morning till night, like a flock of red birds sitting on a limb. Not a word did they speak to any one, nor was a word spoken to them, as they sat there seemingly oblivious to what was going on around them. When the boat had ascended the river to about the mouth of the La Mine she caught fire one day in the hold. The cabin was at once filled with smoke and a panic ensued among the passengers, for a fire was always extremely dangerous on a steamboat. The hatches were battened down, the steam turned into the hold, and the fire soon became extinguished. In the meantime, however, as a matter of precaution, the boat was run along shore beside a dense forest and made fast to a tree. The Indians had shown no alarm during all the excitement, but no sooner had the gangplank been run out than an old chief, who seemed to be the leader, jumped up, and with a grunt of disgust, 'Ugh,' walked ashore with the others at his heels. Not a word was spoken, but they struck off through the tall timber in single file, and never looked back to see what had become of the boat. They were never heard from afterwards."

1844 Anawan. Ascended river to Platte City during flood of 1844. 4.

1835–'36. Antelope. An American Fur Company boat.

1847–'51. Anthony Wayne. Built for the lower-river trade, in 1847. Sunk at Liberty Landing, below Kansas City, March 25, 1851.

——. Anthony Wayne. Sunk near Blair, Neb. 7.

1853–'56. Arabia. Captain, John S. Shaw. A side-wheeler. Sunk below Parkville, Mo., August 10, 1856. She was said to have had a cargo of whisky on board, and an effort was made to find the wreck, but failed. Measurement, 222 tons. See, also, 7.

1868. Arabian. A stern-wheeler. Sunk near Atchison, May 4, 1868.

——. Archer. 7.

1838. Archimedes. A government snag boat on the lower river. 2.

1835–'37. Arrow. Another early boat, commanded by James McCord. Captain McCord was one of the most prominent of the early steamboat men on the Missouri. He was father of Capt. John T. McCord, of St. Louis, who was blown up on the Gold Dust.

——. A. Saltzman. Built at St. Joseph. 7.

1857–'60. Asa Wilgus. Ash Hopkins, master. A good side-wheeler. Sunk at Bates's wood-yard, below Hermann, in 1860.

1835–'40. A. S. Bennett. An early fur-company boat, named for the captain of the first Yellowstone.

1832–'35. Assiniboine. Captain, Pratt. American Fur Company boat, one of the first to go the Yellowstone. She was burned on the upper river, near Bismarck, Dak., June 1, 1835. Maximilian's Travels in North America, volume 23 of Early Western Travels, Thwaites, page 178, has this note concerning the skin, of a stag: "Unfortunately this fine skin, which, with much trouble, I got to Fort Clarke, was lost when the Assiniboine steamer was burnt, in the summer of 1834." See, also, 8 and 10.— New York *Tribune*, 1849.—The steamer Assiniboine (no doubt another boat), up to a year in the later '40's, enjoyed the distinction of having reached the highest point ever before made by a steamboat on the Missouri river. The trip made by this boat was quite a noted one in those early days, notwithstanding it proved disastrous to its owners. Unfortunately, the steamer on this trip was frozen in, and before the end of winter entirely broken up, proving a total loss.

1837–'40. Astoria. James McCord, master. An early fur-company boat. She was wrecked in Astoria chute, at the mouth of the Blue river, in 1840.

1853–'58. Australia. McMullin, master. A large side-wheeler belonging to the Lightning line. Burned at St. Louis, April 1, 1858. Built in 1853. Tonnage, 289.

1848. Balloon. John McClay, master. A lower-river, side-wheeler boat. She sunk below Augusta, Mo., in 1848.

1852–'55. Banner State. J. S. Nanson, master. A good side-wheeler in the lower river. Sunk in Brick-house bend, below St. Charles, April 11, 1855.

——. Bartram. A mountain boat. Sunk above Omaha in 1864. 7.

1849–'52. Bay State. Nanson, master. Built in 1849. A popular boat on the lower river.

1839–'40. Bedford. A side-wheel, single-engine boat on the lower river. On April 25, 1840, she struck a snag at the mouth of the Missouri, which knocked a large hole in her, and she sank in about a minute to the hurricane deck. Fourteen passengers were lost, and among them one who had in his trunk $6000 in gold. The boat was built in 1839.

1855. Bee. A boat which came from St. Louis and ran between Kansas City and Fort Riley, on the Kansas river.

1850–'52. Belle Creole. A lower-river side-wheeler. The people along the shore called her the "Owl," a corruption of "Creole" or "Creowl."

1875–'80. Belle of St. Louis. A large side-wheel St. Louis and Kansas City packet-line steamer.

1861. Bellemont. A ferry boat. Captain, Walker. Sunk opposite Charles street, St. Joseph, in midriver, in 1861. 7.

1850–'55. Ben Bolt. Ran on the lower river in the '50's. She conveyed the survivors of the wreck on the Missouri Pacific railroad, at Gasconade bridge, November 1, 1855, back to St. Louis.

1865–'69. Ben Johnson, Ben Johnson, owner. A large side-wheel boat in the St.

Louis and Omaha trade. In 1868 she sunk in Sonora chute, near Portland, Mo., but was raised, and on March 29, 1869, burned at the St. Louis wharf.

1851–'55. Ben West. A. Reeder, master. A side-wheel boat. Sunk in Augusta bend, below Washington, Mo., August 10, 1855.

1860–'64. Ben W. Lewis. A splendid lower-river passenger boat. Built by Tom Brierly, in 1860. She was driven out of the river by the railroads and finally blew up on the lower Mississippi, in 1864, and killed twenty-three people, among whom were her commander, Captain Nanson, and clerk, Jack Robinson.

1852. Bennett. A government wrecking boat. Was herself wrecked in 1852, at the mouth of the Kaw, while going to the assistance of the Dacotah, near Peru, Neb.

1869. Benton (No. 1). An upper-river boat. She was wrecked near Sioux City, May 19, 1869.

1875–'77. Benton (No. 2). Sunk near Washington, Mo. She was one of Custer's fleet in his expedition against the Sioux on the Yellowstone, in 1876.

1895. Benton (No. 3). Sunk near Glasgow, Mo. All three of the Bentons were stern-wheel boats.

1868–'72. Bertha. Struck a St. Joseph bridge pier and sank in 1872. 7.

1840–'45. Bertrand. Yore, master. Sunk in Bertrand bend, at Portage La Force, Neb.

1840–'45. Big Hatchie. A large stern-wheel boat; one of the few on the river in her day. On July 25, 1845, she exploded her boiler, near Hermann, Mo., causing the loss of many lives.

1841. Big Horn (No. 1). An early fur-company boat. Lost on the upper river.

1864–'66. Big Horn (No. 2). Sunk by ice in St. Louis in 1866.

1872–'73. Big Horn (No. 3). A stern-wheel boat built by Joe La Barge for the mountain trade in 1872. She was wrecked on Bayou Bartholomew, La., in 1873.

1882–'83. Big Horn (No. 4). Sunk on upper river, near Poplar river, May 8, 1883.

1865. Bishop. Sunk near Peru, Neb., about 1865, several people being drowned. 7.

1867. Bishop. Swamped in an eddy caused by new cut-off on the river. 2.

1860–'62. Black Hawk. Lower-river side-wheeler. Sunk near Weston, Mo., in 1862.

1850. Blue Wing. A small tramp steamer.

1853. Bluff City. Nothing known.

1834–'36. Boonslick. Named for the Boonslick settlement, opposite Boonville, Mo., the first Anglo-American settlement on the river (1810). Collided with the Missouri Belle, October 24, 1834. See Missouri Belle.

1836–'37. Boonville. Sunk in Kaw bend, above the mouth of the Kaw, in November, 1837.

1845–'46. Boreas (No. 1). Side-wheel, lower-river boat; double engines. She burned at Hermann, Mo., in 1846, while bound downstream. She had a large amount of Mexican bullion and silver dollars on board, which were lost. The boat was supposed to have been set on fire to cover up the theft of the money.

1847–'49. Boreas (No. 2). Bernard, master. Another boat of the same name. Burned at St. Louis, May 17, 1849.

1840–'42. Bowling Green. John J. Roe, master. Built in 1840. Sunk in Osage chute, December 12, 1842. The wreck can be seen to this day in low water.

1856–'57. Brazil. A side-wheeler on the lower river. See, also, "The Kansas River—its Navigation," by A. R. Greene, in this volume.

1882–'83. Bright Light. David Silver, master. A large stern-wheel boat, 250 feet long. She ran the lower river, and was wrecked June 30, 1883, on Boonville bridge.

1854. Bunker Hill. Nothing known.

——. Caliope. 7.

1862–'65. Calypso. A. S. Bryan, master. Sunk at St. Louis, by ice, December 16, 1865. She was a small side-wheeler.

1830–'33. Cambria. Nothing known.

1859. Cambridge. 12.

1839. Camden. Side-wheel boat. Sunk at Patton's point, above Washington, Mo., in 1839.

1871–'75. Capital City. She was a large side-wheel boat, and was one of the eight boats constituting the Missouri River Packet Company, which ran to Kansas City in 1872–'73. In 1872 these boats carried 53,000 tons of freight downstream and 38,000 tons up-stream.

1830–'32. Car of Commerce. Reed, master. A single-engine, side-wheel boat. Sunk at Musick's ferry, near the mouth of the river, May 6, 1832.

1850. Caraway. A small side-wheeler. Ran the lower river.

1853–'58. Carrier. W. C. Postal, master. Small side-wheel boat. Sunk in Penn's bend, above St. Charles, Mo., in 1858. Measurement, ninety-eight tons.

1840. Carroll (No. 1). Meath, master. Sunk at the mouth of Grand river in 1840. She was a stern-wheeler—one of the first on the river.

1856. Castle Garden. Nothing known.

1851–'57. Cataract. Marshall, master. Built in 1851. Large side-wheel passenger steamer in the Lightning line. She blew up in 1857 and killed fifteen people. Mrs. Miriam Davis Colt, author of "Went to Kansas," made the journey from St. Louis to Kansas City on this boat in April, 1856. See, also, 6.

1836. Chariton. Ramsey, master. A side-wheel, single-engine, one-boiler boat on the lower river, running in the trade from St. Louis to Independence, Mo. She was named for the Chariton river, at the mouth of which a town was laid out about that time, which it was then thought would be the metropolis of Missouri. The boat was ill-fated from the time she was launched. She first sunk at the mouth of the Gasconade, but was raised, and sunk the second time at Wayne City, the landing for Independence, Mo., but was again raised. On July 28, 1837, she exploded her boiler while lying at the levee in St. Louis, killing ten or twelve people; but a new boiler was put in and she again started up the river, where she finally sunk, in Euphrasie bend, below Glasgow, Mo., October 12, 1837. Her dimensions were 160 by 25 feet.

1840. Charles H. Green. Sunk at Franklin, Mo.

1832–'36. Chian. A fur-company boat. Sunk in Euphrasie bend, below Glasgow, Mo., October 12, 1836, when going down-stream with a valuable cargo of furs. Her name was a corruption of "Cheyenne."

1859. Chippewa. Captain Crabtree, owner. A light boat, chartered by the American Fur Company. 2.

1864. Chippewa Falls. This was one of the boats sent into the Yellowstone by General Sully with rations and material for a new post which

it was proposed to build on the Yellowstone near the mouth of Powder river. 2.

——. Chouteau. 7.

1851-'56. Clara (No. 1). J. Cheever, master. A side-wheel, lower-river passenger boat. Her measurement was 248 tons. Sunk by ice at St. Louis in 1856.

1858-'60. Clara (No. 2). Burk, master. A large side-wheel passenger packet belonging to the famous Lightning line. She sunk at Owsley's Landing, above Washington, Mo., May 24, 1860.

1858. Clark H. Green. Ferry-boat at Glasgow, Mo. Sunk January 28, 1858.

1853. Clipper. Nothing known except name.

1855-'57. Col. Crossman. Captain, Cheever. Large lower-river boat. Exploded at New Madrid, on the lower Mississippi, in the winter of 1857, with terrible loss of life.

1842-'44. Colonel Woods. Knox, master. Ascended river to Platte City during flood of 1844. 4.

1863-'64. Colorado. A large side-wheel steamer, on the river in 1863-'64.

1878-'80. Colossal. Burned at St. Louis wharf.

——. Colossal. Captain, Hickman. Burned at Carondelet. 7.

1847-'49. Columbia (No. 1). Lower-river boat. Built in 1847. Sunk near the mouth of the Missouri river in 1849.

1867-'69. Columbia (No. 2). Draffen, master. Sunk at Napoleon, Mo.

1868-'70. Columbian. Barnes, master. A large side-wheeler. Sunk at mouth of Grand river, Missouri, June 23, 1870.

1840-'45. Columbiana. A single-engine side-wheeler. Sunk at Lexington, Mo., 1845.

1855. Commerce. A side-wheeler. Sunk in Wolf's bend, above Sandy Hook, Mo., on her first trip up the river, in 1855.

1847-'49. Consignee. Built in 1847, and ran the lower river for a year or two.

1847-'48. Cora. Was the last boat to touch at Weston during the two years 1847 and 1848. 10.

1850-'51. Cora (No. 1). Frank Dozier, master. A lower-river, side-wheel boat. She sunk in Howard's bend, above St. Charles, in the lower river. April 17, 1851.

1860-'65. Cora (No. 2). Brewster, master. A good stern-wheel boat. After the burning of the Osage and Gasconade bridges by the Confederates, in June, 1861, she ran from Hermann to Jefferson City, and cleared $40,000 in three months. She sunk, in 1865, near Omaha. She was built by Capt. Joe Kinney, of Boonville, Mo., and named for his daughter.

1868-'69. Cora (No. 3). A side-wheel boat in the Fort Benton trade. Sunk in Bellefontaine bend, near the mouth of the river, August 13, 1869. See, also, 4.

1852-54. Cornelia (No. 1). D. C. Adams, master. A side-wheeler on the lower river in 1852-'54. See, also, 7.

1865-'73. Cornelia (No. 2). C. K. Baker, master. Large side-wheeler in the Omaha trade. Burned at New Orleans.

1860. Cornelia. Sunk by ice above St. Louis in the '60's. 7.

1840-'42. Corvette. A side-wheeler, 180 feet long. Ran the lower river. Sunk up to her hurricane roof, near Eureka Landing, below Providence, Mo., in 1842, and was a total loss.

1857-'59. Council Bluffs. Captain, Sam. Lewis. A side-wheel boat in the Council Bluffs trade. Went south in 1859.

1880-'85. C. R. Suter. Government snag boat.

1835-'40. Cumberland Valley. Sunk in the Kaw bend in 1840. The five last-mentioned boats were among the early boats in the lower river of which but little is known except their names.

1865. Cutter. 2.

1856-'59. C. W. Sombart. Sunk at the mouth of the Saline river in 1859. She carried a cargo of merchandise and a large sum of gold and silver money, which was never recovered. She now lies beneath a large farm. This boat was built by C. W. Sombart, a wealthy German miller, Capt. Henry McPherson, Capt. Joseph L. Stephens, father of ex-Gov. Lon V. Stephens, and other business men of Boonville. Captain McPherson, who commanded the boat, still lives at Boonville. She was a good side-wheel packet and ran on the lower river; never fast, but a good carrier and money-maker.

1840. Dacota. Finch, master. An early fur-company boat.

1848-'52. Dacotah (No. 1). A side-wheeler. Wrecked at Peru, Neb., in 1852.

1884. Dacotah (No. 2). A large stern-wheel freight boat in the lower-river trade. She sunk at Providence, Mo., September 17, 1884, but was raised, and went into the lower Mississippi.

——. D. A. Crawford. Sunk near Arrow Rock. 7.

1857-'64. D. A. January. M. Oldham, master. Same type of boat as the Duncan S. Carter, described below. She sunk at Chester, Ill., on the Mississippi; was raised, and converted into a hospital boat, and her name changed to Ned Tracy. She was finally wrecked on the lower Mississippi.

1876. Damsel. A circus boat. Sunk in Onawa bend, near the town of Onawa, Iowa, in 1876.

1852-'58. Dan Converse. Built in 1852. A stern-wheel boat in the lower river; she sunk near St. Joseph, Mo., November 15, 1858.

——. Daniel Boone. Made but one trip on the Missouri river, being too large. 7.

1856-'62. Daniel G. Taylor. Reeder, master. A large side-wheel boat, built for the mountain trade. Sunk July 5, 1856, near Rocheport, Mo.; was raised, and finally burned at Louisville, Ky.

1838. Dart. Cleveland, master. A side-wheel boat. Sunk below Glasgow, Mo., in 1838.

——. D. A. Russell. 7.

1887. David R. Powell. Burned on the Mississippi in 1887. 7.

1855-'60. David Tatum. A large side-wheel, lower-river boat; in 1859, she sunk near the mouth of the Gasconade, but was raised. The writer was on board when she sunk. Governor Reeder came up on this boat, May 5, 1856, in four days, from St. Louis.

1872-'78. De Smet. A side-wheeler, built for the mountain trade, by Capt. Joe La Barge, in 1872. She was named for the famous Indian missionary, Father De Smet. See St. Ange.

1850-'57. Delaware. Captain, Baker. Sunk at Smith's bar, above Atchison, Kan., in 1857. The first two locomotives that ever came up the Missouri river were on this steamer, for the west end of the H. & St. J. R. R. The boat passed the Quindaro landing on the morning of June 9, 1857. The names of the

iron steeds were "Buchanan" and "St. Joseph." Frank A. Root saw this from the upper story of the *Chindowan* office, located on the levee, a few rods from the river.

1865. Denver No. 2. Ferry-boat. Sunk by ice at Bismarck, N. Dak. 7.

1860. Dew Drop. Burned at the mouth of Osage in 1860.

——. Diadem. 7.

1834–'36. Diana. Belonged to the American Fur Company. Sunk in Diana bend, above Rocheport, Mo., October 10, 1836, with a valuable cargo of furs. Had previously sunk below Lexington.

1877. Don Cameron. Stern-wheeler. A government boat built for the Yellowstone. Sunk in the Yellowstone river, May 17, 1877.

1876–'78. Dugan, R. W. J. Kinney, master. Sunk at De Witte, Mo., October 21, 1878.

1856–'58. Duncan S. Carter. Large side-wheel boat, 221 by 33 feet, in the lower river. She sunk in Augusta bend, below Washington, Mo. John J. Ingalls came to Kansas on this boat, in October, 1858.

1878–'81. Durfee, E. H. A large stern-wheel freight boat. Sunk at the mouth of the Gasconade, from being overloaded, May 21, 1881.

1850–'52. Durock. John McCloy, master. Side-wheeler in the lower river. Sunk in St. Charles bend in 1852.

1849–'52. Eagle. Built and owned by John Chappell and J. T. Rogers. She sunk near Jefferson City, Mo., in 1852.

1855–'60. E. A. Ogden. Baldwin, master; Phil. E. Chappell, clerk. Side-wheel packet in lower river, built in 1855. Sunk in Murray's bend, above Jefferson City, Mo., on February 22, 1860. See, also, 7, 8.

——. Ebenezer. A ferry, converted into a gunboat in 1862. 7.

1862. Ed. F. Dix. St. Louis and Glasgow packet. Large side-wheeler; burned at St. Louis wharf in 1862.

1853–'59. Edinburgh. Blount, master. Built by Dan Abel in 1853. A Lightning line packet. See, also, 6, 7.

1850. Editor. Transient; nothing known.

1840–'42. Edna. Jas. McCord, master. Ran in the packet trade between St. Louis and Glasgow, Mo. Exploded at the mouth of the river, July 3, 1842, and killed about 100 people, the most of whom were German immigrants. See, also, 4.

1849. Edward Bates. This boat was built at St. Louis, in 1848, and was of 300 tons measurement. Burned at St. Louis, May 17, 1849. 2.

1863–'67. Effie Deans. A small steamboat in the Fort Benton trade. In 1864 the Effie Deans made the most remarkable voyage of which there is any record in the annals of steamboating. She left St. Louis in April and went to Fort Benton and back, a distance of 4500 miles. On her return she was sent down the Mississippi and around the Gulf, and up the Alabama river to Montgomery. She made the return voyage in the same season, and arrived at St. Louis without an accident. The distance traveled was as follows: From St. Louis to Fort Benton and back, 4500 miles; from St. Louis to the Gulf of Mexico and back, 2500; then across the Gulf to Mobile and back, 600 miles; and from Mobile to Montgomery, Ala., and back, 676 miles. The whole distance was about 8276 miles. No other steamboat ever made so long a voyage on inland waters, including a sea voyage, in one season. The Effie Deans belonged to McCune, Jaccard, and La-Barge, and burned at the St. Louis wharf in the spring of 1867.

1850–'55. El Paso. T. H. Brierly, master; John Durack, captain. Dimensions 180 by 28 feet. Went to the mountains in 1850, and reached a point 350 miles above the mouth of the Yellowstone, June 20, 1850. Sunk in the bend below Boonville, April 10, 1855. 2, 10, 11.

1837–'38. Elk. A single-engine side-wheeler. Built by the American Fur Company. She sunk at Massie's wood-yard, below Hermann, Mo., in 1838.

1850–'60. Elkhorn. Small upper-river boat in the mountain trade.

1840. Ella. An early boat; nothing known.

1849. Ella Stewart. Isaac McKee, master. An early lower-river boat. Burned at St. Louis, May 17, 1849.

1851–'55. Elvira. James Dozier, master. A side-wheel boat in the lower river. She was the first of several fine boats built by the Doziers, a noted family of steamboat men. See, also, 7.

1849. Embassy. Built in 1849; transient.

1850–'53. E. M. Clendenin. Smith, master. A fine side-wheel passenger packet, in the lower-river trade. She sunk above St. Charles in 1853.

1842. Emeline.

1858–'59. Emigrant. Capt. William Terrill, master. A Missouri river packet; large side-wheel boat. Burned at Dozier's Landing, above St. Charles, in 1859. See, also, 6, 7.

1840–'42. Emilie (No. 1). Keiser, master. Small side-wheel, single-engine boat, built for the fur trade by Pierre Chouteau and John W. Keiser in 1840, and named for Mrs. Chouteau. She sunk in Emilie bend, above Washington, Mo., in 1842.

1859–'68. Emilie (No. 2). Joseph La Barge, master. This boat was one of the most famous on the river; was 225 feet long, 32 feet beam, with a hold six feet deep, and could carry 500 tons. Was a side-wheeler, built on the most-approved lines, and was designed and built by Mr. La Barge, and set out on her first voyage on October 1, 1859. It was named for one of his daughters. The boat was run in the service of the Hannibal & St. Joseph railroad, and made trips as far up as Fort Randall. 2. See, also, 9.

1870–'74. Emilie La Barge. Joe La Barge, master. A side-wheel, upper-river boat. Sunk at Sandy Hook, Mo., June 5, 1874.

1858. Emily. Burke, master. Large lower-river boat.

1885. Emily (No. 2). A government boat; sunk at Atchison, Kan., in 1885.

1858–'62. Emma. Cheever, master. Lower-river boat. 7.

1855. Emma Harmon. A boat used in the Kansas trade. See "The Kansas River—its Navigation," by A. R. Greene, in this volume.

1849–'56. Empire State. A lower-river boat. Measurement, 303 tons.

1858–'59. E. M. Ryland. Captain Blount, master. A side-wheel boat on the lower river. See, also, 7.

1849. Endors. Burned at St. Louis, May 17, 1849. 2.

1825–'30. Enterprise. Built in 1825; nothing further known. She was one of the earliest boats on the river.

1857. Equinox. Sam. Boyce, master. Transient.

1865–'69. Estella. John P. Keiser, master.

Large lower-river, side-wheel boat. Burned at St. Louis wharf.

1835-'40. Euphrasie. Sunk in Euphrasie bend, below Glasgow, Mo., September 17, 1840. The first of several boats wrecked in this bend.

——. Eutaw. Captain, Larzalere. Built for a ferry. Failed to get a license, and was sold and taken away about 1852. 7.

1862-'69. Evening Star. Side-wheel, lower-river boat. Burned at St. Louis wharf, August 24, 1869.

1855-'56. Excel. An Osage river boat. Sunk in 1856. See, also, "The Kansas River—its Navigation," by A. R. Greene, in this volume; also, 5.

1819. Expedition. Captain, Craig. Measurement, 150 tons. She was one of the four boats constituting the Yellowstone expedition of 1819, and was the second steamboat to ascend the river as high up as the Kaw.

1850-'55. Express. Sunk near Leavenworth, June 15, 1855. The Ashland colony came to Kansas City on this boat in March, 1855. This colony was composed of about sixty persons, and they located about the mouth of McDowell creek, in Riley county. Henry J. Adams, Franklin G. Adams, Matthew Weightman, and William H. Mackey, sr., and wife, of Junction City, were in this party. See, also, 5.

1840. Falcon. Ran the lower river in 1840.

1868-'73. Fannie Barker. Captain, Hall. Sunk below Leavenworth in 1873. 7, 9.

1856-'59. Fannie Lewis. A large side-wheel packet on the lower river. Owned by parties at Glasgow, Mo., and named for the wife of Maj. James Lewis. 7.

1863-'67. Fannie Ogden. Joe Kinney and Joe La Barge, masters. A mountain boat. Burned at St. Louis wharf in 1867. 7.

1834-'36. Far West. Built at the mouth of Bonne Femme creek, below Boonville, Mo., and launched October 11, 1834. She was a typical boat of that period, and was of the following dimensions: One hundred and thirty feet long, twenty feet beam, and six feet hold. She had but one engine, and was a side-wheeler. She sunk at St. Charles, Mo., in 1836.

1876-'83. Far West. Grant Marsh, master. This was a stern-wheel boat, 190 feet by 33 feet, and belonged to Custer's expedition on the Yellowstone (1876). She brought the wounded from the Little Big Horn battle to Fort Lincoln, a distance of 920 miles, in 54 hours, a most remarkable run. She afterward ran in the lower-river trade, and sunk at Mullanphy's island, near the mouth of the river, October 20, 1883. Dodd, master.

1845-'47. Faraway. Small boat on the lower river.

1863-'66. Favorite. 2.

1836-'43. Fawn. Ran the river in the '40's.

1848. Fayaway (?). Built in St. Louis in 1848; of 102 tons measurement, 10.

1882. Fearless. A large stern-wheel boat, belonging to the Kansas City barge line. She sunk on her first trip up the river, at Bonhomme island, near the mouth of the river, August 26, 1882.

1853-'60. Felix X. Aubrey. Brierly, master. Built in 1853. A popular side-wheeler in the lower river. She sunk near Hermann, Mo., in 1860, and her machinery was taken off the wreck and placed in the Arago. Felix X. Aubrey, for whom this boat was named, in 1853 made the most celebrated horseback ride ever made on this continent. For a wager of $5000, he rode from Santa Fe to Westport (now Kansas City), Mo., a distance of 775 miles, in five days and thirteen hours. Of course, he had a relay of horses. He was a Frenchman, and a small wiry fellow. He was finally killed in a drunken brawl, in Santa Fe, by Major Wightman, who afterward commanded the celebrated Wightman's battery in the Confederate army. The boat bore on her hurricane roof, aft of the pilot-house, the figure of a man riding at full speed on horseback. See, also, 6.

1849. Financier. A tramp. Made three or four trips in 1849.

1855. Financier. See, also, "The Kansas River—its Navigation," by A. R. Greene, in this volume.

1854-'58. Fire Canoe. The Indians always called the steamboat the "fire canoe"; hence the name. She was a stern-wheel boat. Sunk near the mouth of the Kaw, November 13, 1858. Her bell was taken off the wreck and placed in the old Gillis House, in Kansas City. Measurement, 166 tons. See, also, 7.

1850-'56. Florence (No. 1). Throckmorton, master. A light-draft side-wheeler in the lower river. She first went down in Augusta bend, below Washington, Mo., in 1854, but was finally lost near Port Williams, Atchison county, Kansas, in 1856.

18 -'64. Florence (No. 2). Captain, Throckmorton. Sunk near Sumner, Kan., in 1864. 7.

1850-'58. Florilda. Smith, master. A similar boat to the Florence. 1.

1855. Forest Rose. A tramp. Made two trips in 1855.

1856. Fulton. Made three trips up the river in 1856.

1866-'67. Gallatin. 2.

1840. Gem. Sunk in lower river.

1866-'68. Gem. Captain, Beabout. Sunk near Nebraska City about 1868. 7.

1842-'43. General Brady. Hart, master. Sunk opposite Hermann, Mo., in 1843.

1845-'46. General Brooks. Throckmorton, master. An early fur-company boat.

——. General Gaines. Taken to St. Joseph for a ferry. Sunk near Elwood point about 1857. 7.

1865. General Grant. 2.

1850-'52. General Lane. Isaac McKee, master. All of the above boats, from the General Brady down, were single-engine side-wheelers, and ran the lower river.

1840-'42. General Leavenworth. White, master. Named for the government officer who established Fort Leavenworth.

——. General McNeil. Sunk above St. Charles. 7.

1892. General Meade. Sunk below St. Charles in 1892. 7.

1830. General W. H. Ashley. James Sweeney, captain. Named for the famous fur-trader. She was wrecked at Femme Osage, near St. Charles, in 1830.

1840-'45. Geneva[a] (No. 1). Sunk in lower river.

1850. Geneva (No. 2). Captain, Throckmorton. Sunk near Nebraska City. 7.

1855-'57. Genoa. Sunk near Nebraska City in 1857.

1825-'26. George Washington. One of the earliest steamboats on the river. She sunk at the mouth of the La Mine in 1826.

1840. Georgetown. Sunk in lower river.

1862-'73. Glasgow. La Moth, master. A large side-wheeler in the lower river. She was wrecked on Bayou Sara, La., February 23, 1873.

1833. Glaucus. Field, master. Nothing known.

1850–'52. Glencoe. J. Lee, master. A fine side-wheel passenger steamer. On the 3d of April, 1852, just at dusk, as the Glencoe was being moored to the levee at St. Louis, all three of her boilers exploded, with the most appalling result. The sound of the explosion was heard all over the city, and in the neighborhood of the levee the shock was so great that it was like an earthquake. The boat was crowded with people, many of whom had just come aboard, and the force of the explosion drove the wreck far out into the river. As usual in such disasters, what remained of the cabin immediately caught fire, and as the boat floated down stream many of the people were seen to throw themselves overboard to escape the flames. The fire burned fiercely and rapidly, and the spectacle was presented of people running with frenzical gestures from one side of the boat to the other seeking some means of escape from the horrible death that confronted them. Five bodies were found on the deck of the Cataract, another Missouri river boat, that lay alongside, and several on the Western World. A piece of the iron boiler was blown high up in the air and came down on the roof of a house on the levee, with such force as to break through and kill a woman who was sitting in a chair in the room below. It was never known how many lives were lost in this disaster, but the number was great.

1830. Globe. Captain Wineland, master. Made a trip for the government in 1830. 4.

1840–'44. Gloster. Williams, master. Nothing known.

1870–'75. Gold Dust. —— Gould and John T. McCord, masters. A lower Mississippi river boat which ran for a time on the lower Missouri; she finally blew up on the Mississippi, in 1875, causing great loss of life, Captain McCord being one of the victims. 7.

1866. Gold Finch. 2.

1855–'57. Golden State. Trip in spring of 1855 from St. Louis, with several hundred Mormons and their freight, bound for Salt Lake *via* Fort Leavenworth; low water, eight days' trip; many cases of cholera and deaths on board. See Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 7, p. 326. Burned at St. Louis about 1857. 7.

1867–'68. Guidon. 3.

1864–'67. G. W. Graham. Length, 249 feet; one of the largest boats ever on the upper Missouri. 2, 3.

1840–'46. Haidee. Sunk at Charbonier island, near the mouth of the river, in 1846. Percival G. Lowe, of Leavenworth, author of "Five Years a Dragoon," and ex-president of the Kansas State Historical Society, in December, 1849, started up the river on this boat, or another of the same name. The boat was frozen in at Portland, Mo., and the party of recruits had to march overland from there to Leavenworth, arriving at the fort December 25, 1849. They made a march of 300 miles, and the whole country was covered with ice and snow.— Five Years a Dragoon, p. 13.

1832–'34. Halcyon. Shepherd, master. Sunk at Charbonier island, November 14, 1834.

1830. Hancock. Succeeded the Otoe as a regular boat on the Missouri.

1844. Hannibal. Built at Elizabeth, Pa., and finished at St. Louis. Measurement, 460 tons. 10.

1850. Hannibal. Ran the lower river in the '50's.

1850. Hartford. Nothing known.

1855. Hartford. See "The Kansas River—its Navigation," by A. R. Greene, in this volume.

1862–'65. Hattie May. Hays, master. A small side-wheeler in the lower river. She burned at the St. Louis levee, December 16, 1865.

1866. Helena. 2.

1838. Heliopolis. A government snag boat on the lower river. 2.

1854–'56. Henry Lewis. A. Emerson, master. Measurement, 480 tons. Nothing further known.

1868–'69. Henry S. Turner. Pat Yore, master. Ran in the St. Louis and Kansas City Packet Company.

——. Hensley. Captain, Ford. 7.

1852–'54. Herald. Joseph S. Nanson, master. A St. Louis and Weston packet. Measment, 295 tons.

1845–'46. Herman. Tom Baker, master. Side-wheel, lower-river packet. Sunk at St. Charles, in 1846.

1857–'59. Hesperian. F. B. Kercheval, master. Built in 1857. A large side-wheel packet in the lower river. Burned at Atchison, on the east side of the river, opposite the foot of Commercial street, on a Sunday evening in 1859. After the Hannibal & St. Joe railroad was finished and opened with a monster celebration at St. Joe, February 23, 1857, this boat ran as a passenger steamer in connection with trains from St. Joe to Kansas City. On Wednesday, September 27, 1859, Hon. Anson Burlingame passed Atchison going down the river on the Hesperian to Leavenworth, where he spoke the following evening. This boat was owned by John W. Foreman, Jas. Foreman, A. B. Symns, and Captain Kercheval. Symns was clerk. These parties, excepting, possibly, Captain Kercheval, resided at Doniphan, Kan.

1855–'58. Hiawatha. Built in 1855 for the lower river, and ran in that trade for several years. She was a large side-wheel passenger steamer.

1856. Highflyer. See "The Kansas River—Its Navigation," by A. R. Greene, in this volume.

1848–'53. Highland Mary. Baldwin, master. Built at St. Louis in 1848. A splendid side-wheel boat in her day.

1853–'56. Hindoo. Ran the lower river.

1852–'53. Honduras. Lew Morris, master. Sunk near Doniphan, Kan., in 1853. Measurement, 296 tons.

1838. Howard. Sunk at Aux Vasse, near Portland, Mo., in 1838.

1866. Huntsville. 2.

1840–'42. Huntsville. Nothing known.

1842–'45. Iatan (No. 1). John W. Keiser (the father of John P. Keiser), master. She was a side-wheel boat and ran to Council Bluffs.

1858–'60. Iatan (No. 2). Eaton, master. A side-wheel boat in the lower river.

1866–'70. Ida. Large side-wheel Kansas City and St. Louis packet.

1868–'71. Ida Reese. A mountain boat. Was sunk by ice at Yankton in 1871. 7 and 9.

1867. Ida Stockdale. 2.

1819. Independence. Nelson, master. She was the first steamboat to enter the mouth of the river. She left St. Louis May 15, 1819, and went up as far as the mouth of the Chariton, whence she returned to St. Louis on June 5, 1819. She was a small single-engine, no-cabin, side-wheel boat, and exceedingly slow.

1843-'45. Ione. Ran between St. Louis and Weston. 4.

1848. Iowa. Built in St. Louis in 1848. Measurement, 455 tons. 10.

1866. Iron City. 2.

1860-'63. Isabel. A side-wheeler. Ran to Sioux City.

1858-'64. Isabella (No. 1). John P. Keiser, master. Large passenger boat in the lower river.

1869-'70. Isabella (No. 2). Dozier, master. Ran from St. Louis to Omaha.

1864. Island City. This boat was one of three sent to the Yellowstone by General Sully. It had all the forage for the animals on board, and was wrecked just below the mouth of the Yellowstone river. This occurrence caused the abandonment of a contemplated establishment on the Yellowstone at this time by General Sully. 2; see, also. 7.

1870-'64. Izetta. Simms, master. In the lower river. See, also, "The Kansas River — its Navigation," by A. R. Greene, in this volume.

——. Jacob Sass. 7.

1856-'60. James H. Lucas. Tom Brierly, master. She was one of the largest, finest, and, probably, the fastest boat ever on the Missouri river. She made the run from St. Louis to St. Joseph, a distance of 600 miles, in sixty hours and fifty-seven minutes. She was finally dismantled, and her machinery was placed in the G. W. Graham, a large Fort Benton boat. "The James H. Lucas collapsed a flue to-day (June 17) somewhere above Kansas City. The cook was killed and five persons seriously wounded. The boat is not much injured. At the time the collapse occurred there was much excitement and immense alarm on board. The women and children were taken on the hurricane deck, it is said, through the transom-light spaces. The Lucas is a good boat, and everybody is sorry for her and her kind officers."—Letter in St. Louis *Republican*, June 22, 1856, signed H. C. P. Webb Scrapbooks, vol. 13, p. 69. See, also, 7 and 11.

1848-'49. James Monroe. An old side-wheel boat. In 1849 she came up the river loaded with California emigrants. On arriving at Jefferson City, the cholera broke out among them, and the loss of life was so great that the boat was abandoned by the officers and crew, who fled from the pestilence, and, after lying there several months, the ill-fated vessel was taken back to St. Louis.

——. James Watson. Taken South in 1879. 7.

18 -'97. J. B. McPherson. A government boat. Sunk near Sioux City in 1897. 7.

1861. J. C. Swan. Large Mississippi river side-wheeler. She was one of the fleet of boats which conveyed Gen. Frank P. Blair's troops from St. Louis to Boonville, June 19, 1861.

1866. Jennie Brown. 2.

1860-'69. Jenny Lewis. A large side-wheel boat, belonging to the Miami Packet Company. Burned at the St. Louis levee, March 30, 1869. Henry McPherson commanded her at the time she was burned.

1855-'60. J. H. Dickey. Large boat in the lower river.

1857-'59. J. H. Oglesby. E. T. Herndon, master. A large side-wheeler, 225 by 35 feet. She ran in the lower-river trade, and on the 10th of October, 1859, struck a sawyer in Euphrasie bend, below Glasgow, Mo., and was lost. Capt. Edward T. Herndon was a typical Missouri river steamboat man of the olden days. Physically he was of medium size, but lithe and supple, and seemed to have a constitution of iron. He was a man of energy and nerve, and, being a strict disciplinarian, was tireless in watching every department of his boat. Captain Herndon went on the river as a clerk of the E. M. Clendenin in 1850, when twenty years old, and remained on the river as long as navigation on that stream continued. He soon "learned the river," as it was called, and became one of the most skilful pilots that ever turned a wheel. He built several of the finest boats on the river, and on these he usually served in the dual capacity of captain and pilot. On more than one occasion, when pilots could not be procured, he took a boat from St. Louis to St. Joseph and back by himself, performing the labor of three men — captain and two pilots. On these trips he stood at the wheel twenty hours out of the twenty-four, and never left the pilot-house, even for his meals, which were brought to him. He would stand a watch from daylight until midnight, and would then run into a wood-yard, and, while the boat was being "wooded up," would throw himself down on a cot in the pilot-house and snatch a few hours' sleep. He knew the river perfectly — every sand-bar, crossing, bend, chute, towhead, cut-off, snag, and wreck — and could determine the location of his boat on the darkest night from the outlines of the shore. Often has the writer stood with him at the wheel on a black, stormy night, going down stream at a speed of twenty miles an hour, when nothing could be seen, even of the shore-line, except by the flashes of lightning. After a strenuous life Captain Herndon passed away in St. Louis in 1904, almost the last survivor of the "old guard."

——. J. H. Raymond. 7.

1850-'53. J. M. Clendenin. Henry Smith, master; E. T. Herndon, clerk. A typical boat of her period. Sunk at Bates's wood-yard, below Hermann, Mo., November, 1853.

1854-'59. J. M. Converse. A large lower-river passenger steamer. It was on this boat that Governor Reeder, of Kansas, made his escape in the disguise of a wood-chopper, from Kansas City, Mo., May 24, 1856. Governor Reeder's diary, in full for the month of May, 1856, giving details from the time of his escape from Lawrence to avoid service of subpœna until his arrival at Alton, Ill., is printed in Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 3, pp. 205-223. He was secreted from Sunday morning, May 11, until Saturday, the 24th, in Kansas City, by Shaler W. Eldridge and Kersey Coates and their wives. "Life Pictures in Kansas, 1856." MS. on file with the Kansas Historical Society, in telling of the coming of James H. Carruth and family to Kansas, says that they arrived at Kansas City May 21, 1856, on the steamboat J. M. Converse. This boat was a Missouri packet. 6.

1865-'66. Joe Irwin. See "The Kansas River — its Navigation," by A. R. Greene, in this volume.

1840-'45. John Aull. Same type of boat as the John Hancock. Named for a prominent merchant of Lexington, Mo. Sunk near Arrow Rock. See, also, 7.

186-. John B. Eaton. Sunk above St. Charles, in the "big eddy," during the war. 7.

——. John Baird. Sunk below Waverly. 7.

1861. John Bell. A government boat. Sunk in Howard's bend, above St. Charles, in 1861.

1856-'58. John Campbell. A small side-wheel boat on the Kaw river.

1858-'69. John D. Perry. Davis, master. Was built at Jeffersonville, Ind., by George W. Davis, Logan D. Dameron, Moses Hillard, Phil.

E. Chappell, and others, in 1857, and ran the lower river until 1861, when she was driven into the lower Mississippi, with many other boats of her class, by the strong competition of the railroads; she continued to run in the lower river until April 4, 1869, when she burned at Duvall's Bluff, on White river. For the purpose of showing the depreciation in steamboats, it may be stated that the Perry cost $50,000. In February, 1859, she was valued at $36,000; in June, 1860, at $30,000; in March, 1862, at $20,000; and at the time she was burned, at $10,000. She was one of the best boats ever built for the Missouri river, and one of the most successful. As will be observed, she lived beyond the years allotted to the Western steamboat. Her dimensions were as follows: Length, 220 feet; beam, 33 feet; hold, 6 feet; her measurement was 382 tons, but her capacity was more than 500 tons.

1845–'46. John Golong. Throckmorton, master. Side-wheel, single-engine boat; sunk in Malta bend, above Miami, Mo., in 1846. The owner, a St. Louis man, found some difficulty in selecting a name. He had a friend named John who was in the habit of coming round every day and, in a teasing manner, suggesting names. The owner, at last becoming annoyed, said: "John, go long." The name was suggestive, and when the boat was completed she bore on her wheelhouse the name John Golong.

1840. John Hancock. Single-engine side-wheeler. Sunk in Brick-house bend, near the mouth of the river, in 1840.

1886. John L. Roach. Sunk near Frankfurt, Mo., a little German town just above Lexington, in 1886. 7.

1877. John M. Chambers. Built by Capt. Joseph La Barge, and named for the infant son of B. M. Chambers, of St. Louis. This boat was used in the latter part of the Custer campaign on the upper river to carry government supplies to Camp Buford, at the mouth of the Yellowstone, on account of its being a light-draft boat. It ascended the Yellowstone to the mouth of Tongue river. 2.

1856–'64. John Warner. A lower-river passenger boat. Went into the lower Mississippi in 1861, and was burned at Memphis during the war.

1872–'82. Joseph Kinney. George Keith, commander. A splendid side-wheel boat, 230 feet long, built by Joseph Kinney, of Boonville, Mo. She ran in the St. Louis and Kansas City trade. She was first wrecked on the Boonville bridge; the second time, she collided with the Kansas City bridge and lost a wheel overboard; and, finally, on April 13, 1882, ran into the Glasgow bridge and became a total loss. She was valued at $30,000. Captain Keith is one of the few old Missouri river boatmen left. He resides in St. Louis.

1876–1906. Josephine. This boat was on the Yellowstone for years, was well known to the army, and is the only one of the old fleet that still survives — now being used by the government as a snag boat on the upper river, in keeping it free from obstructions. 2.

1854. J. S. Chenoweth. John Johnson, master. Ran the lower river.

1854–'57. J. S. Pringle. A transient boat. Made three trips up the river in 1857. Built in 1854, at Brownsville, on Ohio river.

1847–'49. Julia (No. 1). J. M. Converse, master. A large side-wheel boat. Sunk in Bellefontaine bend, just above the mouth of the river, in 1849.

1863–'67. Julia (No. 2). John McCloy, master. A large boat in the lower river.

1836–'37. Kansas (No. 1). A side-wheel boat in the lower river. Built in 1836. Jos. La Barge was pilot. 2.

1847. Kansas (No. 2). Measurement, 276 tons. Built at St. Louis by Clark & King. 10.

——. Kansas Valley. 7. See "The Kansas River—its Navigation," by A. R. Greene, in this volume.

1847–'53. Kanzas. Henry McPherson, master. Sunk at the mouth of the Nishnabotna, April 25, 1853.

1855–'56. Kate Cassel. Made three trips on the river in 1855 and sixteen in 1856. Nothing further known.

1857–'59. Kate Howard. Joseph S. Nanson, master. Was a splendid and popular lower-river packet. She sunk in Osage chute, at the mouth of the Osage, August 11, 1859. Captain Nanson, now an old man, resides in St. Louis. His brother, also a captain, was killed on the Ben Lewis.

1865. Kate Kearney. Capt. John La Barge, master. 2.

1864–'72. Kate Kinney (No. 1). Large side-wheel boat in the "O" (Omaha) line. She burned at New Albany, Ind., in November, 1872.

1880–'83. Kate Kinney (No. 2). A large stern-wheel boat, built in 1880, burned at Shreveport, La., in 1883. These two boats, as well as the Cora (Nos. 1 and 2), Alice, and Joseph Kinney, were built by Capt. Joe Kinney, of Boonville, Mo., one of the most successful steamboat men ever on the river, and were named for his daughters and himself. His name deserves to be remembered, for he made the most persistent fight against the railroads of any one ever connected with the navigation of the Missouri river. He died on his farm opposite Boonville, Mo., a few years ago. See, also, 7.

1849–'55. Kate Swinney. P. Chouteau, master. A splendid side-wheel boat, 200 by 30 feet. She sunk in Kate Swinney bend, near the mouth of the Vermilion river (upper Missouri), on August 1, 1855, while on a trip to the mountains. Her crew started down the river overland, were followed and attacked by Indians, and killed. See "The Kansas River—its Navigation," by A. R. Greene, in this volume.

——. Keokuk. 7.

1853–'56. Keystone. Thomas I. Goddin, master. Made four trips in the lower river in 1855 and sixteen in 1856. Nothing further known. Measurement, 307 tons. Colonel Buford's party of Southern emigrants left St. Louis on this boat for Kansas, April 23, 1856. John W. Geary, the third territorial governor of Kansas, came on the Keystone, landing at Fort Leavenworth, September 9, 1856.

——. Keystone State. Burned at St. Joseph in 1849. 7.

1848–'49. Kit Carson. N. J. Eaton, master. Ran in the lower river in 1848 and 1849. Burned at St. Louis, May 17, 1849.

1857. Lacon. A small side-wheeler, built at Lacon, Ill. See "The Kansas River — its Navigation," by A. R. Greene, in this volume.

1847. Lake-of-the-Woods. Ran the river in 1847.

——. Last Chance. 7.

1858. Leavenworth. A ferry-boat. 4.

1840–'42. Lehigh. Pume, master. Nothing known. It was a small single-engine side-wheeler. No other kind of boats was built for the Missouri river during the early days of steamboating.

1842-'49. Lewis F. Linn. Named for an early United States senator. She was a popular side-wheel packet in the lower river, and was commanded by Capt. Wm. C. Jewett, who will never be forotten by those who knew him. The Linn was built in 1842, and ran the river until 1849, when she was sunk in Penn's bend, above St. Charles. In 1850 Captain Jewett lost the Rowena in the same place (see Rowena, No. 1).

1844-'46. Lexington. Ascended the river to Platte City during the flood of 1844. Sunk at Frankfurt, Mo., in 1846. See, also, 4.

——. Libby Congo. Excursion boat at Kansas City. Destroyed by cyclone.

1830-'31. Liberty. J. B. Monssett, master. Sunk in Brick-house bend, below St. Charles, Mo., October 24, 1831.

1847. Lightfoot. A transient boat. See "The Kansas River—its Navigation," by A. R. Greene, in this volume.

1866. Lillie Martin. 2.

1845. Little Mail. Sunk at Mount Vernon, Mo., below Rocheport, in 1845.

1845-'50. Little Missouri. Built by Capt. "Bob" Wright. Sunk at Frankfurt, Mo., in 1850.

1838-'40. Little Red. Price, master. Named for United States Senator David Barton, the first senator elected from Missouri, whose sobriquet was "Little Red," from the color of his hair. She sunk at Loutre island, opposite Hermann, Mo., in 1840.

1856. Lizzie. A transient boat. See "The Kansas River—its Navigation," by A. R. Greene, in this volume.

——. Lizzie. Ferry-boat at Kansas City. 5.

1864. Louisa. Will H. Wood, master. A small side-wheel boat in the lower river. She was loaded with hemp, and caught fire and was scuttled and sunk at South Point, in 1864.

1864. Louisville. Sunk above Omaha in 1864. 7.

1857. Low Water. A stern-wheeler. Sunk at Hill's Landing, below Lexington, Mo., November 27, 1857.

1866. Luella. 2.

1865-'69. Luna. A Mississippi river boat. Came into the Missouri in 1869.

1840-'42. Lynchburg. Sunk in Pitman's bend, above St. Charles, March 27, 1842.

1864. Magenta. Frank Dozier, master. A fine, large side-wheeler, lost at De Witte, Mo., May 10, 1864, on her first trip up the Missouri.

1864. Magers. Made regular trips in 1864 between Kansas City and Weston, laden chiefly with railroad iron. 4.

1862?. Maggie. Mentioned. 2.

1841-'42. Malta. Throckmorton, master. An American Fur Company boat of the usual description; that is, side wheel, single engine, etc. On August 8, 1842, when ascending the river, in Malta bend, just above Miami, Saline county, Missouri, she struck a sawyer, which tore the entire bottom out of her, and she sunk to the hurricane roof in a little over a minute. Probably no boat ever went to the bottom so quickly on the river. The town of Malta Bend, Mo., took its name from the locality.

1847-'49. Mandan. Harry Blees, master. Built in 1847, at St. Louis, by Primus Emerson. She sunk at the mouth of the Gasconade river, but was raised, and finally was lost in the great St. Louis fire of May 17, 1849.

1840-'42. Manhattan. Dohlman, master.

1860. Mansfield. A St. Joseph and Omaha packet boat. 7.

1860-'64. Marcella. Fitzgerald, master. A side-wheel boat belonging to the Lightning line; she ran in the St. Louis and Omaha trade, and in 1860 went into the lower Mississippi, as did many other boats of her class.

1847-'49. Martha. Joe La Barge, master. A mountain boat of 180 tons. Burned at St. Louis, May 17, 1849.

1852-'55. Martha Jewett. W. C. Jewett, master. One of the finest and most popular boats on the river in her day. Captain Jewett built several boats besides the Martha Jewett. Wilson Shannon, second territorial governor, arrived at Wesport Landing on the Martha Jewett, August 31, 1855. 7.

1840-'50. Mary Blane. A lower-river, single-engine boat. Burned at St. Louis. 10.

1873. Mary E. Forsyth. Sunk in the Gulf of Mexico, in 1873, while going from New Orleans to Mobile.

1870-'73. Mary McDonald. George Keith, master. A splendid lower-river, side-wheel boat. She burned near Waverly, Mo., June 12, 1873, while lying at the shore.

1838-'40. Mary Stone. Built in 1838.

1841-'45. Mary Tompkins. Beers, master. Built in 1841. A very popular boat on the lower river in her day. Advertised regular trips between St. Louis and St. Joseph. 4.

1873. Matamora. Sunk at Kinney bend in 1873. 7.

1871-'75. Mattie Belle. Lower-river short trade. A small side-wheeler.

——. Meffew. Sunk during the war. 7.

1859. Messenger. 12.

1857-'69. Meteor. Draffin, master. A lower-river passenger boat. She was built in 1857, and dismantled at St. Louis in 1869. See, also, 7.

1855-'58. M. S. Mepham. A typical passenger boat of her day. She burned at the St. Louis levee in 1858.

1866-'67. Miner. 2 and 9.

1860-'66. Mink. (See Alex Majors.) She was first called the Mink on account of her color, which was brown. She was sold and painted white, and her name changed to Alex Majors. She sunk at Grand river in 1866, but was raised and finally burned while lying at the St. Louis levee. Alex Majors was the old Santa Fe trader, of Russell, Majors & Waddell.

1857-'60. Minnehaha. Woolfolk, master. A large passenger packet in the lower river. She finally burned on the Tennessee river.

1830-'35. Missouri (No. 1). Built by James McCord. Ran the lower river.

1835-'40. Missouri (No. 2). Built by James McCord. Both of the above boats were built by James McCord, of St. Louis, a well-known steamboat man on the river in the early days.

——. Missouri (No. 3). Blew up near Evansville in 1866. 7.

1869. Missouri (No. 4). Bennett, master. A side-wheel, single-engine boat. Sunk at Fishing river, opposite Sibley, Mo., in 1869.

1880-'85. Missouri (No. 5). A boat in the employ of the government. Joseph La Barge was pilot from 1880 to 1885. 2.

1884-'88. Missouri (No. 6). An upper-river boat. She went to Fort Benton in 1888, and was the last steamboat to land at that place. She landed there September 12, 1888.

1830-'34. Missouri Belle. Built in 1830 by Captain Littleton. She was the first boat to introduce the steam-whistle on the Missouri river. It was customary in the days of steamboating on the Missouri river for the boats to

retire from the river late in the season, when the water became low, and seek other trades in the lower Mississippi and its southern tributaries. In the fall of 1834 the Missouri Belle and Boonslick, both Missouri river packets, went into the Mississippi. On October 24 the Missouri Belle left New Orleans, bound for St. Louis. When fifteen miles up the river she collided with the Boonslick, which was bound down-stream. The latter sustained but little damage, but the Missouri Belle was so injured that she sunk, and, as the water was very deep, she went down to her hurricane roof. The Boonslick rounded too, and steered for the wreck, none of which however remained above water except a part of the roof. To this the surviving passengers were clinging, and a line was thrown to them and they were taken off in the yawl. There were about 130 persons on board, 30 of whom were drowned. See, also, 1.

1858. Missouri Mail. A side-wheel boat. Sunk above Atchison in 1858.

1880–'84. Mittie Stephens. Henry McPherson, master. Named for the daughter of Capt. J. L. Stephens, of Boonville, Mo., now Mrs. Abiel Leonard, of Marshall, Mo. Capsized and sunk near Boonville in 1881, and afterwards raised. She was finally wrecked at Sibley, Mo., August 7, 1884. After leaving the south shore and entering the chute at Sibley, and while crowding an upper reef and headed for the bight of the bend, she ran away from the reef, took a sheer on the pilot, and ran into a nest of snags; a large sawyer struck her amidship, causing her to make water rapidly, and she went down in less than five minutes. There were several lives lost.

1840. Mobile. Sunk in Mobile chute, at the mouth of the river, in 1840. But little is known of this boat except the name, and the fact that she ran the lower river in the '40's.

——. Mollie Abel. Sunk near Rocheport. 7.

1865–'66. Mollie Dozier. Fred Dozier, master. A side-wheeler, 225 feet by 34 feet. Was sunk at Berry's Landing in 1865. After being raised she sunk again in Chamois chute, below the mouth of the Osage, October 1, 1866. The name of this boat appears in a list of steamboat arrivals at Fort Benton, June 1, 1866, published by the historical society of Montana, vol. 1, 1876, page 318. 7.

——. Mollie Moore. 7.

——. Monsoon. 7.

1862–'65. Montana (No. 1). A large side-wheel boat, built by Joseph W. Throckmorton. Sunk by ice at St. Louis, December 16, 1865.

1879–'84. Montana (No. 2). George Keith, master. A large stern-wheeler. Wrecked on the St. Charles bridge, June 22, 1884.

——. Montauk. 7.

1856–'59. Morning Star. A lower-river passenger packet. She was 227 by 34 feet, and was built by Tom Brierly at a cost of $45,000. She burned at Bissell's point, on the Mississippi, near St. Louis. See "The Kansas River—its Navigation," by A. R. Greene, in this volume.

1848. Mountaineer (No. 1). J. R. Spriggs, master. A lower-river boat in the '40's.

1866–'73. Mountaineer (No. 2). A large side-wheeler, built at a cost of $51,000. She belonged to the Missouri River Packet Company, and ran to Omaha.

——. M. S. Mepham.

1835. Mustang. Sunk in the lower river in 1835.

1840. Naomi. James McCord, master. A side-wheel boat. She sunk at the mouth of Grand river in 1840, and her wreck, which lies buried in the sand, is now five miles from the present channel of the river.

1855. Ne Plus Ultra. A tramp steamer. In the spring of 1849 Charles Robinson and party traveled on a boat of this name from Pittsburg to Kansas City on their way to California.

1854–'58. Nebraska. An upper-river boat, built in 1854.

1869. Nebraska City. Captain, Blackiston. A ferry-boat. Sunk above Amazonia in 1869. 7.

——. Ned Tracy. Used as a hospital boat during the war. 7.

1864. Nellie Rogers. 2.

1866. Nevada. Burned at St. Louis. 2.

1854–'55. New Georgetown. A government boat in the Fort Leavenworth trade. She sunk in Bellefontaine bend, near the mouth of the river, May 11, 1855, when on a trip to Fort Leavenworth loaded with government stores.

——. New Haven. 7.

1852–'57. New Lucy. H. Johnson, master. A large lower-river packet. Burned opposite the town of De Witte, Mo., November 25, 1857. Tonnage, 417. Robert J. Walker, territorial governor of Kansas, came up the river on the New Lucy. The boat reached Quindaro late on Sunday afternoon, May 24, 1857, and tied up a few minutes at the landing. It was soon noised around that the new governor was on the boat, and the crowd of citizens waiting at the landing at once called for Governor Walker. The governor appeared on the upper deck and made a brief speech, his first address to a Kansas audience. Hon. Henry Wilson, senator from Massachusetts, was also a passenger on the same boat, and stopped off at the Quindaro House, where he stayed all night, and on Monday morning, from the steps of the hotel, made his first Kansas speech to a Quindaro audience. Frank A. Root, of Topeka, one of the Kansas pioneers, and then residing at Quindaro, saw both parties and heard both speeches. The New Lucy was one of the Lightning line passenger steamers running in connection with the fast trains of the Missouri Pacific road from Jefferson City to Weston, in the spring of 1857.

1855–'57. New Monongahela. Ran the lower river.

1852–'57. New St. Paul. Bissell, master. A similar boat to the New Lucy, but smaller. She sunk at St. Aubert, August 19, 1857. Tonnage, 225.

——. Nile.

1840–'44. Nimrod. Captain, Dennis. A fur-company boat. She made a trip to the mouth of the Yellowstone in 1844.

1856. N. J. Eaton. Joseph S. Nanson, master. Sunk in Augusta bend, below Washington, Mo., April 9, 1856, when on her maiden trip up the river. She was a new side-wheel, lower-river boat.

——. N. J. Hultz. Wrecked in the lower river.

1840–'44. Nodaway. John J. Roe, master. An early side-wheel boat, 145 by 24 feet. She was wrecked at the mouth of the Aux Vasse in 1844. Captain Roe afterwards became a wealthy pork-packer, of St. Louis.

1847. North Carolina. Built in 1847, and ran the lower river.

1859. Northerner. 12.

1867. Nymph. Blew up at Nemaha bar. Was repaired, and sunk at Sibley. 7.

1836–'43. Oceana. Miller, master. An American Fur Company boat. Father De Smet came up the river from St. Louis to Westport on this

boat in seven days, starting April 30, 1841. 3; 8, p. 1002; 13, v. 27, p. 194.

1834. O'Connell. An early lower-river boat.

1866-'68. Octavia. Captain, La Barge. One of a new line of steamers running between St. Louis and Weston. Sold to the government. Was wrecked. See, also, 4 and 7.

1850. Oddfellow. A stern-wheeler. Sunk near Weston, Mo., August, 1850.

——. Ogden. 6.

1856-'58. Omaha. Joseph B. Holland, master. A side-wheel boat in the Omaha trade. Frank A. Root came up the river on this boat on his second trip to Kansas, in the fall of 1858. Chester Thomas, jr., was also a passenger. The boat was snagged one night on the trip and delayed several hours while the necessary repairs were being made. The boat was frequently stuck on sand-bars. Mr. Root paid fifteen dollars passage from St. Louis to Doniphan, and was nine days on the boat.

1843-'44. Omega. Joseph A. Sire, master; Joseph La Barge, pilot. In the fur trade. A mountain boat. John James Audubon and party went up the river in this boat in the spring of 1843. For log-book of this trip, see History of the American Fur Trade, Chittenden, vol. 3, p. 985; also, 2, p. 141.

1863-'65. Ontario. Of 450 tons burden. Sunk near Nebraska City, 1865. 7. Father De Smet gives a complete description of this boat in his Life and Travels, Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 3, p. 846.

1845-'48. Osage. Wrecked at Bonhomme island, on the lower river, 1848.

1840-'42. Osage Valley. Young, master. In lower-river trade.

1857-'58. Otis Webb. A side-wheeler, of 100 tons. See "The Kansas River—its Navigation," by A. R. Greene, in this volume.

1830-'33. Otoe. James B. Hill, captain. Boat was in service of Sublette & Campbell, who were competitors of the American Fur Company. Was the first regular boat on the Missouri. 2, 4.

1841-'43. Otter. James Hill, master. An American Fur Company boat. This boat ran to Fort Union, at the mouth of the Yellowstone.

——. Paragon. 7.

1851-'53. Patrick Henry. D. C. Adams, master. An early side-wheel boat.

1848-'56. Paul Jones. J. B. Dales, master. Built in 1848. First sunk below Independence Landing, raised, and finally wrecked at St. Louis by the ice, February 27, 1856. 7.

1858-'65. Peerless. Bissell, master. A splendid passenger steamer on the lower river, belonging to the Missouri River Packet Company. She finally burned on the lower Mississippi.

1879. Peerless (No. 2). A towboat. Was sunk near St. Charles in 1879. 7.

1848. Pekin. Built in St. Louis in 1848. Measurement, 108 tons. 10.

——. Peoria. Captain, David Silvers. Burned on the Mississippi river. 7.

——. Peoria City.

1866-'69. Peter Balen. A large stern-wheel boat in the mountain trade. She went to Fort Benton in 1866 and cleared $80,000 on the trip, being the most profitable trip ever made on the Missouri river. She caught fire and burned at Dauphin rapids, Mont., July 22, 1869. The Peter Balen was an old tub, and had come into the Missouri river from the Ohio during the flush times on the upper river. She was not valued at more than $15,000, but during the time she was in the Fort Benton trade paid for herself several times over. Besides having made the most profitable trip on the river, she bears the distinction of having ascended the river to a higher point than any other steamboat. On June 16, 1866, she went to the mouth of Belt river, six miles below Great Falls, and thirty miles above Fort Benton, Mont.

1877-'86. Phil. E. Chappell. J. A. Ware, master. Built at Grafton, Ill., in 1877. She ran the lower river until 1883, when she was converted into a cotton boat and taken into the Red river, where she burned in 1886.

1840-'42. Pirate. A fur-company boat. Wrecked at Bellevue, Neb., 1842. 8, p. 988.

1838-'42. Platte. Hughes, master. A mountain boat, but ran the lower river. She sunk about thirty miles below St. Louis, while on her way to Bayou La Fourche, La.

1858-'65. Platte Valley. W. C. Postal, master. Went into the St. Louis and Memphis Packet Company in 1860, and burned in Red river in 1865. She was one of the finest boats ever on the Missouri river. In the spring of 1859 she ran between St. Joseph and Kansas City as a passenger boat for the Hannibal & St. Joe railroad. Captain Postal now lives in Charlotte, N. C. A boat of this name, Captain Throckmorton, master, was used as a government transport during the war. 7.

1880. Plattsmouth. Captain Davis, master. A small steamer, with which her captain proposed to make regular visits to Platte City. 4.

1848-'53. Plow Boy (No. 1). Built by Isaac McKee, in 1848. She was a side-wheel boat, 165 by 32 feet, and cost $19,000. She sunk at Sandy Hook, above Jefferson City, Mo., 1853, and the people started the village by building the first house out of the cabin.

1875-'77. Plow Boy (No. 2). A small stern-wheel boat. She sunk at Arrow Rock, Mo., July 7, 1877.

1887. Plow Boy (No. 3). Another stern-wheel boat by the same name. She was wrecked near the mouth of Grand river, April 10, 1887.

1835-'40. Pocahontas (No. 1). McCord, master. Sunk in Pocahontas bend, near Rock Bluff, Mo., on the lower river, in 1840.

——. Pocahontas (No. 2). Sunk above Sioux City in the '60's. 7.

1865-'66. Pocahontas (No. 3). A side-wheeler, 180 by 32 feet. She was in the Fort Benton trade, and sunk at Pocahontas island, near the mouth of the Platte, on the upper river, August 10, 1866. There was a Pocahontas bend and a Pocahontas island.

1852-'58. Polar Star. Conley, master. She was built in 1852 by Tom Brierly, and was one of the finest and most popular boats ever on the Missouri river. She was also exceedingly fast, and in 1853 made the run from St. Louis to St. Joseph (600 miles) in sixty hours, the fastest time ever made on the river. See, also, 7 and 11. Thos. H. Webb, secretary of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, closes a letter, dated Boston, September 18, 1854, as follows: "In closing I would state the singular and significant coincidence that our pioneer party of New Englanders crossed Lake Erie in the Mayflower, and went up the Missouri river in the Polar Star." — 141, book 1. In April, 1855, a native of Bucks county, Pennsylvania, 104 years of age, made the trip on this boat to settle in Kansas with a number of descendants. August Bondi, of Salina, came to Kansas on the Polar Star, March 26, 1855. He was a revolutionist in Vienna, Austria, in 1848, and before coming to Kansas stopped at

St. Louis a few years, where he aided Thos. H. Benton and Frank P. Blair. He soldiered with John Brown in Kansas. Dr. Rufus Gillpatrick, a noted free-soil pioneer and fighter in the neighborhood of Osawatomie, came to Kansas with Bondi on this boat. Pardee Butler made his way out of the territory on the Polar Star after his shipment from Atchison on a raft. He took the boat at Weston about the middle of August, 1855, and met B. Gratz Brown, who came on at Jefferson City. Ex-Senator John Martin, of Topeka, came to Kansas on this boat in March, 1855.

1850-'52. Pontiac. Thomas Baker, master. Sunk near Doniphan, Kan., April 10, 1852. Is said to have had a large cargo of whisky on board. 7.

1861. Portsmouth. Sunk below Weston in 1861. 7.

1865-'70. Post Boy. A side-wheeler. She ran from St. Louis to Omaha, and belonged to the Missouri River Packet Company. See, also, 7.

——. Powhattan.

——. Prairie Rose. 7.

——. Prairie State. 7.

1840. Preemption. Harris, master. Nothing known.

——. Princess. Sunk on the lower Mississippi. 7.

1866-'75. P. T. Miller. Ferry-boat at Jefferson City, Mo. Sunk by ice.

1846. Radnor. J. T. Douglas, master. A side-wheeler. Sunk above the mouth of the La Mine in 1846. She was bound to Fort Leavenworth, loaded with government stores. Rev. Jas. Wheeler left the Wyandot nation in this boat, May 5, 1846.

1858-'59. Raymond. On the lower river in the '50's.

——. Red Cloud. Captain, Ben Howard. Sunk at the mouth of Milk river, 1868. 7.

1836-'39. Rhine. James McCord, master. She was a small side-wheel, single-engine boat, 125 feet long and 21 feet beam. She ran from St. Louis to Weston and Iatan.

1864-'68. R. J. Lockwood. A large side-wheeler on the lower river. She exploded near Cairo, Ill., in 1868.

1840-'45. R. M. Bishop. Wrecked on the lower river.

1819. R. M. Johnson. Captain, Colfax. One of Col. Henry Atkinson's Yellowstone fleet. She came up the river in 1819 as far as Cow island, below Atchison, where she wintered, and returned to St. Louis in the spring of 1820.

1849-'56. Robert Campbell (No. 1). Wm. Edds, master. A large side-wheeler, named for Col. Robert Campbell, the noted fur trader, of St. Louis.

1863-'70. Robert Campbell (No. 2). La Barge, master. A stern-wheel, mountain boat. Burned at St. Louis.

1882-'83. Robert Campbell (No. 3). Another stern-wheel boat in the upper-river trade. She burned at the St. Louis levee, October 15, 1883.

——. Robert Emmet. Sunk near Portland. 7.

1835-'42. Roebuck. Miller, master. In the lower river.

1847-'50. Rowena (No. 1). W. C. Jewett, master. Two hundred and thirty tons measurement. Built for St. Louis trade. A fine and popular lower-river packet. She sunk in Penn's bend, above St. Charles, March 14, 1850. 10. Capt. William C. Jewett was the most popular steamboat commander ever on the Missouri river. He was a dapper little fellow, exceedingly handsome, and always dressed in the height of fashion. He was a universal favorite among the shippers, and, being a bachelor and a great gallant, was especially popular with the ladies. His cabin was always full of passengers and the deck of his boat loaded to the guards with freight. Captain Jewett built and commanded several of the finest boats on the river, among which, besides the Rowena, were the Lewis F. Linn and the Martha Jewett. He died in St. Louis with the cholera in 1855. 8.

1858-'59. Rowena (No. 2). John T. Dozier, master. Another fine side-wheel boat on the lower river. She was named for Miss Rowena Dozier, now Mrs. Caswell Mason, of St. Louis. Captain Mason was blown up and killed on the Sultana, of which he was master, near Vicksburg, Miss, in 1865. This was the most terrible marine disaster in the world's history; there were over 1500 lives lost.

1897. Roy Lynds. Ferry-boat. Sunk at Lexington, Mo., February 5, 1897.

1855-'58. Rubicon. A stern-wheel circus boat. She had on her the first steam calliope that came up the river.

1855. Rudolph. Ran the lower river in 1855.

1859. Ryland, E. M. See, also, 12.

1848-'49. Sacramento. Robert Beckers, master. A side-wheeler. Sunk at the mouth of the La Mine in 1849. On April 21, 1849, this boat arrived at St. Joseph with cholera on board, having had one death in her journey up the river.—U. S. Report Cholera Epidemic of 1873, p. 617. See, also, 6.

1849-'53. St. Ange. Joe La Barge, master. This boat was "built entirely complete upon the ways." The following item regarding her trip of 1850 is copied from the St. Louis *Republic*, July 20, 1850: "The Quickest Trip on Record.—The fine steamer St. Ange landed at the wharf yesterday, only ten days from Fort Union, at the mouth of the Yellowstone. . . . The St. Ange left the mouth of the Yellowstone, or Fort Union, on the 9th inst. The river was then swelling slightly from recent heavy rains, with a fair stage of water all the way down. . . . The boat left this city on the 13th of June. She reached the place of her destination on the 8th of July. Started to return the 9th, and reached this city about one P. M. yesterday, making the run in thirty-six days, being the quickest voyage ever made going or returning, and the entire trip in nearly twenty days' less time than it was ever performed before." She went again to the Yellowstone in 1851, and afterward ran the lower river. On this last trip to the mouth of the Yellowstone, she had on board about 100 passengers, among whom were two distinguished Jesuit missionaries—Father Christian Hoecken and Father De Smet. The cholera broke out after the boat had gotten above St. Joseph, and among the many who fell victims to the scourge was Father Hoecken, June 19, 1851. It was determined that his body should be taken back to St. Louis, instead of being buried in the wilderness, and a rough coffin was constructed in the following manner: A cottonwood log was split in twain, and each half was hollowed out in the shape of a trough; within the cavity the body was deposited, and the seams of the log were caulked with pitch and oakum, so as to render it airtight; the stick of timber was then squared and stripped with hoop-iron, and thus interred on the bank of the river, at the mouth of the Little Sioux. On the return of the boat from the mountains, shortly afterward, the unique casket was exhumed, taken to St. Louis, and delivered to the Jesuit fathers, by whom it was given proper sepulcher. This boat was named

for Louis St. Ange de Bellerive, the French officer who accompanied Bourgmont in Kansas in 1724. He was long in the service of the French government, and in 1765 surrendered Fort Chartres to the British, and transferred the French capital to St. Louis, Mo., where he remained in authority until 1770. Here he died, at the home of Madam Chouteau, December 27, 1774, aged 73 years.— Magazine of Western History, vol. 2, p. 60. 2, 3.

1838-'40. St. Anthony (No. 1). A fur-company boat. Went to the Yellowstone in 1838 and 1840.

1849-'51. St. Anthony (No. 2). Gunsaulus, master. She sunk near St. Charles, Mo., March 25, 1851. Both of the St. Anthonys were small side-wheelers.

1835-'36. St. Charles. An early lower-river packet She burned opposite Lexington, Mo., July 2, 1836.

1840. St. Croix (No. 1). Ran the lower river in the '40's.

1844. St Croix (No. 2). Built by Murray, of St. Louis, in 1844. Cost $15,000, and was of 150 tons measurement. 1.

1866. St. John. 2.

1847-'50. St. Joseph (No. 1). William Baker, master. An upper-river boat.

1860-'62. St. Joseph (No. 2). An Omaha packet.

1847. St. Louis Oak. James Dozier, master. A small side-wheel boat. She sunk in Howard's bend, near the mouth of the river, in 1847. She was the first of many steamboats built and owned by the Dozier family, of which James Dozier was the father.

1866-'75. St. Luke. Joe Kinney, master. A large side-wheeler belonging to the Star line, in the lower river. Sunk at St. Charles bridge, May 2, 1875. Nine lives lost.

1854-'58. St. Mary. La Barge, master. Side-wheel mountain boat. Sunk at Haney's Landing, at the mouth of Big Tarkio, below Nebraska City, September 4, 1858, when bound for Fort Union, at the mouth of the Yellowstone.

1852. St. Paul.[3] J. L. Bissell, master. Sunk at Wayne City, the landing for Independence, Mo., in 1852.

1837-'38. St. Peters. Chouteau, master. An American Fur Company's boat. It was this boat that communicated the smallpox to the upper-river tribes in 1837, which caused the loss of half their number.

1858. Sallie West. A Hannibal & St. Joe railroad boat. Sunk at Kickapoo, Kan., in 1859. See, also, 7.

1846-'52. Saluda. A double-engine, two-boiler, side-wheel boat, built at one of the Ohio boat-yards in 1846, and finished in St. Louis. Measured 233 tons. She exploded at Lexington, Mo., April 9, 1852, and killed more than 100 people. It was the most fatal accident that ever occurred on the Missouri river. See, also, 1.

1851-'56. Sam Cloon. John McCloy, master. Sunk at St. Louis levee by ice in 1856. Measurement, 300 tons.

1853-'68. Sam Gaty. Frank Dozier, master. Built in 1853; she was captured in 1864 by guerrillas near Sibley, Mo., and several passengers were killed. She finally, after a checkered career, burned near Arrow Rock, Mo., June 20, 1868. In April, 1861, at Leavenworth, this boat hoisted the Confederate flag, but was compelled to lower it and raise the stars and stripes. 4.

1857. Sam Kirkman. A stern-wheel tramp.

1847-'49. San Francisco. Mortimer Kennett, master. She was one of the twenty-three boats burned at the St. Louis wharf in the great fire of May 17, 1849. This was the most destructive conflagration that has ever occurred west of the Alleghanies, except the fire in Chicago in 1871. The fire broke out about ten o'clock P. M. on the levee at the corner of Locust street, and soon spread over many blocks along the now river front, destroying property to the value of $5,000,000. During the night the conflagration extended to the steamboats moored at the levee, first being communicated to the White Cloud, a large New Orleans packet. Among the twenty-three boats burned were eight Missouri river steamers. Besides the San Francisco, the list includes the Alice, Boreas (No. 3), Ella Stewart, Kit Carson, Mandan, Martha, and Timour (No. 1).

1880-'82. Sandy. Henry McPherson, master. A small boat, in the lower trade.

1853. Saranac (No. 1). Dismantled in 1853.

1853-'55. Saranac (No. 2). Burned at St. Louis in 1855.

——. S. C. Pomeroy. Ferry-boat at Kansas City.

1840-'42. Shawnee. Clifford, master. A fur-trade boat.

1869-'72. S. H. Long. A snag boat, which, in July, 1869, tried to open the channel of the Missouri river opposite Weston, but effected nothing. 4.

1828. Shoal Water. One of the earliest boats on the river. She sunk in Brick-house bend, near the mouth of the river, in 1828.

1853-'57. Silver Heels. Captain, Barrows. A beautiful side-wheel boat in the lower river, but she was an unfortunate investment for her owners. See, also, 6 and 7.

1856. Silver Wave. McMullin, master. Nothing further known.

1858-'63. Sioux City (No. 1). C. K. Baker, master. A large side-wheel boat in the lower river.

1872-'73. Sioux City (No. 2). C. K. Baker, master. Side-wheel boat, 160 by 30 feet. She was in the mountain trade, and sunk by being cut down by ice at Fort Sully, S. Dak., March 19, 1873. Captain Baker died in Kansas City in 1890.

1855-'58. Skylark. Robert Sousley, master. A passenger packet in the lower trade; went into the lower Mississippi. Captain Sousley died in Nebraska City several years ago.

1851-'56. Sonora. Terrill, master. A side-wheel boat. Sunk near Portland, Mo., February 26, 1856, in Sonora chute.

1858-'65. Southwester (No. 1). De Haven, master. A fine side-wheeler. Sunk at Cairo by ice in February, 1865. Owned at Boonville, Mo

1868-'69. Southwester (No. 2). Leavenworth, master. Ran in the upper-river trade.

1855-'63. Sovereign. A large side-wheel passenger packet in the lower river. She was driven out of the Missouri river by competition of the railroads in 1860, and went into the lower Mississippi, and was one of the twenty-three steamboats taken up the Yazoo and burned by the Confederates after the fall of

NOTE 3.— Many of the early steamboat men on the upper Missouri were French Catholics; hence we find the names of their patron saints given to their boats.

Vicksburg. (See Alonzo Child.) Robert E. Ballard, still living in Allegheny county, Pennsylvania, was second engineer on the Sovereign, in 1859, when she ran on the Missouri between St. Louis and St. Joseph. Mr. Ballard served over forty years on the Ohio and the lower Mississippi. 7.

——. Spangler. Sunk at Berry's Landing in 1865. 7.

1857–'63. Spread Eagle (No. 1). Chas. P. Chouteau, master. Sunk at Bates's woodyard, above Washington, Mo., in 1863. 2.

1862–'65. Spread Eagle (No. 2). Captain, Ben Johnson. Painted on either side of the wheelhouse was a large eagle and the words "*E Pluribus Unum.*" On being asked the meaning of the phrase, the captain replied: "Every tub must stand upon its own bottom." 7.

1854–'58. Star of the West. Parkinson, master. A Missouri river packet. Ran the lower river in 1858. Was a large side-wheel boat. She landed at Kansas City April 12, 1856, with 100 emigrants from Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, and Kentucky. From the following quotation, her guests on the next trip were of a different political complexion: "The Star of the West, as we learn from the Edinburgh, is having trouble with her passengers. When the Edinburgh passed down, the boat was lying at Weston with the whole crowd on board, and with no prospect of landing them at any point. The passengers on board, it is known, are abolitionists, and, after having had their arms taken from them at Lexington, the boat proceeded to Weston, but on her arrival there the inhabitants of the town and surrounding country refused to allow them to come on shore; and the only alternative now left is for the boat to bring them back and land them where she got them, which we learn will be done."—St. Louis *Intelligencer*, June 28, 1856; Webb Scrap-books, vol. 13, p. 211. Capt. William H. Parkinson was born in Pennsylvania in 1814, and was in command of a steamboat on the Ohio river at the age of eighteen. In 1842 he came on the Missouri river and became a pilot, captain, and owner. He continued on the Missouri until 1858, when he retired and removed to Colorado. In November of that year he assisted in laying out the city of Denver, where he lived for several years. In 1864 he removed to Boulder, Mont., and passed away on August 12, 1892.

1888–'89. State of Missouri; State of Kansas. These twin-sister boats, with the A. L. Mason, constituted the Kansas City Packet Company. They were the last boats built for the Missouri, in the vain attempt to compete with the railroads, and having failed on the Missouri river they were taken into the lower Mississippi, where they were all lost. The State of Missouri was burned on the Ohio. The capital stock of this company was $133,000, every dollar of which was lost.

1880–'90. Statie Fisher. Built and owned by Jefferson City Ferry Company, Phil. E. Chappell, president; Joseph Fisher, secretary. Sunk by ice in 1890.

1854. Stella Blanch. Ran the river in 1854.

1865–'69. Stonewall. McKinney, master. A large side-wheel, lower Mississippi boat which came into the Missouri. On October 29, 1869, she exploded her boilers near Ste. Genevieve, on the Mississippi, causing the loss of 125 lives. Among those lost on the Stonewall were many laborers *en route* from St. Louis to New Orleans to work on the sugar plantations of Louisiana, who were deck passengers. When their bodies were recovered, as they were when they came to the surface, several thousands of dollars were found. As there was no way to identify their bodies or to find out who their friends were, the money was paid into the state treasury of Missouri, as directed by the law. For several years it was carried on the books of the treasurer in an account called "victims of the Stonewall disaster," but, never having been claimed, was finally carried to the general school fund of the state by the writer, when, in 1881, he became state treasurer. See, also, 7.

1882. Sully. Sunk above St. Charles in 1882. 7.

1854–'57. Sultan. Large lower-river boat. Sunk in Sultan bend, above Amazonia, Mo., in 1857. See, also, 7.

1866–'67. Sunset. Sunk near Omaha in 1867. 7, 9.

1872–'73. Susie Silver. David Silver, master. A lower-river boat.

——. Sutton. Sunk in the Missouri river. 7.

1866. Tacony. 2.

1830–'40. Talleyrand. A lower-river packet.

1846. Tamerlane. A boat of this name, of 125 tons measurement, was built at St. Louis, by Miller, in 1846, and cost $12,000. 10.

1848. Tamerlane. Measurement, 220 tons. Sunk at Wakenda, near Carrollton, Mo., in 1848.

1837. Tempest (No. 1). Ran the river in 1837.

1865. Tempest (No. 2). A side-wheel boat on the upper river. Sunk at Bonhomme island, South Dakota, in 1865. There was another Bonhomme island near the mouth of the river. Both were dangerous localities.

1840–'42. Thames. Dennis, master. A side-wheeler.

1855–'64. Thomas E. Tutt. John Dozier, master. A large lower-river packet, named for Thomas E. Tutt, the banker, of St. Louis.

1819. Thomas Jefferson. Orfurt, master. One of Colonel Atkinson's Yellowstone fleet. She sunk at the mouth of the Osage, in coming up, in July, 1819, being the first boat wrecked on the Missouri river.

1869–'77. Thomas Stevens. Sunk in Osage chute, at the mouth of Osage river. Ran to Fort Benton. See, also, 7, 9.

1868. Tidy Adula. Captain, Blackiston. Ferry-boat. Sunk at Elwood point in 1868.

1847–'49. Timour (No. 1). Burned at St. Louis, May 17, 1849, in the great fire.

1850–'54. Timour (No. 2). Ed Dix, master. She exploded just below Jefferson City, August 26, 1854, causing the loss of many lives. The timbers of her hull can yet be seen in low water. The writer, as a barefooted boy, was an eye-witness to the explosion of the Timour. It was on Saturday, about two P. M., that I was standing on the levee at Jefferson City, waiting to be crossed over the river to my home, which was on the opposite shore. My eyes were resting on the boat—watching her as she was ascending the river—when there came a loud report as of a tremendous blast, and the boat was enveloped in a great cloud of steam and smoke. In a moment the cloud had blown away, but, alas! the boat had disappeared. The ferryman and I at once realized what had occurred, and, jumping into a skiff, rowed as rapidly as possible to the wreck, which was about three miles distant. We were the first to arrive, and what a horrible scene met our gaze. All of the boilers of the boat—three in number—had exploded simultaneously, wrecking the entire forward part of the boat, and causing the hull to sink aft of the forecastle. The shrieks and groans of the

dying, and their piteous appeals that they be put immediately out of existence, to end their sufferings, were heartrending, and resound in my ears to this day, although more than a half-century has passed. Many lives were lost—how many was never known, as many bodies were blown into the river and never recovered. Those still alive were so badly scalded as to have but little resemblance to human beings. Among the dead were Captain Dix and his brother Charles, and Charles Eckler, the clerk. The wounded were removed to Jefferson City, where many of them died.

1857. T. L. Crawford. Sunk near Boonville in 1857.

1857–'70. T. L. McGill. A large lower-river freight boat. She brought the first locomotive for the Missouri Pacific railroad to Kansas City. Burned in Shoo Fly bend, with great loss of life. See, also, 7.

1841–'46. Tobacco Plant. James Patrick, master. Built in 1841. She was a famous boat on the lower river in her day. The puffing from her escape-pipes could be heard for several miles down the river before she came in sight.

——. Tompkins. 7.

1837–'43. Trapper. P. Chouteau, master. Belonged to the American Fur Company. A boat by this name is mentioned on the river in the log of the steamer Omega in 1843.—Chittenden's American Fur Trade, pp. 995, 1001; La Barge, p. 149.

1832–'33. Trenton. A fur-company boat. Sunk above St. Charles, April 3, 1833.

1845. Tributary. Last boat to touch at Weston in 1845. 10.

1843. Troja. 8.

1853–'57. Tropic. Joe S. Nanson, master. A Lightning line packet. Sunk at Waverly, Mo., October 14, 1857. Several lives lost.

1867. Trover. Wrecked 240 miles below Fort Benton. 2.

1819. Tuscumbia. 2.

1860–'65. Twilight. J. P. McKinney, master. A lower-river, side-wheel boat, 180 by 32 feet. She sunk near Napoleon, Mo., in September, 1865. Twenty years after she sunk a search was made for the wreck, and it was found, and some of her cargo recovered, but no whisky.

1855. Twin City. A transient boat.

1840. Undine. Nothing known.

——. Viola Belle.

1846. Wakenda. Sunk at Fishing river, opposite Sibley, Mo., on the lower Missouri, April 2, 1846. But little is known of these early boats except their names and the fact that they were on the river.

1840–'45. Wapello. N. J. Eaton, master. Sunk by ice at St. Louis in 1845.

1858–'69. War Eagle. A lower-river packet of the type of the period. She burned at St. Louis, August 24, 1869. See, also, 7.

1832–'33. Warrior. Captain Throckmorton, master. Carried government supplies to Prairie du Chien during the Black Hawk war, and returned to St. Louis later. 2.

1840–'46. Warsaw. Sunk at Bonhomme, near mouth of the river, in 1846.

1837–'40. Washington. Burned at Bates's wood-yard, above Portland, Mo., in 1840.

1857. Washington City. John Fisher, captain. Nothing known. 7.

1851–'58. Watossa. A very fast stern-wheeler. She was wrecked near St. Joseph, September 26, 1858.

1866–'67. Waverly. John P. Keiser, master. A side-wheeler, 200 feet long and 34 feet beam. Ran to Fort Benton, and cleared 350,000 on one trip. Sunk at Bowling Green bend, below Brunswick, Mo., November 25, 1867.

1829. W. D. Duncan. A small side-wheel boat. She commenced a regular packet trade to Fort Leavenworth in 1829. 2.

——. Welcome. 7.

1858–'64. West Wind. A large side-wheel boat. Burned by the Confederates in the battle of Glasgow, Mo., October 16, 1864. See, also, 7.

1819. Western Engineer. Boat built for expedition of Maj. S. H. Long, at Pittsburgh, She was a small stern-wheeler, seventy-five feet long and twenty feet beam, and had a measurement of fifty tons. It is believed that she was the first stern-wheel boat built for the Western rivers. She ascended the Missouri as high as Council Bluffs in 1819, being the first boat to ascend that far. (See description elsewhere.)

1843. Weston. Littlejohn, master. Ran the lower river, and burned near St. Charles in 1843. 8, p. 985.

1830 (?). W. H. Ashley. Named for General Ashley, a successful fur trader, lieutenant-governor of Missouri, brigadier-general of state militia, member of Congress, and in his day the most popular man in Missouri. His remains are interred on the banks of the Missouri river, near the mouth of the Lamine river, ten miles above Boonville, Mo., in a forgotten and unmarked grave. Such is fame.

1855. W. H. Denny. Nothing known.

1845–'48. Whirlwind. Dodge, master. Was 180 by 30 feet, and 5 feet hold. She had double engines, and was the first boat of that kind to come up the Missouri river.

1858–'69. White Cloud. Wm. Conley, master. A large lower-river boat, built in 1858. She conveyed Gov. C. F. Jackson and other state officers of Missouri from Jefferson City to Boonville, on June 19, 1861, when they left the state to join the Southern Confederacy. General Pope on this steamboat destroyed ferry-boats at a number of points of the Missouri in July, 1861. See, also, 4 and 7.

1858–'60. W. H. Russell. Kinney, master. A large lower-river boat, similar to others of that period. Went into the Mississippi.

1850. Wild Wagoner. A. C. Goddin, master. She burned on the lower river; place not known.

1866–'73. W. J. Lewis (No. 1). E. T. Herndon, master. A side-wheel boat, built for the upper river trade. She cleared $60,000 on her first trip to Fort Benton, in 1866. Wrecked at Grand Tower, below St. Louis, on the Mississippi river, April 3, 1873.

1874–'75. W. J. Lewis (No. 2). A small stern-wheel mountain boat. Sunk at Chester, Ill., March 16, 1875. See, also, 7 and 9.

1855–'58. Wm. Baird. A stern-wheel boat. Sunk at Waverly, Mo., in 1858.

1856. William Campbell. Captain, Tom Scott. 6, 7.

1856–'58. Wm. Campbell. Wm. Edds, master. A lower-river boat. Lost on the upper river. One hundred free-state emigrants left St. Louis on this boat May 5, 1856. They were from Vermont, New York, and Wisconsin.

1867–'68. Wm. A. Moffit. Fuqua, master. Ran in the St. Louis and Omaha trade.

1866. William Osborn. Used for ferry-boat at Atchison. Built at Brownsville, Pa., and reached Atchison May 9, 1866, with 150 tons of rails for the Atchison & Pike's Peak railroad

forty-four days in trip from Brownsville to Atchison.

1836-'38. Wilmington. A fur-company boat.

1847-'55. Winona. Built in 1847. Side-wheeler. Sunk in Murray's bend, near Jefferson City, Mo., November 10, 1855.

1847. Wyandotte. Moore, master.

1875-'80. Wyoming. A large stern-wheel freight boat, built for the lower-river trade.

1831-'33. Yellowstone. Bennett, master. Built by the American Fur Company. She was the first boat to go as high up the river as the mouth of the Yellowstone, and was a side-wheeler of the following dimensions, viz.: 130 feet long, 19 feet beam, and 6 feet hold. She had a single engine and cabin in the hull. Prince Maximilian came up the river in this boat in the spring of 1833. See 13, vol. 22.

1840. Yucatan. S. Banks, master. An early boat on the lower river.

UPPER MISSOURI RIVER STEAMBOATS.

The following is a list of steamboats on the upper Missouri river from 1862 to the end of navigation, in 1888. They generally ran to Fort Benton, the head of navigation, and were engaged in transporting passengers and freight to the gold-mines in Montana. Many of these boats made only one or two trips and, as will be observed, a great number of them were lost. The particulars of the disasters, and sometimes even the localities where they occurred, have been omitted for want of space. With few exceptions they were small stern-wheelers, built for other rivers, and were ill adapted to the strong current and tortuous channel of the Missouri.

Abeona, 1867.

Abeond, 1867.

Abner O'Neal. Sunk near Bismarck, in the upper river, July 19, 1892.

Agnes, 1866.

Ajax.

Alex Kendall.

Alice. Sunk at St. Charles.

Alone, 1863.

Amanda. Burned above Omaha in 1867.

Amaranth. Lost at Sioux City in 1869.

Amelia Poe. Sunk in 1868.

Andrew Ackley, 1868. 9.

Andrew S. Bennett. Ferry-boat at Sioux City. Sunk by ice in 1888.

Anna Lee. Sunk at Glasgow in 1881.

Antelope, 1867-'68. 7, 9.

Antelope (No. 2). Sunk at Bonhomme, S. Dak., in 1869.

Argonaut. Sunk at the mouth of Missouri, 1865.

Arkansas.

Ashland.

Bachelor. Sunk at Fort Pierre, S. Dak., in 1884.

Bannock City, 1865.

Bart Able.

Bedford (No. 2), 1879.

Belle of Jefferson. Exploded at mouth of Osage, July 7, 1875. Several persons killed.

Belle Peoria. Sunk on upper river.

Belle St. Louis, 1873.

Ben Johnson, 1867. 7, 9.

Benton, 1864.

Benton, 1887. 9.

Bertha. Sunk near St. Joe, June 25, 1872.

Bertrand. Sunk above Omaha in 1865.

Big Horn, 1866. This boat, or another of the same name, continued in service until 1878. 3, 9.

Bishop. Capsized and wrecked in 1867 at Nishnabotna.

Black Hills, 1882. Sunk at Yankton. 9.

Bridgeport. Sunk June 2, 1868, near Sioux City.

Bright Star, 1873.

Butte. Burned at Fort Peck, on upper river, in 1883.

Carrie. Sunk above Omaha, April 13, 1868.

Carrie V. Kountz. Burned at St. Louis, March 29, 1869.

Carroll, 1877. Burned near Fort Randall in 1877.

C. C. Carroll. Sunk at Chapman's Landing, above Glasgow, Mo., in 1886.

Champion. Sunk at Portland, Mo., in 1864.

Chippewa, 1859. Burned at Poplar river, Montana, May 10, 1861.

City of Pekin.

C. K. Peck, 1877. 9.

Clipper.

Coleman. Exploded and sunk near Rocheport, Mo., in 1882.

Colona, 1858. See "The Kansas River — its Navigation," by A. R. Greene, in this volume.

Colonel McCloud, 1878. Sunk near Bismarck, on upper river, in 1879.

Colonel Parr. 7.

Colossal.

Coosa.

Cornelia, 1870.

C. P. Huntington. A transfer boat.

Cutler.

Cutter, 1864. 9.

C. W. Mead, 1875.

Dakotah, 1881. 7.

Dallas. Sunk below Brownsville, Neb., in 1870.

Daniel Boone.

David R. Powell.

David Watts, 1866.

De Bussy, 1873.

De Smet, 1873.

Deer Lodge, 1866.

Dells. Sunk at White Cloud in 1878.

Denver (No. 1). Burned at St. Joseph, May 16, 1867.

Denver (No. 2). Sunk at Fort Lincoln in 1880.

Dora.

Dorcas. Sunk below Hermann, Mo.

Eclipse. Sunk near Sioux City, September 3, 1887.

Edgar. Sunk at Omaha in 1884.

Effie Deans. 1864–'65. 7, 9.

E. H. Durfee, 1872–'78. 7, 9.

E. Hensley.

Elkhorn (No. 2), 1873.

Ella. Built at Leavenworth.

Ella Kimbrough, 1865. Sunk near St. Charles.

Emma. Built at Leavenworth.

Emma (No. 2). Sunk above Omaha in 1873.

E. O. Stanard. Sunk below Sioux City. See "The Kansas River—its Navigation," by A. R. Greene, this volume.

Esperanza, 1872. Burned at Prophet's island, Dakota, October 23, 1874.

Eureka, 1860. Built for the Kansas river. See "The Kansas River — its Navigation," by A. R. Greene, in this volume.

Fanchon, 1877.

Fanny Barker.

Fanny Lewis, 1871,

Fanny Scott. Burned at St. Louis, March 29, 1869.

Fanny Tatum, 1877.

Far West, 1871.

Favorite, 1866.

Flirt, 1871.

Florence Meyer.

Fontenell. Sunk in Amazonia bend, above St. Joe, August 21, 1871.

F. Y. Batchelor, 1885. 9.

Galatia.

Gallatin, 1866. Sunk at mouth of Sioux in 1868.

Gate City, 1874.

G. A. Thompson, 1867.

General Bragg. Sunk near Hermann, Mo.

General C. H. Tompkins, 1878.

General Custer, 1877. Sunk at Rush bottom, opposite Rulo, Neb., in 1879.

General D. H. Buckner, 1878.

General Dix. Burned at St. Louis.

General Gaines.

General Grant. Sunk below Bellevue.

General McCook.

General McNeil. Sunk in Howard's bend, lower river, in 1860.

General Mead, 1880. Sunk at Pelican island, upper river, in 1888. (See page 236.)

General Perry, 1887. 9.

General Terry. Sunk at Omaha in 1888.

Geo. C. Wolf. Sunk in Bowling Green bend, below Brunswick, Mo., May 3, 1874.

George Lee. Ferry-boat at Rocheport, Mo. Sunk February 14, 1883.

George Spangler. Sunk at Portland in 1879.

Georgia.

Gerard B. Allen. Burned at St. Louis, March 30, 1869.

Gladiator.

Glencoe (No. 2). Sunk at Nebraksa City in 1887.

Gold Dust, 1877.

Gold Finch, 1866.

Gov. Allen. Sunk in Malta bend in 1877.

Grafton.

Gray Cloud.

Great Western. 7.

Guidon.

Gus Linn. Sunk below Sioux City in 1865. See, also, "The Kansas River—its Navigation," by A. R. Greene in this volume.

G. W. Graham. Went to Fort Benton in 1867. She was the largest boat that ever went that high up; her dimensions were 249 by 40 feet. She burned at St. Louis in 1869.

Gypsey.

H. D. Bacon. Burned at St. Louis.

Helena (No. 1), 1866. Sunk at Bonhomme island, on lower river, near the mouth, October 31, 1868.

Helena (No. 2). Sunk at Bonhomme island, S. Dak., in 1887.

Henry Adkins, 1868.

Henry M. Shreve, 1869.

Hilman. Sunk in Miami bend.

Hiram Wood (No. 1), 1868. Sunk at Rose Bud, on the upper river, in 1873. 7, 9.

Hiram Wood (No. 2). Ferry-boat at Sioux City.

H. M. Shreve, 1869.

Hope. Went to Fort Benton in 1880.

Huntsville (No. 2), 1867.

Huron. Sunk at St. John's island, near Washington, Mo., in 1871.

Ida Fulton, 1867. 9.

Ida Reese. Sunk at White river in 1871.

Ida Stockdale. Sunk at Bismarck in 1871.

Imperial, 1867. Sunk at Bonhomme island, Dakota, 1868. See 9.

Importer, 1868.

Ione. Sunk at mouth of Saline.

Irene. Sunk in the lower river.

Iron City, 1866.

Island City. Sunk at Fort Buford in 1864.

Jacob Sass, 1865. See, also, "The Kansas River—its Navigation," by A. R. Greene, in this volums.

James D. Rankin. Wrecked on the Yellowstone in 1877.

James Lyons. Sunk at Bonhomme, near the mouth of the Missouri, in 1882.

J. C. Irvine. Built at Leavenworth.

Jennie.

Jennie Brown, 1867. 7, 9.

J. F. Frazier.

J. F. Joy, 1875.

J. H. Lacy. Sunk at mouth of Nodaway river in 1867.

J. H. Peck. 7.

J. M. Chambers, 1878.

John Warren, 1859.

Josephine. A small stern-wheeler. In 1876 she went up the Yellowstone ten miles above the mouth of Powder river, being the highest point ever reached by a steamboat on that river.

Judith, 1886. Sunk at Pelican island, below St. Charles, July 30, 1888. There were two Pelican islands.

Kate Kearney, 1871.

Kate Kinney, 1877.

Katie P. Kountz, 1872. Sunk at Blackbird Hills, Neb., on upper river, in 1878.

Key West, 1860–'62.

Lacon. Captain, John Lynds. Sunk near Arago, Neb., about 1883. 7, 9.

Lady Grace, 1867. Burned at Omaha, January 3, 1870.

Lady Lee. Sunk at Fishing river, opposite Sibley, Mo., March 29, 1882.

Lancaster. Sunk at Smith's Landing, near St. Aubert, Mo., in 1864.

Leni Leoti. Sunk near Omaha in 1868.

Leodora. Burned at Ponca Landing, S. Dak., in 1867.

Lexington.

Lillie, 1867. Sunk at Rulo, Neb., October 24, 1868.

Lillie Martin, 1866.

Little Blue.

Little Rock, 1867.

Live Oak.

Livingston. Sunk at Running Water, on upper river, in 1868.

Lizzie Campbell. Sunk near Nebraska City. Transfer boat at Nebraska City.

Lizzie Gill. Burned at St. Louis.

Louisville. Sunk at Pratt's cut-off, above Nebraska City, in 1864.

Lucile.

Lucy Bertrand.

Luella, 1866.

Mansfield.

Mariner. Sunk in Onawa bend, near Onawa, Iowa, in 1867.

Marion. Sunk below Fort Benton, in upper river, in 1866. See, also, 9.

Mars. Sunk at Fishing river, below Kansas City, in 1865.

Mary Bennett. Sunk at Sioux City in 1869.

Mary Lowry.

Mary McDonald, 1872.

Mary McGee. Sunk at Plattsmouth, Neb., in 1877.

Mattie Lee. Sunk in Murray's bend, near Jefferson City, in 1893.

May Bryan.

Metamora. Sunk near Boonville, Mo., September 27, 1875.

Michigan.

Milwaukee.

Miner, 1866.

Minneola.

Minnesota.

Minnie. Sunk at Leavenworth.

Minnie Belle. A Kaw river boat. See "The Kansas River—its Navigation," by A. R. Greene, in this volume.

Minnie Herman. Sunk at Sioux City.

Missouri. This was the last steamboat to land at Fort Benton, and her voyage marks the termination of steamboat navigation on the upper Missouri. She landed there September 12, 1888.—Historical Society of Montana, vol. 3.

Mollie Herbert.

Mollie Moore. Sunk at mouth of White river, on upper river, in 1881.

Monitor.

Monongahela. Sunk at Leavenworth in 1870.

Montana, 1879.

Moses Green.

Mountaineer, 1867.

Nadine. Sunk at the mouth of the Missouri, September 10, 1878. Several lives lost.

Ned Tracy.

Nellie Peck, 1871–'80. 9.

Nellie Rogers, 1866.

Neut. Sunk at Port William, Kan.

Nick Wall. Sunk on the upper river, April 25, 1869.

Nile, 1867.

Niobrara.

Nora. Sunk at Pratt's cut-off, Nebraska.

North Alabama, 1868. Sunk at mouth of Vermilion river, on upper Missouri, in 1870. Telegram in the New York *Tribune*, July 12, 1906: "Vermillion, S. Dak., July 11, 1906.—The river steamer North Alabama, which sank in the Missouri river six miles below here in 1870, strangely rose to the surface yesterday, and to-day crowds of spectators line the banks. The boat carried a cargo of flour and whisky for the Yellowstone district. The fifty barrels of thirty-six-year-old whisky have attracted lovers of good liquor, and already a scramble to find the prize has begun. As yet it has not been reached, owing to the quantities of mud accumulated over the lower decks."

Nugget. Sunk on upper river, in Onawa bend, in 1866.

Nymph. Sunk in Jackson bend, above Sibley, March 4, 1868.

Octavia, 1867.

Omaha. Sunk by ice at St. Louis in 1865.

Ohio. Sunk below Omaha.

Onawa. Sunk in Onawa bend, Iowa, in 1880. The town of Onawa took its name from the bend, and the bend from the boat. A similar case to the town of Malta Bend, Mo. There are nine wrecks in Onawa bend.

Only Chance, 1866–'69. 2, 7, 9.

Ontario. Sunk near Omaha in 1866.

Orion. Sunk in Eureka bend, above Jefferson City.

Oronaka.

Osage.

Osceola. Her cabin was blown overboard on the Yellowstone in 1878, and her hull was towed down the river, and sunk near Kansas City by striking a snag.

Paragon, 1865.

Paris.

Pawnee.

Peninah, 1868. Wrecked at Sioux City, April 6, 1875.

Peoria Belle. Sunk in Cheyenne bend, at mouth of the Cheyenne, on the upper river, in 1864.

Peoria City.

Petrel. Lost at South Point, Mo., in 1883.

Pin Oak. Lost at Sandy Hook, 1896.

Portsmouth. Sunk below Weston, Mo., in 1861.

Prairie State.

Prima Donna.

Princess. Sunk at Napoleon, Mo., May 31, 1868.

Progress.

Red Cloud. Sunk at Red Cloud bend, Mont., in 1882.

Rialto. Sunk at Weston, Mo., in 1864.

Richmond, 1867.

Roanoke.[4] Sunk at Pratt's cut-off in 1867.

Rob Roy.

Robert Campbell (No. 2). Was on the river in 1863.

Robert Emmet. Sunk at St. Aubert, Mo., in 1869.

Rose Bud, 1878. Sunk at Bismarck, May 25, 1880.

Rubicon (No. 2).

Rucker. 7.

St. Johns, 1865.

St. Joseph.

St. Luke, 1868. 9.

Sallie, 1868.

Seitz. Sunk in Onawa bend, Iowa.

Senator. Sunk at Yankton.

Seventy-six. Sunk near Spring House, above St. Charles, in 1876.

Shamrock. Sunk at the mouth of the river in 1863.

Shreveport, 1861-'63. Owned by La Barge, Harkness & Co., and ran on the upper river. A small, light-draft boat. 9.

Silver Bar, 1869.

Silver Bow, 1869. Sunk by ice at St. Louis in 1872.

Silver City. Was on the river in 1866.

Silver City, 1877.

Silver Lake, 1868-'71. 7, 9.

Silver Wave. Sunk at Columbus, Ky., in 1873.

Sioux City (No. 2). Lost by ice at St. Louis, December 16, 1865.

Sioux City, 1872.

Stephen Decatur.

Success, 1868.

Sully. Sunk near Doniphan, Kan., October 22, 1869.

Sunset. Sunk at the mouth of Sioux river, July 18, 1869.

Sunshine.

Tacomy. Sunk at Fort Peck, Montana.

Tacony, 1866.

Tennessee. Sunk above Sioux City, April 25, 1869.

Thomas Morgan. Sunk near Parkville, Mo., February 5, 1866. See, also, "The Kansas River—its Navigation," by A. R. Greene, in this volume.

Tidal Wave.

Trover. Sunk at Trover Point, on upper river, in 1867.

T. T. Hillman. Sunk near Grand river.

Tyler. Sunk above St. Charles in 1879.

U. S. Mail. Sunk on the lower river.

Urilda, 1868-'69. Sunk in Kate Sweeney bend, near Vermillion, in upper river, April 24, 1869.

Utah, 1869.

Victoria.

Vienna. Sunk at Washington, Mo., in 1889.

Vint. Stillings. Sunk at Sioux City.

Viola Belle. Sunk near Doniphan, Kan., August 28, 1871. 9.

Violet. See "The Kansas River—its Navigation," by A. R. Greene, in this volume.

Walk-in-the-Water. Sunk in Malta bend, above Miami, Mo., in the '80's.

Walter B. Dance, 1866. Ran to Fort Benton, and afterward put in the Miami Packet Company, in the lower river.

Washington, 1871.

Watson. Sunk in Amazonia bend, above St. Joseph.

Waverly, 1866.

Welcome. Burned at St. Louis in 1863.

Western, 1872-'78. 9.

Western. Sunk at Yankton, Dak., March 29, 1881.

Wild Duck.

W. J. Behan.

W. W. Walker. Sunk at Plattsmouth, Neb., in 1874.

Wyoming. 7.

Yellowstone (No. 2). A small stern-wheeler, on the upper river in the '60's. Sunk on the Yellowstone river in 1867.

Yellowstone (No. 3), 1872-'78.

Yorktown, 1867.

Zephyr. A small stern-wheel boat. Sunk at Sibley, Mo., July 21, 1870.

NOTE 4.—About June 1, 1865, the Roanoke, near Fort Benton, on the upper Missouri, encountered so many buffalo crossing the water that its passage was blockaded. The buffalo were in sight for 700 miles, and thousands perished in the quicksands on the banks of the river. When they would emerge from the water they would immediately sink into the quicksands and go out of sight, others coming on top of them. The officers of the boat say that a mass of buffalo five or six miles square could be seen, and that millions of them crossed the river at that time.— Buffalo clipping, Kansas City *Star*, October 31, 1904. (See page 236.)

THE KANSAS RIVER—ITS NAVIGATION.

Written by ALBERT R. GREENE,[1] of Portland, Ore., for the Kansas State Historical Society.

THE following paper, compiled from a variety of sources believed to be authentic, being largely newspaper clippings, extracts from private letters and diaries of immigrants, and reminiscences of early settlers, is contributed to the Historical Society in the interest of the most picturesque and potential epoch ever known in Kansas.

Coincident with the efforts to make an artery of trade of this stream, the Kansas struggle between freedom and slavery began and ended; John Brown's soul marched on into history; gaunt famine stalked through every cabin door and threatened every household; the lurid fires of civil war were kindled and extinguished; the caravans of the desert, the pony express, the overland coach, filled the public eye for a time and faded away forever. All these and the mighty strife for the commercial domination of the new West, with two lines of railroad racing across the plains, presented a spectacle to be seen but once in the life of a nation, and, once seen, never to be forgotten.

The navigation of the Kansas was a part of this whole period, interwoven with its events, and properly accredited with a share of their importance in the concrete results which have made for the greatness of the state. Of the importance of this river as a line of commerce, it need only be said that one of the first acts of the railroads (and this after a score of steamboats had demonstrated its navigability) was to debauch a legislature into a declaration of its unnavigability, in order that it might be lawfully obstructed by bridges and destroyed as a competitor.[2]

Few steamers were ever built expressly for the Kansas river trade. The opening of the territory to settlement by an act of Congress which conveyed a challenge to the North and South alike to assemble on her prairies for the titanic struggle that should settle there and forever the desultory conflict had which raged with varying fortunes for half a century precipitated a rush that left no time for preparation. All that could be done was to utilize such facilities for transportation as were at hand. Steamboats flocked to the Missouri from all the rivers of the Mississippi valley, like white winged-gulls to their banquet on the generous table of the sea. Many of the smaller ones and not a few of the intermediate in size entered the Kansas river, and it must be said in all truthfulness that they made a remarkably good showing

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NOTE 1.—Biographical sketch in vol. 8, p. 1.

NOTE 2.—"Let me say one word of Kansas streams and rivers. I have seen more than twenty of its streams and its solitary river—the Kaw, or Kansas, at a dozen different points from its mouth to ten miles above Topeka—and can speak, therefore, with personal knowledge concerning them. For all purposes of navigation they are utterly useless. No boat ever sailed up or down one of these streams, and never will until boats can sail over snags and bars, dry places, and against strong and rapid currents. No one—even shareholders in towns on their banks—ever pretends that the streams can be made navigable, and no experienced river navigator will say that the Kansas is worth anything for the purpose of commerce. The bed of the Kansas, like that of the Missouri, is quicksand, ever changing and ever dangerous, while the water will not average over two feet in depth at any place for a distance of 500 feet along its banks. If the bottom was rock and the banks precipitous, a line of steamers would pay well; but, as it is, no sensible capitalist will invest his money in a single boat. Kansas is destined by nature to be *the* railroad state. The Kansas and its tributaries are only useful as drains, suppliers of pure water, and feeders of mills."—Leavenworth letter to St. Louis *Democrat*, November 18, 1855, signed J. R. Webb Scrap-books, vol. 7, p. 8.

towards establishing its navigability until the strong hand of the state drove them away.

As a side light showing something of the volume of business done on the Missouri at the height of the "flush times," a large proportion of which was the immigration to Kansas, I quote from a letter of a passenger on the steamer David Tatum, published in the Chicago *Press*, under date of April 15, 1856:

"The amount of business done on the Missouri river is immense. There are upwards of sixty boats now running between St. Louis and the different ports on the river, and they are all filled with passengers and freight. They are built of light draught from necessity, as the water at most seasons of the year will not admit of heavy boats; but it is astonishing what a load they will carry. The absence of the heavy engines and boilers necessary in a low-pressure boat, and which these Missouri river steamers do not need, gives the latter class a great advantage over the former in their capacity for carrying freight. Most of these steamers run as high as St. Joseph, about 600 miles from the mouth of the river. Some of them proceed as far as Council Bluffs, 775 miles. Emigrants to Nebraska generally stop at this point and proceed up the valley of the Platte river from Omaha City. Above this point the river is only navigable by boats of still lighter draught. But there is a brisk tide of emigration far beyond this. Steamers of light burden, but crowded with passengers and loaded down with freight, proceed to Fort Union, at the mouth of the Yellowstone river, which, if my memory is not culpably at fault, is more than 2200 miles above the junction of the Missouri. More than this, our captain informed me that when the water of the upper Missouri was highest, which frequently embraces a period of some two or three months, boats run up 3000 miles. Let our English brethren put this fact in their pipes and smoke it, that one of the tributaries of a river in America is navigable with steamers of light draught for 3000 miles."

The following is believed to be a correct list of the boats which first and last, in greater or less degree, participated in the era of Kansas river navigation:

Pirogues and keel-boats of trappers and traders.. 1804–1854
Steamer Excel, Capt. Charles K. Baker, sr 1854
Steamer Bee 1855
Steamer New Lucy 1855
Steamer Hartford, Captain Millard 1855
Steamer Lizzie 1855–1864
Steamer Emma Harmon, Capt. J. M. Wing 1855
Steamer Financier No. 2, Capt. Matt Morrison 1855
Steamer Saranak, Captain Swift 1855
Steamer Perry, Captain Perry[3] 1855, 1856
Steamer Lewis Burns 1856

NOTE 3.—John Deleney, of Atchison, writes the Historical Society as follows: "As I recollect, in 1855 and 1856, the Perry made three trips to Fort Riley, loaded with commissary and quartermaster supplies. She was commanded by a man from Weston, Mo. Mr. Perry was a merchant in Weston, and was owner of a pork-house there. I forget Mr. Perry's first name. In addition to his pork-house, he and Lawrence Cody purchased hemp and shipped it to St. Louis and other parts. Mr. Cody was Buffalo Bill's uncle. Two other boats went up the Kansas river in 1856, namely, the Lewis Burns and a stern-wheeler named Far West. All these were tied up at Silver Lake, in the Kaw river. At that time the cholera was raging at Fort Riley, and it was claimed that the Perry was infected with the disease. The boat took fire, or was set on fire. She was burned to the water's line. The other two boats were badly damaged in the fire. The Lewis Burns did service afterwards as a ferry-boat on the Missouri river. The stern-wheeler got down as far as Lawrence and went out of service. The captain of the Perry, in conversation with his friends in Weston, said the rocky ford at Lawrence was the worst part of the Kaw to navigate, and thinks the fire was caused by some of the roving bands that then infested the territory. The Far West and Burns, on a number of trips from Cincinnati, Ohio, unloaded a lot of small houses at Leavenworth City. They were framed on the Ohio river, and were very cheap and easy to rebuild. Some of them are still standing in west Leavenworth City."

Steamer Far West..... 1856
Steamer Brazil, Captain Reed 1856
Flat-boat Pioneer..... 1856
Steamer Lightfoot, Capts. W. F. M. Arny and Matt Morrison 1857
Steamer Violet..... 1857
Steamer Lacon, Captain Marshall..... 1857
Steamer Otis Webb, Captain Church..... 1857, 1858
Steamer Minnie Belle, Capt. Frank Hunt..... 1858
Steamer Kate Swinney, Capt. A. C. Goddin..... 1858
Steamer Silver Lake, Captain Willoughby..... 1859
Steamer Morning Star, Capt. Thomas F. Brierly..... 1859
Steamer Gus Linn, Capt. B. F. Beasley..... 1859
Steamer Adelia..... 1859
Steamer Colona, Captain Hendershott 1859
Steamer Star of the West, Capt. G. P. Nelson..... 1859
Steamer Kansas Valley, Capt. G. P. Nelson..... 1859, 1860
Steamer Eureka..... 1860
Steamer Izetta..... 1860
Steamer Mansfield..... 1860
Steamer Tom Morgan, Capt. Tom Morgan..... 1864
Steamer Emma..... 1864
Steamer Hiram Wood 1865
Steamer Jacob Sass 1865
Steamer E. Hensley, Captain Burke..... 1865
Steamer Alexander Majors 1866

From the time of the successful application of steam power to machinery until railroads superseded them as a means of interior communication, a period of more than half a century, the river steamboat afforded an ideal mode of travel; a well-merited distinction, which was only surrendered upon the demand for more rapid transit, in the evolution of business methods.

The advance from the keel-boat or the scow, propelled by sails, or from the canal-boat drawn by horses, to the river steamer, was as great an innovation as the change from the stage-coach of 100 years ago to the palace-car of to-day. Furthermore, during the supremacy of the steamboat, the traveling public witnessed as great an improvement in the appointments, comfort and speed of the vessels, proportionately, as has been seen in the transition from the lumbering local trains of the earlier attempts at railroading to the magnificently equipped limited flyer of the present time.

As an illustration of the primitive means of communication of but little more than 100 years ago, which were, nevertheless, regarded as an achievement in luxurious traveling, I quote from a newspaper called the *Sentinel of the Northwest Territory*, published in Cincinnati, under date of January 11, 1794, as follows:

"Ohio River Boats.—Two boats, for the present, will start from Cincinnati for Pittsburg, and return to Cincinnati in the following manner, viz.:

"First boat will leave Cincinnati this morning at eight o'clock, and return to Cincinnati so as to be ready to sail again in four weeks from this date.

"Second boat will leave Cincinnati on Saturday, the 30th instant, and return to Cincinnati as above.

"And so on regularly, each boat performing the voyage to and from Cincinnati and Pittsburg once in every four weeks.

"The proprietors of these boats, having maturely considered the many inconveniences and dangers incident to the common method hitherto adopted of navigating the Ohio, and being influenced by a love of philanthropy and a desire of being serviceable to the public, have taken great pains to render the accommodations on board the boats as agreeable and convenient as they could possibly be made.

"No danger need be apprehended from the enemy, as every person on board will be under cover, made proof to rifle- or musket-balls, and convenient port-holes for firing out. Each of the boats is armed with six pieces, carrying a pound ball, also a good number of muskets, and amply supplied with ammunition, strongly manned with choice hands, and the master of approved knowledge.

"A separate cabin from that designed for the men is partitioned off in each boat for the accommodation of ladies on their passage. Conveniences are constructed on each boat so as to render landing unnecessary, as it might at times be attended with danger.

"Passengers will be supplied with provisions and liquors of all kinds, of the first quality, at the most reasonable rates possible. Persons desirous of working their passage will be admitted on finding themselves, subject, however, to the same order and direction from the master of the boat as the rest of the working hands of the boat's crew.

"An office of insurance will be kept at Cincinnati, Limestone, and Pittsburg, where persons desirous of having their property insured may apply. The rates of insurance will be moderate."

In the journal of Lewis and Clark, the following mention is made of meeting French trappers returning from a trip up the Kansas river:

". . . At eleven o'clock brought too a small caisee [raft made of two canoes tied together] in which was two Frenchmen, from eighty leagues up the Kansias [Kanzas] R., where they wintered, and caught a great quantity of beaver, the greater part of which they lost by fire from the prairies. Those men inform [us] that the Kansas nation are now out in the plains hunting buffalow. They hunted last winter on this river."[4]

As the distance of the river from the mouth to the junction of the Republican and Smoky Hill forks was estimated to be 243 miles, 80 leagues, or 240 miles, would locate the camp of these trappers not far from the mouth of the Republican.

In "Peck's Guide to Emigrants," a book bearing date of 1831, the Kansas is characterized as "A large, bold, navigable river, although its fickle channel and numerous snags must forever endanger commerce."

Hon. Golden Silvers, who enjoyed the distinction of having been one of the earliest white settlers of Jackson county, Missouri, once stated to the writer that in early times it was no unusual sight to see flotillas of keelboats ascending the Missouri river with stocks of goods to exchange with the Indians for furs and peltries. He said some of these expeditions were absent from civilization for two years or more before they disposed of their wares and reloaded their boats for the return trip. One of the headquarters for these traders was Chouteau's trading-post, on the Kansas river, ten miles above its mouth. During the spring floods, when the principal freighting was done, the Missouri river boats brought cargoes direct from St. Louis to Chouteau's, which was a formidable rival, as a depot of supplies, of Westport Landing, now Kansas City. These annual trips, a few miles above its mouth, were undoubtedly the first attempts to navigate the Kansas with steamboats, but it must be left for some chronicler of the Missouri's boating days to give us the names of the boats and their history.

NOTE 4.— Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, Thwaites, 1904, vol. 1, p. 40.

One of the Boones, Daniel Morgan, I believe, was farmer for the Kansas Indians, and established a base of operations at the mouth of Stonehouse creek,[5] on the Kansas river, in 1827. This point is about ten miles above Lawrence and a few miles below Lecompton, on the opposite side of the river. The remains of this settlement were plainly visible a few years ago when Prof. Henry Worrall and I visited the site and sketched it for the Historical Society. The supplies for the Boone colony were brought up the Kansas in keel-boats, mention of which is made in the reports of Boone to the government.

Another trading-post on the Kansas river was located at the mouth of Mission creek,[6] not far from the present town of Valencia, in Shawnee county, and was owned by Fred. Chouteau, a brother of the one operating nearer the mouth of the river. The supplies for this post also were brought up by keel-boats.[7] So that, considering the activity in trafficking with the Indians for their robes and peltries which characterized the first half of the last century, it is reasonable to suppose that the Kansas was recognized as an important artery of commerce in those days of the keel-boats, with their square sails spread to the breeze and the shores resounding with the boatman's song.

The keel-boat of that time was built, as the name indicates, on a keel, with ribs and cross-beams, and was decked over fore and aft. It was cigar-shaped, after the manner of the pirogue of the French and Canadian voyaguer, pointed at either end, and was propelled by a square sail and oars, and, in cases of necessity, by setting poles and a tow-line. The length varied from forty to seventy-five feet; the width, eight to eighteen feet; and the depth of hold, three to six feet. The capacity, of course, was governed by the stage of the water, some of the largest boats being from forty to fifty tons burden.[8]

I am loath to leave this picturesque period of the dawn of civilization along the banks of the Kansas. The stateliness of the majestic forests, untouched by the vandal hand of man; the glimpses of green prairies and the bending hills beyond, the home of the buffalo and the timid antelope, as the woods were the habitat of the deer, the bear, and the beaver; at wide intervals small groups of cabins intermingled with the teepees of the Indians; a store, an elementary schoolhouse, and a rude cross surmounting a chapel of logs. Over all a Kansas sky, bright, restful, beautiful. The early trappers were fascinated by it, and the immigrants passing through the country spoke of its beauty, and if surviving, wherever they may be, treasure the scene as a joy forever. In the superlative language of an early settler, "Doubtless God might have made a prettier country, but doubtless He never did."

The first steamer to ascend the Kansas river any distance was the Excel,[9]

NOTE 5.—A newspaper account of this agency was published in the Kansas City *Journal* at the time of the quarter-centennial at Bismarck grove, Lawrence, in September, 1879.

NOTE 6.—The Chouteaus did use pirogues on both the Missouri and Kansas rivers. In 1838 I was visiting my sister, Mrs. Wm. Johnson, a missionary among the Kaw Indians, when the Chouteaus brought a pirogue to the mouth of Mission creek. Everybody living near there, whites and Indians, went to see it.—JOSEPH S. CHICK, in May, 1906.

NOTE 7.—Reminiscences of Frederick Chouteau, in Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 8, p. 428.

NOTE 8.—Reminiscences of Frederick Chouteau, in Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 8, p. 423; also, Chittenden's American Fur Trade, vol. 1, p. 32.

NOTE 9.—The Excel was built at McKeesport, in 1851, and was rated at seventy-nine tons.

in the spring of 1854. In the Worcester (Mass.) *Spy* of March of that year is an article setting forth the inducements to immigrants in the following language:

"The steamer Excel has been bought for a packet in the Kansas river trade, which will be the pioneer steamer of the territory, to ply between Kansas City at the mouth and 'as high as she can get.'"[10]

This was while the bill for the creation of the territory was pending in Congress and more than two months before it became a law.

Maj. E. A. Ogden, U. S. A., had, by authority of the Congress and secretary of war, selected a point at the confluence of the Republican and Smoky Hill rivers for a military post. Contracts for its construction were let, based upon wagon transportation for the foreign materials, and it was not until later that water transportation was found to be practicable. The first trip of the Excel was in April, and she carried 1100 barrels of flour, belonging to Perry & Young, of Weston, Mo., government contractors, from Weston to the site of Fort Riley. H. D. McMeekin, a member of the Pawnee legislature of 1855, and later noted as the prince of Kansas landlords, was a passenger, and thus describes the trip:

"The Excel was a stanch little stern-wheeler, drawing about two feet of water, with a cargo of 100 tons, and had remarkably strong engines. We were two days on the trip from Weston to Fort Riley, and found no more difficulty in navigating the Kansas than we did the Missouri. Our pilot ran by surface indications altogether, and never ran the boat on a snag or a sand-bar. We were obliged to land several times a day to get wood, and, as we had to fell trees and chop them up, we were considerably delayed. We occasionally appropriated rails from the Indians' truck-patches, but most always cut down trees for our fuel. At St. Mary's Mission, Father Duerinck[11] heard that we were coming, and hauled up two loads of rails and had them chopped up, ready for our use on our arrival.

"There was simply a large camp at Fort Riley, but times were lively, and preparations for building the fort were organized on a grand scale.

"We discharged our cargo, and the boat got back to Weston as easily as it had come up, and subsequently made two more trips with lumber, glass, nails, etc., for the fort. It made a trip in June as far as Fort Riley, and then abandoned the river and went South."

Trip up the Kansas River.—Extract from correspondence of Geo. S. Park, in the *Herald of Freedom*, October 21, 1854:

"In compliance with an invitation from Captain Baker and C. A. Perry, Esq., the enterprising owners of the fine little steamer Excel, we stepped on board at Parkville on the 16th of June as one of the party up the Kansas river. And here let us say that too much praise cannot be awarded to these gentlemen for the successful efforts they have made, and are still making, to find the channel and establish the navigation of the Kansas river. They have already accomplished some half a dozen trips to Fort Riley, have delivered there all necessary government freight with a speed, care and saving of expense hitherto unknown; and they have further concluded to keep their fleet little craft on that river for the purpose of aiding settlers to reach, with comfort and convenience, the places of their destination in the beautiful Kansas country, so long as the stage of water will admit. Our party was a most agreeable one, consisting of Doctor Hammond, U. S. A., and lady; Miss Nisbet, of Philadelphia, sister of Mrs. Hammond; Mr. Perry and Mr. and Mrs. Baker, with their families; Mr. Mills, paymaster's clerk; Mr. Castelman, of Delaware; Mr. Murdock, of

Note 10.—Webb Scrap-books, vol. 1, p. 2.

Note 11.—Father John Baptist Duerinck, the second superior at St. Mary's Mission.—*The Dial*, April, 1891, p. 121.

New York; Mr. McCann, of Virginia, and our gentlemanly officers, Messrs. Baker, Dixon, and Perry.

"The Excel made a short trip up the Smoky Hill. Lieutenant Sargent, from the fort, accompanied us. We had an exciting time. The constant announcement from the man who heaved the lead was, 'no bottom.' The river was full, and the current strong, but we had great difficulty in getting around the short bends. It keeps up the course of the main Kansas, coming a little more from the southwest. A little way up we saw a band of Fox Indians crossing over, going north on a buffalo hunt; and their motley procession stretched over the prairies for miles. Here and there in the party was carried a pole with a swan's neck and eagle's head and tail stuck upon it for a flag. They had with them about 500 horses, all of which looked well. Great was the surprise at seeing the Excel in these waters; but, poor fellows, the startling scream of the shrill steam-whistle and the impetuous snorting of the iron horse will soon scare away the buffalo and other game from your hunting-grounds, to return no more. You, too, must follow in the trail, or succumb to the irresistible influence of civilization.

"The difficulty of navigating the Smoky Hill with a stern-wheeler steamer of such length as the Excel prevented Captain Baker from venturing up so far as he otherwise would. A shorter side-wheel steamer, of very light draught, adapted to the navigation of these interior rivers, will soon be put on the trade. We left Fort Riley on our return trip on Wednesday morning, and came down 'kiting'; passing rapidly in view the splendid scenery of which we have attempted to make hasty memoranda, we entered the Missouri river about daylight the next morning."

On another of her trips, the Excel ran from Fort Riley to Kansas City, a distance estimated at the time to be 243 miles, in twenty-four hours, and made thirty landings.

Among the passengers on her last trip was James Graham, who left the boat at St. Mary's Mission. He landed there on June 17, 1854, and has remained in the vicinity ever since. When the civil war broke out he enlisted in the Sixth Kansas cavalry and became a first sergeant, and later a lieutenant of company L of that regiment. Afterward he became lieutenant of company M, Nineteenth cavalry, and finished out his military career as lieutenant-colonel of the Twenty-second Kansas infantry in the Spanish-American war.

In the Independence (Mo.) *Messenger* of June 24, 1854, is the following editorial:

"The great problem is now solved; the Kansas river can now be navigated, if the right sort of steamboats are used, for at least three-fourths of the year. Through the agency of Maj. E. A. Ogden, at Fort Leavenworth, this has been mainly brought about, and we are glad to see that his efforts have not been unavailing. The Kansas is a stream of more importance than many are aware of, and although it partakes much of the character of the Missouri, in the changes of current and flowing through a similar soil, yet it only requires an acquaintance with its channel to render it as good, as far as it goes, as the Osage, and much better than the Platte, whose sources are at the base of the mountains to the west of us. The experiment, which is now no longer an experiment, of navigating the river by steam, just at this crisis will tell wonderfully upon the tide of immigration now pouring in upon us and will be the means of determining many to settle down in the fertile valleys of the Kansas and its tributaries, who would otherwise never have thought of it. Those of us interested here are now no longer in the extreme West. In imagination, if not in reality, we see towns and cities springing up nearer the setting sun than we are, and a great people will inhabit regions now uncultivated and unexplored. Fifty years hence we will hardly know ourselves; for as Illinois, Indiana and Ohio are to us, so will we be then to Kansas, Utah, and New Mexico We understand it is the intention of some of the New Mexican traders, another year, to convey their

freight up the Kansas river, thereby saving land carriage and shortening the distance to Santa Fe 200 or 250 miles."

When the Excel made its last trip immigration to the territory was just commencing, and as there were no railroads west of the Mississippi, it was of the first importance to utilize all navigable rivers. Steamboats swarmed from all western rivers to the Missouri, and many of the smaller ones, being encouraged by the experience of the Excel, decided to run on the Kansas, advertising for freight and passengers for all points on the river as far up as Pawnee, the site of the prospective capital, and just inside the present limits of the military reservation of Fort Riley. This meant that the new land to which thousands were rushing could be penetrated for 150 miles, as the crow flies, and nearly 200 by river, by steamers, carrying the immigrant with his effects into the heart of the "sun-bright wilderness" that was to be his home.

The Excel, upon leaving the Kansas, went into the Missouri river trade, and finally sank, March 23, 1856, near the head of Howard chute, a few miles below Jefferson City.

Capt. Chas. K. Baker died a few years ago at the home of his son, Chas. K. Baker, jr., near Rosedale, Kan., and his remains were taken to Bellfontaine cemetery, St. Louis, for interment. He was said to be one of the most skilful pilots that ever turned a wheel, and used to make ten miles an hour in the night on the Kansas river.

Herald of Freedom, January 27, 1855: "We are informed by General Pomeroy that the steamer Bee is advertised to leave St. Louis early next March with the first party from the East, to bring them up the river to this city [Lawrence]. The Bee will be on the river as long as it can be navigated, plying between Kansas City, Mo., and Fort Riley, which is 120 miles above this point. He also informs us that two other small steamers will be put upon the Kansas river next spring."

Parkville (Mo.) *Luminary:* "Navigation on the Missouri river will open soon this year; at the moment of writing this it looks as if the river would not freeze up at all. Already are preparations making for the early spring business, and there are two steamers at St. Louis up for the Kansas river on the first chance to navigate. They are the Bee No. 2 and Emma Hermann [Harmon]."

Herald of Freedom, March 10, 1855: "The Emma Harmon, a beautiful steamer of light draft for the Kansas trade, is now ready for passage, and only waits a telegraphic dispatch that the Kansas is navigable. We think she would be safe in leaving port immediately, as the river has at least two feet and a half of water in the channel on the ripples opposite this place."

The New York *Tribune* published a letter from its special correspondent in Kansas, presumably Colonel Phillips, in which occurs the following language:

"Steamer New Lucy,[12] Kansas river, April 1, 1855. On this boat are a hundred men from the interior of Missouri, who are returning from the election, many of them seriously ill from the effects of whisky and exposure."

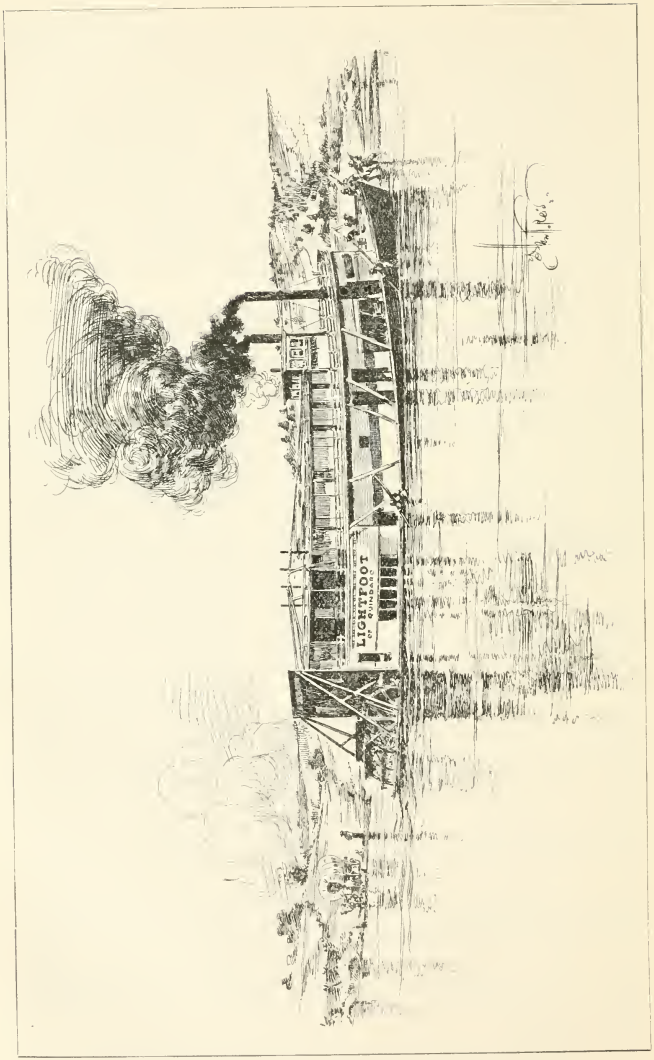
It is possible this steamer had made a trip up the Kansas river to carry the ballot-box stuffers of that year, but if so I do not recall that I ever heard of it from any other source than might be inferred from this letter, which, I confess, reads like an April-fool joke. I think it is more likely that the

NOTE 12.— The New Lucy was built at St. Louis, in 1852, and was rated at 417 tons.

boat had taken these men aboard at the mouth of the Kansas, preparatory to carrying them down the Missouri to their homes, than that she made a trip up the Kansas river, but there is the statement from this correspondent that the New Lucy was on the Kansas river. This was one of the favorite boats of the Missouri, among which were the Tropic, James H. Lucas, Polar Star, and Silver Heels, noted racers. She was a large, elegant side-wheeler of model hull, and drew five or six feet of water. Even if there had been a depth of channel in the Kansas sufficient for her safe passage, there could have been no inducement for her to give up a lucrative trade on the Missouri for an experiment on the smaller stream, with the probability of failure. The New Lucy was burned opposite the town of De Witt, Mo., on November 25, 1857. She was caught in a sudden freeze up of the river and left in charge of a watchman, who, through carelessness, allowed the boat to catch fire and be destroyed.

The first glimpse of the territory, obtained from the deck of a steamer ascending the Missouri, was at Wyandotte, where the Kansas river emerges from the bluffs and mingles its clear waters with the turbid and tawny flood of the greater stream. That was Kansas, the New England of the West, and the immigrant in his enthusiasm as gladly gave up the Missouri for the Kansas as he exchanged the land of sloth, superstition and slavery for the heritage of freedom and honest labor The writer speaks from experience. My father's family had been nearly ten days in coming from Peoria, Ill, the most of the time on an overcrowded boat on the Missouri river, and when the clerk of the boat, the A. B. Chambers, Mr. J. S. Chick, since prominent in the history of Kansas City, pointed out a yellow hillside with a few unpainted shanties scattered along a winding road that led from the river to the dense oak woods at the top, and said, "That 's Kansas," it seemed good to us. We were dumped out on the sandy shore of the river at the mouth of the Kansas, and pitched our tent among a community of immigrants similarly situated, and waited for the promised boat to carry us and our effects up the river. A number of boats came down the river during the two weeks that we waited, but none ascended the river while we stayed there. Our experiences in this camp dispelled in a large measure the romantic illusions received through the magnifying lenses of immigration literature. The gales, which kept the sand in constant motion and deposited a portion of it regularly in the cooking utensils around the campfire; the numerous muscular mosquitos that paid us nightly visits; the carousals of grog-soaked Indians, who made informal calls on us daily; the betrayal of confidence in a fellow immigrant, by which we suffered the loss of the family pictures, a wooden-wheel clock, a grindstone, and Butterworth's Concordance of the Holy Scriptures, etc., all tended to the conclusion, that life in Kansas was not all an elysian dream. My pleasantest recollection of that camp is a wonderful spring that issued from the base of the cliff and poured its clear, cold waters into a basin in the yellow clay, and brimming over which it trickled down the bank into the Kansas river. Many a time I went there, a disappointed, half sick, lonesome boy, and played that this was the same old spring that had bathed the butter crocks in the milk-house at our Illinois home, and the fancy brought a pleasure that warms my heart to-day.

The A. B. Chambers was one of the best boats on the Missouri river, and coined money in the Kansas rush. Her owner and commander was Capt.


LIGHTFOOT
OF DUNDEE

Alexander Gilham, of Kansas City, and when he died his remains were buried in the front yard of his old home on McGee street, between Fourteenth and Fifteenth, but were subsequently removed. The old manse is now a Christian Science headquarters, but looks just as it did when the captain occupied it. His magnificent steamer once sank at Rushville, below St. Joseph, but was raised, and reentered the trade. She found her grave at last in Cora chute, near the mouth of the Missouri, where, at seasons of very low water, her remains may still be seen. Cora chute was so named after the boat Cora, which sank there. This was one of Capt. Joseph Kinney's favorite boats, and was named for his daughter Cora, now Mrs. Doctor Hurt, of Boonville, Mo.

The river continued to fall and the skies gave no token of rain, and the returning boats reported that no more boats would go up during the season, and so my father concluded to try land transportation. He bought an ox team and a wagon and, loading the family and the more necessary of the goods, struck out for the interior. We crossed the Kansas at the "free ferry," six miles above the mouth, one of the earliest devices of Leavenworth to circumvent Kansas City, by opening a direct route to the interior without passing through the Missouri town. A short distance from this ferry a steamboat was stuck on a sand-bar and the crew were wading around it, with fence-rails in their hands, trying to pry the craft into the channel I think this boat was the Lightfoot. (See p. 326.)

The transient boats were found to be too large for a crooked, shallow stream like the Kansas, and schemes were set on foot to build special lines of boats adapted to the new highway. The "Cincinnati & Kansas Land Company" was the first undertaking with this for its object, and organized at Cincinnati in the fall of 1854, with the following members: Col. J. J. Davis, A. J. Mead, Geo. Miller, Hiram Palmer, Dr. J. L. Watier, Judge John Pipher, and Captain Millard.

On April 26, 1855, the Hartford,[13] a flat-bottomed, stern-wheel steamboat, costing $7000, left Cincinnati "for the junction of the Smoky Hill and Republican rivers." This was the first boat chartered expressly for the Kansas river; it proved to be, if possible, less adapted for the service than any craft that ever vexed its waters. The boat had a cargo of 100 tons, a fair complement of passengers, and started under the most flattering circumstances. Captain Millard was her master, and Judge John Pipher was a passenger. In six days the boat reached St. Louis. There the cholera broke out among the passengers, and the "abolition boat," as she was called, received a great amount of gratuitous advertising. There was no lack of passengers, however, for the Kansas fever was raging, and for every one taken away by the cholera two others were brought aboard by the greater contagion. Much difficulty was experienced in getting a pilot, and one was only obtained by paying the exorbitant price of $700 for the trip to Kansas City.

The boat left St. Louis on the 3d of May with 100 passengers and their effects and 100 tons of freight, destined for "the head of navigation on the Kansas river." The pilot proved to be unfamiliar with the channel of the Missouri, and was, therefore, obliged to tie up the boat for the night. This prolonged the passage for nine days, and intensified the horrors of the

NOTE 13.—The Hartford was built at Monongahela, in 1851, and was rated at 144 tons.

dread scourge that again appeared among the passengers. A number died, and were buried on the bank at which the boat laid up for the night. Graves were hurriedly dug in the sand, and the bodies of the unfortunate immigrants who had gone to "an undiscovered country," little thought of a few hours before, were laid away by the light of torches under the shadow of the solemn woods.

The Hartford reached Kansas City May 12, and remained until May 20, when it started up the Kansas river. The Financier No. 2 and the Emma Harmon preceded the Hartford a few days. These boats had lumber and a number of passengers, also bound for "the head of navigation."

Herald of Freedom, May 26, 1855: "The steamer Emma Harmon, Capt. J. M. Wing, was made fast at our levee on Sunday last at about five o'clock P. M., it being the first steamer which was ever at our wharf. She had on board about fifty passengers, besides a large quantity of freight. The Emma Harmon is a stern-wheel boat, with two engines of 180 horse-power. When light she draws fourteen inches of water, and will carry fifty tons and 100 passengers on twenty inches of water. The steamer left for Fort Riley and intermediate points on Monday morning.

"The steamer Financier No. 2, Captain Morrison, arrived at our levee on the 21st, at ten o'clock A. M. She is a fine, well-built boat, and, like the Emma Harmon, is designed to be continued on this river. Her accommodations for passengers are very excellent, and, with the large amount of trade along this river, she must be sustained. She had a large amount of freight on board for this port, among which was a frame building ready to be put together.

"The Hartford, belonging to the Manhattan company, arrived from Cincinnati at about one o'clock P. M. the same day, heavily loaded with passengers and freight, for their new settlement at the junction of the Smoky Hill and Republican fork of the Kansas, five miles above Fort Riley. She was much more heavily loaded than either of the other steamers, and, like them, experienced no difficulty for want of water.

"The present rates between this point and Kansas City, Mo., are seventy-five cents per hundred for freight and four dollars for passengers up and three dollars down stream."

On the 3d of June the Hartford,[14] having declined all offers of Lawrence, Douglas, Lecompton, Tecumseh and Topeka to unload and settle the mooted question in their favor, ran aground a mile above the mouth of the Big Blue, where she lay for a month, waiting for the river to rise. Pending this detention, the "Cincinnati & Kansas Land Company" accepted overtures from the New England Emigrant Aid Company, and located at Manhattan.[15] A few days afterward, the boat, having gotten off the bar, dropped down to the mouth of the Big Blue and discharged her cargo. A portion of this consisted

NOTE 14.—Isaac Goodnow, "Personal Reminiscences and Kansas Emigration, 1855," in Historical Collections, vol. 4, p. 250.

NOTE 15.—In the "Report of the Special Committee to Investigate the Troubles in Kansas," p. 1035, appears the affidavit of Isaac S. Hascall. He settled in the neighborhood of Fort Riley in 1854. The affidavit is dated June 5, 1856. He speaks of boats as follows: "This company (meaning the Emigrant Aid Company), in connection with a Cincinnati company, mobbed Osborne and drove him off his claim. There was a company who came from Cincinnati, chartering a boat by the name of Hartford, and called themselves the Cincinnati Land Company. They were free-state men. Osborne came on and made a claim near the mouth of the Blue river, and they said that unless they ousted him immediately he could hold his claim by law. They alleged against him that he was a pro-slavery man; that they never could associate with him; that they must get rid of him soon or he would hold his claim by law, and consequently they would use force to make him go. . . . Osborne did not go on the claim until after Russell left; and there was no conflict that I know of between Osborne and Russell. The company collected in a force of thirty or forty-five men and went upon the claim where he was at work, and forcibly seized him and took him off. Before they gathered this force I was down near where the boat Hartford lay, in the Kansas river, and I heard this man Lincoln (agent of the Emigrant Aid Company) advise the men generally to mob him, as that was the only way to get rid of him. The substance of their desire to get rid of him was, that he was not a man of their stripe, and

of "Cincinnati houses," an architectural freak now happily obsolete. Speaking of this style of houses, Noble L. Prentis once said:

"In the days of very new Kansas, a Cincinnati firm, or company, did a rustling business in building frame houses in Cincinnati, knocking them down after the manner of household furniture, and sending them by boats to points on the Missouri river. This house-building company came into possession of a tract of land adjoining Leavenworth, and on it hundreds of their ready-made one- and two-story houses were put up, and that portion of Leavenworth is known to this day as 'Cincinnati.'"

These houses were to be rendered impervious to the weather by a coating of some sort of cement, one of the principal ingredients being alcohol, two dozen demijohns of which formed a part of the cargo of the Hartford. One Sunday, while Judge Pipher was preaching in the ladies' cabin, Captain Millard was inaugurating an Indian policy on the forecastle. The next day river water was substituted for alcohol in mixing the cement.

In the course of another month or so the river rose again, and the boat, having proved too large for the river, was headed down-stream with the intention of entering her in the Missouri river trade. At a point opposite St. Mary's Mission the boat ran aground again, and while waiting for another rise the captain began a thorough overhauling and repainting of the craft. While the crew were thus employed the captain bought a cow from an Indian and had a quantity of hay put up for its feed. One day two Pottawatomie Indians came on the boat and demanded tobacco. They were referred to the clerk, who very promptly kicked them off the boat. A few minutes later the hay on the river bank and then the boat were on fire, and, almost before the rascally Indians were out of sight, both were consumed. Thus ended the career of the Hartford, in the fall of 1855. The owners, in Cincinnati, were negotiating a sale when the news reached them that the boat had been burned.

One of the boilers was sold to the New England Emigrant Aid Company, and was used in a sawmill in Lawrence. The other boiler and the engines and machinery were left on the bank until 1859, when Josiah Simpson, of Wyandotte, acquired title, and undertook to get possession of the property and remove it. Securing the assistance of Capt. G. P. Nelson, an old river captain, who had made a record on the Illinois a quarter of a century before, and who had been on a river boat all his life, Simpson got a wrecking boat, and, with it in tow of the steamer Star of the West, Captain Nelson commanding, started for the scene of the wreck. At a point near Lecompton the steamer ran hard aground, and Simpson was obliged to cast loose, and proceed with his wrecking boat, by means of sail and setting pole, for the remainder of the distance. Arrived at the wreck of the Hartford, he succeeded in getting the remaining boiler and the engines and machinery out of the wreck, but the low stage of water precluded his shipping them down the river on his flatboat. Accordingly, he buried the engines and machinery

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they did not want any such man there. I think there were five preachers in the crowd who had a hand in getting this up—four Methodists and one Presbyterian. After seizing Osborne and taking him by force down to the boat, they kept him a prisoner for a while and then let him off. They told him that if he left, and did not show his head again, his neck would be safe, but if he did come back again they would do something serious to him. Osborne had a friend by the name of Garrett, living up on Blue river, and he went up there. Garrett's brother was a clerk on the boat Financier, which lay above in the river. He went up to that boat, and when on his way back they arrested him without claiming to have any legal warrant to arrest him upon any criminal charge. They made an allegation against him, as a reason for arresting him the second time, that he had threatened the life of Captain Miller for the proceedings the day before."

in the dry sand of the river bank, and left the boiler on top of the ground where the Indians had set fire to the boat, and, with the wheel-shaft as the only freight on his boat, dropped down the river to Topeka, where the shaft was sold. This shaft was of two or three tons weight, and was of wrought iron.

When Simpson reached Kansas City, he had so completely failed in his undertaking that he was obliged to let Nelson have the wreck of the Hartford for services and money advanced. The boiler disappeared, and the *cache* of the engines is unknown.

Letter in New York *Times*, signed "Randolph" (William Hutchinson):

"LAWRENCE, K. T., March 27, 1856.—I doubt whether there is any better prospect now than there was the 1st of March for navigating the Kansas at present. The Lizzie, which ran upon a bar some thirty miles below here last summer, remains there still, from last report, while the water is at least five feet above low-water mark. This shows that she should have been run down to Kansas City long ere this, had the manager desired to do so, but I have reasons for distrusting the intentions of the whole Missouri boat craft, and for believing that they only wished to humbug us, and give us no boats."

Mr. Joseph S. Chick, referred to, who came to Kansas City, or Westport Landing as it was then called, in 1843,[16] owned the steamer Lizzie,[17] which was used in the Missouri and Kansas river trade. In his testimony in the federal court in Kansas City recently, in a suit brought to determine the status of the Kansas river, he stated that the Lizzie drew nearly three feet of water, that she made the trip from Kansas City to Lawrence in about twenty-four hours, and that he shipped merchandise to Lawrence by boat, and when the railroad was completed to Lawrence the boat was taken off the river.[18]

Although the navigation progress was started by the builders of the Hartford, the Emma Harmon[19] is entitled to the honor of being the first steamboat to ascend the river after the white settlement began,[20] being one day in advance of Financier No. 2, and five days ahead of the Hartford.

NOTE 16.—In a letter to Geo. W. Martin, under date of May 3, 1906, Mr. J. S. Chick says: "I was born in Howard county, Missouri, August 3, 1828; arrived in Westport, Mo., March 7, 1836, and in Kansas City, Mo., December, 1843. . . . Kansas City's corporate limits extended south from the river about one-half mile. Since then, by various expansions, it has taken in the town of Westport; therefore, I can claim residence in the present Kansas City from March 7, 1836."

NOTE 17.—G. W. Brown, editor of the *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, makes the following statement in regard to the destruction of his printing-office, May 21, 1856: "Petitioner had on said day (21st May, 1856), lying on the levee, recently landed from the steamer Lizzie, a steam-engine, boiler, and fixtures, intended for running the said power press. It was only landed there on the Friday before said 21st of May."—Kansas Claims, 1861, p. 897.

NOTE 18.—21st [August, 1855]—The little steam ferry-boat Lizzie was here to-day. How we wish some enterprising capitalist would build some boats with a draft of only ten or twelve inches without load, such as are used upon the California waters. Every day we might hear the shrill steam-whistle, telling of active business life, and a means of communication between us and the rest of the world. Then the freights, which have to be brought forty-five miles by land, on wagons, could more easily be transported into the territory, and passengers would find the journey much less tedious. Now, if a mill gives way—any part of the machinery breaking—nothing in all Missouri, this side of St. Louis, can be found for repairs; and all these heavy freights have to be brought by land from Kansas City. A boat briskly plying on the river would add much to the growth and prosperity of the territory.—Sara T. D. Robinson, "Kansas—its Interior and Exterior Life," 4th ed., p. 86.

NOTE 19.—The Emma Harmon was built at Clarksville in 1854, and was rated at 125 tons.

NOTE 20.—C. Casselle, of Horton, October 1, 1888, wrote the Historical Society: "The following is a short sketch of my experience on the Kaw river, in 1855, on the steamer Emma Harmon: The Emma Harmon was a stern-wheel boat of 150 tons burden, with an open hold. She was built on the upper Ohio, and owned by General Knox, of Knoxville, Ill. Her crew were: Job Wing, master; General Knox, acting clerk; Lewis, engineer; Smith, carpenter; Putney, mate; Casselle, watchman, and second clerk in port. We left St. Louis the first week in May, bound for Fort Riley, with a trip of government stores. I cannot give particulars of the first trip, as I had to go to St. Joe on some business of my own. I started on the second trip from Kansas City. When about five miles above the mouth our pilot piled us out hard and fast, where the boat lay till September. I think it was about the 6th when a four-foot rise came and set us afloat again.

On the afternoon of May 19, 1855, this boat, a small stern-wheeler, left Kansas City "for Topeka and way landings." There were twenty or thirty passengers aboard, among the number George W. Deitzler, Gaius Jenkins, John Speer and family, Mr. Gleason, wife, son, and daughter, the latter afterwards being Mrs. Hubbell, of Lawrence, Brinton W. Woodward, Philip Woodward, Mr. DeLand and family, L. P. Lincoln, and John W. Stevens, the latter with a printing-office to start a paper at Manhattan. The entire party was supplied with firearms, and Deitzler had 100 Sharp's rifles.[21] The river was high and the boat made good headway, but as a precaution the pilot ordered her tied up for the night when they reached Chouteau's Landing, a distance of ten miles from the mouth.

Either just before or just after leaving Kansas City, a negro was taken from this boat by a party of men who thought him to be a runaway slave, but he proved to be a free man and was turned loose. Eastern papers made much of the incident.

The next day the boat was off with the first gleam of light, and as the sun rose with a perfect day, the passengers thronged the upper deck, eager to enjoy the beauty of the scene; the ever-changing panorama of the winding river, dotted with islands, among which the boat turned this way and that in its course against the current; the stately cottonwoods shining in the glory of their new foliage; the rock-bound bluffs; glimpses of emerald prairies in the distance, and, over all, the soft skies of early summer. Occasionally an Indian cabin was to be seen, with its occupants ranged in silent wonderment near it, but these were the only signs of civilization, and the forests were as silent and pathless as the river. About noon the boat went to the bank to get a supply of wood, and the passengers gathered their first wild strawberries of the season. Shortly after starting again they were hailed by an Indian, who made them understand that he wanted a flatboat towed up the river. The steamer was accordingly brought alongside and made fast to the flatboat, and then proceeded on its journey. This Indian proved to be an intelligent Shawnee named Tooley,[22] who had built the craft for a ferry-boat for Bluejacket's crossing[23] on the Wakarusa, in anticipation of

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During the summer Captain Wing went to St. Louis and had crabs and a crew sent to the boat to build ways under her to launch her into the water, which was 100 feet from where she settled in the spring. When the rise came it washed the ways from under her forward and aft, leaving her amidship. This broke her fore and aft chains and caused her to fill with water, and also caused us three days' and nights' pumping, at which all hands took their turn, watch and watch, General Knox, a man of sixty years, taking his turn with the rest of us. We finally got her in trim again by hauling her to a creek, where we coupled her chains again by hauling her head on one bank of the creek and her stern on the other. After we had everything shipshape, we gathered wood to take us out of the river, and we left the following morning. The Financier, Capt. Matt Morrison, did all the work that we should have done. She did not get into port till long after we did. As for the other boats, I know nothing about them except the Lacon. She was built for the Illinois river. There was a boat called Lizzie, a side-wheeler, passed up and down during the summer I was on the Emma Harmon."

NOTE 21.—"Within an hour after his [Geo. W. Deitzler's] arrival in Boston he had an order for 100 Sharp's rifles, and in forty-eight hours the rifles were on their way to Lawrence. They were shipped in boxes marked 'books.'"—Cordley, History of Lawrence, p. 37. In the Report of the Special Committee to Investigate the Troubles in Kansas (William A. Howard, John Sherman, and Mordecai Oliver), p. 1156, is the affidavit of Samuel F. M. Salters, dated June, 11, 1856 (Salters settled in June, 1854), in which appears this statement: "About the 1st of June, 1855, a boat, I think the Emma Harmon, landed at Lawrence, and three or four large boxes were put off, and a Mr. Simpson, I think, took charge of them. They were marked 'books.' I saw them opened, and found them to be Sharp's rifles."

NOTE 22.—This name is given as "Tula" in "The Friends' Establishment in Kansas Territory," by Dr. Wilson Hobbs (Historical Collections, vol. 8, p. 255), and as "Tooly" in Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties, Washington, 1904, vol. 2, pp. 624, 625.

NOTE 23.—Bluejacket's crossing was in the southwest quarter of section 12, Eudora township.

the immigration to the territory. It being Sunday, the passengers engaged in religious worship, and Tooley joined them, offering a fervent prayer in his own tongue. At the mouth of the Wakarusa the tow-lines were cast off and the passengers waved a parting salute to the red man, who proceeded to "pole" his ungainly craft up the smaller stream.

Just before sunset of May 20 the Harmon reached Lawrence and landed at the foot of New Hampshire street. It was a great day in the history of the town, and everybody hurried to the river bank to greet the unexpected but welcome visitor. The passengers and officers of the boat were given an ovation, and every available vehicle was used to convey them to the city, chief among the number being a spring wagon belonging to Mrs. Samuel N. Wood.

Before leaving the boat, the passengers organized a meeting and passed resolutions congratulating the officers upon the success of the trip. Of this meeting Gaius Jenkins was chairman and John Speer was secretary, the latter drawing up the resolutions in the usual language of superlative degree and Jenkins securing their adoption without a dissenting voice.

The boat remained at Lawrence for a few days and then proceeded up the river. A town site a few miles above Lawrence was designated by a sawmill and unfinished levee and a shingle nailed to a tree on the river bank, with the word "Douglas," and a hand, pointing into the wood, painted thereon.

At Lecompton the citizens gave the officers and passengers a reception, which was handsomely reciprocated by a ball and supper on the boat.

At Tecumseh the boat broke a shaft, and laid up a day for repairs. The passengers went on a hunt and killed a wildcat.

When the boat reached Topeka the river had begun to fall, and the captain decided to return. Accordingly the upper-river freight was discharged, to be taken by the next boat, and the Harmon went back to Wyandotte.

The next trip of this boat is thus referred to by the Lawrence paper upon its arrival at that town:

Herald of Freedom, June 2, 1855.—"On Thursday last our levee presented a business aspect which we hardly expected it to assume during the present season. The Emma Harmon discharged upwards of a hundred tons of freight on our wharf that day, among which we saw a large quantity of merchandise for the Lawrence merchants. If she continues to deposit as large a quantity of freight here at each regular trip she makes to our port, but a short time will elapse until our town will put on airs equal to some of the great cities along the Missouri."

Herald of Freedom, June 2, 1885.—"We learned that E. C. K. Garvey, Esq., late of Milwaukee, Wis., arrived in our city on Wednesday evening last, on board the steamer Emma Harmon, and has a view of locating permanently if everything is satisfactory."

Captain Wing exerted himself to build up a trade, and made several trips to Lawrence, where he became very popular. However, there was little or nothing to ship out, one cargo of merchandise being sufficient to last the town for the year, and there was little encouragement for transportation facilities. No freight of any kind was refused. These were the days of small things, and every little helped. Charlie Garrett used to say that the lightest trip the Emma Harmon ever made was when she took his boots to Kansas City to have them half-soled. He said the return trip was

made at night, and that while walking ahead to carry the boat's lantern and find the channel, the damp night air nearly gave him his death cold.

Of the fate of the Emma Harmon, I am unable to speak definitely. Probably a lack of freight and water, and a surplus of political trouble, scared her out of the country.

Advertisement in *Herald of Freedom:* "KANSAS RIVER PACKET.—The light-draft, fourteen-inch steamer, Financier No. 2, will ply regularly between Kansas City and Fort Riley, touching at all intermediate landings. Having fine accommodations for passengers, public patronage is respectfully solicited, and shippers can rely upon the Financier's punctuality. For freight or passage, apply to Captain Morrison, on board; J. Riddlesbarger & Co., Kansas City; or C. H. Manning, *Herald of Freedom* office, Lawrence City, K. T. May 12, 1855."

Extract from a letter signed "Sigma," published in *Herald of Freedom,* April 19, 1855: "On our way down from Kansas City the first day we met several steamers, among which was the Financier No. 2, bound for the Kansas river, and I hope she will find a sufficiency of water in that river to continue to run through the season—probably, ere this reaches you, she will have arrived in Lawrence. . . . We laid to in the evening just above Washington. In the morning we met Captain Swift, in command of the Saranak,[24] bound for the Kansas river. Success to him and his enterprise; if he succeeds as he expects, his first arrival at Lawrence will be a day brilliant with hope for the future prospects of that city."

The Financier No. 2 was a side-wheeler of 125 tons burden, and accommodations for fifty first-class passengers. She arrived at Lawrence, May 21, 1855, and received a cordial welcome. Proceeding up the river, she ran aground at Grasshopper bar,[25] opposite Lecompton, and again at Tecumseh island, and was three days in making the run from Lawrence to Topeka, a distance, by the river, of forty miles. At the latter point she took on the freight for upper-river points discharged by the Emma Harmon, and proceeded on her way.

Upon arriving at Fort Riley and discharging her freight she proceeded up the Republican a distance of forty miles, as an experiment, returning in safety the following day. This would make the highest point reached by the only steamer that ever navigated the Republican about where Clay Center now stands. Seven years after this the writer was employed on extra duty while a soldier in finishing the cavalry stables at Fort Riley. The lumber furnished was native Red cedar, and when inquiry was made as to where it was obtained, the answer was that it was sawed from trees found along the Republican a few miles up that stream, and was brought down from the mill on a boat. The lumber was old and weather beaten, and looked as if it might have been sawed for a number of years. Since having learned of the trip of the Financier No. 2 up the Republican, I have wondered whether this might not have been the boat which brought this lumber to the fort.

The boat proved to be too large for the Kansas, and upon her return to

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NOTE 24.—The Saranak was built at Brownsville in 1851, and was rated at 352 tons.

NOTE 25.—*Herald of Freedom,* May 27, 1855: "The steamer Financier No. 2 is aground on the Grasshopper bar, opposite Lecompton, and has been for three days. She has fifty tons of freight and ten passengers. The Emma Harmon has reached Tecumseh; she carries two engines of 180 horse-power. The Hartford is aground at Douglas." O. H. Drinkwater, still living in Chase county, and his brother, Delos F. Drinkwater, came up the Missouri on the Financier, landing at Kansas City April 9, 1855. They took the boat for the Kansas river, but at that time the stage of water was not satisfactory. O. H. Drinkwater hauled the first printing-press from Kansas City to Topeka, belonging to E. C. K. Garvey.

the mouth of the river she sought business elsewhere. What her fate was I have been unable to learn.

St. Louis *Intelligencer*, June 8, 1856: "For a delightful trip, with pleasant officers, we would recommend the fair ladies and pleasure-seeking gentlemen who read this to step on board the good steamer Brazil,[26] Captain Reed, and proceed with that boat to the Kansas river. She leaves this evening, and will proceed, if found practicable, to Fort Riley, some two or three hundred miles from the mouth. The traveler on this route will have the opportunity of seeing some of the finest land on the face of the globe; wild and unsettled, to be sure, but more interesting on that account."

This was a small side-wheeler, and made a few trips on the Kansas in 1856, but, on account of low water and a lack of patronage, abandoned the undertaking. I do not think she went higher than Topeka, but one trip higher than Lecompton. Of her fate I am not informed.

St. Louis *Evening News*, March 10, 1856: "The business men of St. Louis are becoming alarmed less the trade of Kansas should be diverted from this city in consequence of the troubles on the river. To counteract the disposition of the people of Kansas to trade with other cities, it is the duty of our merchants to use all means to conciliate and break down their repugnance to our state and city."

A MEETING OF RIVER-MEN.—A meeting of the officers of Missouri river packets was held Saturday, March 22, 1856, in the interests of the trade for St. Louis. One hundred thousand immigrants to Kansas were expected during the year. Capt. Thomas I. Goddin, of the steamer Keystone, presided. A letter dated Chicago, March 17, and signed "H. W.," asked the following questions:

"Will the owners and masters of Missouri river packets carry free-state immigrants to Kansas this season?

"Will they afford them such protection from insult and violence as though their political sentiments were more in accordance with the prevailing opinions of western Missouri?

"Will there be any difference made on the part of said owners and masters between passengers from the Northern and Southern states, provided both conduct themselves peaceably and properly?

"Will immigrants from the free states, in your opinion, probably meet with opposition and violence in Weston, Parkville, Leavenworth, etc., while passing through to the territory, provided they avoid as much as possible any expression of political opinion?

"Would you advise these immigrants to take the Missouri river route, in preference to the passage through Iowa and Nebraska, as a matter of personal safety and convenience?"

The letter was indorsed by B. Gratz Brown and a strong appeal made to the steamboat men in behalf of the trade for St. Louis. The following is Captain Goddin's answer:

"STEAMBOAT KEYSTONE, March 24, 1856.

"*B. Gratz Brown:* DEAR SIR—Your note of this morning and letter accompanying were duly received and contents of letter noted.

"In reply, permit to say that Missouri packets will, I am confident, not make any difference between consignments from the North and South, but charge all alike; and either will, if they demean themselves properly, be protected from insult. True, there is a good deal of excitement in western Missouri, but I do not think the citizens there will offer violence to any one who may go to Kansas, unless provoked to it by imprudent conduct or con-

NOTE 26.—The Brazil was built at McKeesport in 1854, and was rated at 211 tons.

versation. My opinion is, however, that Northern immigrants had better come in small parties, as coming in that way they will not create any alarm in western Missouri. I would by all means advise all immigrants to take the Missouri route, as being the quickest, most comfortable, and certain.

"Hoping my answer will prove satisfactory in giving an intimation at least of the purpose of the Missouri river packet captains, permit me to subscribe myself, Very respectfully yours, THOMAS I. GODDIN.

"P. S.—In a meeting of the association Saturday this matter was talked of, and an agreement come to, to take immigrants to Kansas for twelve dollars apiece during the season—say to August 1st.—T. I. G."[27]

The political disturbances in Kansas and the offensive attitude of the Missourians and Missouri river steamboat officers towards free-state immigrants greatly retarded the navigation of the Kansas river at this period. While the ruffians of Buford and similar characters interested in foisting slavery on the territory were given every facility and encouragement in their passage up the Missouri, immigrants suspected of holding opposite political opinions were discriminated against in every possible way—in the assignment of quarters on the boats and seats at meals, and in any and every contemptible and petty manner their hatred could suggest. Baggage was opened and searched, and in some cases seized and destroyed. Even this was less serious than the systematic detention of freight destined for interior points in Kansas. It was almost impossible for Leavenworth, Lawrence and Topeka merchants to get goods shipped within a reasonable time. Public and private appeals were made to the Chamber of Commerce of St. Louis, and to the wholesale merchants of that city, but in vain. Finally a public meeting was held in Lawrence and a movement set on foot for the establishment of an independent line of boats from Leavenworth and Lawrence to Alton, Ill. Following is the call for the meeting:

"PUBLIC MEETING.—A meeting of the merchants and other citizens of Kansas is hereby called at the Free State hotel, in Lawrence, on Friday next, the 27th inst., at two o'clock P. M., to take into consideration the condition to which we are subjected by the acts of an organized band of lawless men along the Missouri river, by whom our goods are broken open and searched, our property stolen, and our persons, as well as immigrants, subjected to a surveillance degrading to humanity, humiliating to us, and unknown in a civilized country; also, the imposition of an unreasonable and oppressive tax, by the combination of boat-owners on the Missouri, of twenty-five cents per hundred pounds on goods to Leavenworth, in addition to the rates to Kansas City, Mo., with a view to the establishment of a line of steamers direct between Alton, Ill., and Leavenworth and Lawrence, Kan.

"Lawrence, Kan., March 24, 1856."[28]

This call was signed by sixty-eight business houses of Lawrence.

The following day the leading merchants and business men of Kansas City issued a card to the public denouncing the outrages to which certain passengers and shippers on the Missouri had been subjected, in the following language:

"KANSAS CITY, MO., March 25, 1856.

"A CARD TO THE PUBLIC.—*Whereas*, The occurrence at our wharf of the unlawful seizure and breaking open of a box or package, consigned to one of our shipping merchants, has caused an impression unfavorable to our good name; and

"*Whereas*, We deem it but just to ourselves and to the public that such

NOTE 27.—Webb Scrap-books, vol. 10, p. 175.

NOTE 28.—Id., vol. 11, p. 26.

impression should be contradicted, a meeting of the merchants and shippers of Kansas was called, which meeting submits the following:

"The box was opened by persons from Lexington and Independence, who came up on the boat, unknown to our citizens, and the act performed before even all the people on the wharf were aware of an intent so to do. The box contained a pianoforte and bore no evidence of anything else whatever. It was consigned to Messrs. Simmons & Leadbeater; the latter only being in town, and being a comparative stranger here, did not feel able to resist.

"We condemn the act as unlawful and sinister, and believe it to have been premeditated on the part of those inimical to our interests and jealous of our prosperity, and by some largely interested in removing trade from this place to Leavenworth and other towns; and we hereby declare that property consigned to us shall be protected from undue or improper molestation, and that at the peril of our lives this declaration shall be maintained and made good.

ROBERT CHARLES.
FRANKLIN CONANT.
SIMMONS & LEADBEATER.
J. W. AMMONS.
R. G. RUSSELL.
J. G. BOARMAN.
J. B. LESTER.
JAMES A. FRAME.
W. J. JARBOE.
J. RIDDLESBARGER & CO.[29]
WALKER & CHICK.
J. A. INSLEE.
WEST, JAMES & HOUSE.
ISAAC M. RIDGE.
J. & D. M. JARBOE.
WM. E. PROCTOR.
F. H. JARBOE."

It was a great joke to allege that the people of Leavenworth had conspired with the people of Lexington and Independence to injure Kansas City.

The particular incident referred to was one of a series of similar acts of outlawry which characterized the times on the Missouri river. The excuse for this act was that the river pirates had found a box of rifles a short time before, and proposed to monopolize the sending of guns to Kansas. David S. Hoyt, in a trip to Leavenworth with Sharp's rifles, met with opposition of this nature. He was a passenger on the steamer Arabia, Capt. John S. Shaw, in March, 1856, and, through some mischance, dropped or had stolen from him a letter to his mother, telling her of his success with guns and ammunition up to that time. The captain read the letter to the passengers, who immediately demanded that the arms be thrown overboard, and the owner with them. After some discussion and an examination of the rifles, it was decided to allow Hoyt to go on, but the surrender of the guns was insisted upon. This Hoyt refused to do, and upon the arrival of the boat at Lexington, a committee came on board and a conference was held in the texas. As a result, the arms were landed and held subject to the order of Governor Shannon, of Kansas, or his successor in office, and Hoyt was allowed to proceed to Kansas City. He afterward went to St. Louis and collected from the Arabia over fifty per cent. more than the cost of the goods, and in 1857 Governor Geary gave an order for the guns, and such as were not destroyed were recovered.[30]

The St. Louis *Democrat* of March 13 says: "It turns out that the arms seized are United States property destined for Fort Leavenworth."

Hartford (Conn.) *Courant*, March 27, 1856: "If Missourians rob the steamboats of arms sent to the settlers of Kansas, there will at once be an effort made to find a passage to that territory across Iowa. It will be

NOTE 29.—Webb Scrap-books, vol. 11, p. 22.

NOTE 30.—"David Starr Hoyt," by William B. Parsons, in Kansas Magazine, July, 1872, p. 42.

asked whether such a state can expect assistance from free-state men in Congress in their important project of a Pacific railway."

A few days after the "carpenter tools" episode another boat was stopped at Lexington and a suspicious-looking box seized for detention. The captain of the boat interfered, whereupon the "committee" took passage on the boat to Kansas City, and as soon as the boat discharged the box it was opened, and found to contain a piano for a lady at Osawatomie. This was the occasion of the Kansas City manifesto.

Letter in St. Louis *Evening Post:* "St. Louis, March 20, 1856.—I leave on the A. B. Chambers this day for Kansas in company with about 300, the largest portion of whom are bound for Kansas. We have also some seventy or eighty cases of rifles for Southern people. You know a man from Mississippi was in New York buying rifles some time ago. I presume these are the same. You will see by a slip of curious paper which I send you what is said of these suspicious boxes."

St. Louis *News*, March 21, 1856: "The Highflyer, in this morning from Louisville, brought between fifty and sixty slaves belonging to families on their way from Kentucky to Kansas. Since the opening of the river full 500 slaves have arrived from the Ohio river on their way to Kansas. The J. H. Lucas took up nearly 100, the Star of the West 100, the A. B. Chambers 50 or 75, and almost every boat that has started up the Missouri river since the opening of the river has taken up a larger or smaller number. The slaves are in almost every case taken in the cabin, while poor white families going to the same place take passage on deck."

Letter in St. Louis *Republican*, dated Westport, April 8, 1856: "We arrived at Kansas City on Saturday afternoon, about two o'clock, the Lucas having made a quick trip, considering that she broke a wheel and grounded twice, being thus detained about ten hours. Notwithstanding this detention and the fact that the Morning Star, Captain Brierly's new boat, left nine hours before the Lucas, the latter beat her to Kansas City by nearly eight hours. After writing you on the way, we discovered one abolitionist on board. We knew him first by his talk; secondly, by his eyes; and thirdly, by his eyelashes. He could not say *cow;* he could not look you 'plumb in the eye'; and his eyelashes were as white as cotton, although his head was not gray. After he found out our 'plan for curing abolitionists,' he became as 'wise as a serpent and as harmless as a dove.' H. C. P."

Kansas City *Enterprise*, April 12, 1856.—"The First Flatboat: The flatboat Pioneer has arrived from the Kansas river with the first load of merchandise ever shipped in that description of craft. It was freighted at Lawrence, and opens a new chapter in the territory of Kansas. In this age of steamboats and locomotives, people are apt to overlook humble beginnings, but those acquainted with the history of the times cannot fail to appreciate the importance of this branch of trade. It is important from another view—Kansas has commenced exporting, a fact which people in the older states have not even dreamed of, affording evidence of the wonderful growth of the territory and of the energy and enterprise which, amid the political excitement of the last year, have been silently but effectively at work."

New Line of Steamers on the Missouri River.—"Alton, Ill., May 2, 1856. The committee appointed by the Kansas and Alton Transportation Company to establish a line of steamers between this city and Kansas, for the transportation of passengers and merchandise direct, have completed their arrangements, and a circular will soon be issued to apprise immigrants and forwarders of the increased facilities offered by the company. It is as yet uncertain how soon the boats will commence their trips."—Webb, vol. 12, p. 41.

Emigration to Kansas.—*Missouri Democrat*, May 8, 1856: "Meetings were lately held at Alton for the purpose of discussing the practicability of establishing a line of packets between that city and points on the Missouri

river, in order to enable the free-state immigrants to escape from some real or imaginary ill treatment suffered by them on boats which make St. Louis the starting-point on their trips. There does not appear to be any likelihood of an early establishment of the contemplated line, but an agent is making arrangements with steamers that leave here to go to Alton in order to take them on board there. The David Tatum got a large number of passengers under this arrangement a few days ago, and the Keystone went up yesterday to receive on board 500 persons bound for Kansas. We believe that large numbers of men are arriving daily at Alton bound for Kansas, and that at least five boats will call there weekly for some time to come, to carry them to their destination."

St. Louis *Intelligencer*, June 28, 1856: "The Star of the West, as we learn from the Edinburg, is having trouble with her passengers. When the Edinburg passed down, the boat was lying at Weston with the whole crowd on board, and with no prospect of landing them at any point. The passengers on board, it is known, are abolitionists, and after having their arms taken from them at Lexington, the boat proceeded to Weston, but on her arrival there, the inhabitants of the town and surrounding country refused to allow them to come on shore; and the only alternative left is for the boat to bring them back and land them where she got them, which we learn will be done."

According to the St. Louis *Republican* of June 30, the party reached Kansas City about daylight the next morning after they had been disarmed at Lexington,[31] where the steamer was awaited by General Jones, with a company of thirty South Carolinians. General Atchison, General Stringfellow and W. H. Russell came aboard the boat. A committee was appointed from Leavenworth and Kansas City to escort the party out of the river. About forty were put off at the nearest point in Illinois and the remainder were taken to St. Louis. On the way down the Star of the West met the Sultan with forty more immigrants belonging to the same company. These people, upon learning the fate of the first detachment, desired to return with them, but their request was not granted. It was said these immigrants had been "sold" by the Chicago society [Kansas National Committee, H. B. Hurd, secretary].

Governor Robinson was a passenger on the Star of the West,[32] and took the boat at Kansas City without registering. On the arrival of the steamer at Lexington a small company of citizens searched the boat and took Robinson off. He was charged with going away to avoid arrest for treason. Mrs. Robinson remained with the governor.

The steamer Lightfoot was the first boat built in Kansas, and bore across the stern, above the wheel, this legend, "Lightfoot, of Quindaro." W. F. M. Arny and Matt Morrison commanded in the order named.

It was a stern-wheeler of 100 feet in length and 24 feet beam, with a hold of 3 or 4 feet and had no texas; the pilot-house being the only structure above the hurricane deck, and this extending but a few feet above; the remainder being below, and the floor of it but a few feet above that of

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NOTE 31.—March 10, 1856, the St. Louis *Evening News* says the business men of St. Louis are becoming alarmed lest the trade of Kansas should be diverted from that city in consequence of the troubles on the river. To counteract the disposition of the people of Kansas to trade with other cities, the *News* says it is the duty of merchants in St. Louis to use all means to conciliate and break down their repugnance to our state and city.—Webb Scrap-books, vol. 10, p. 76. July 19, 1856.—A St. Louis merchant bitterly bewails the disastrous effect upon the business of that city, and adds: "If you abolitionists would take a few hundred men and a steamer or two and go up the river and wipe Lexington out of existence, there would be no tears shed in St. Louis."—Webb Scrap-books, vol. 15, p. 48.

NOTE 32.—The Star of the West was built at McKeesport in 1855, and was rated at 435 tons.

the cabin. There were a few staterooms, and the freight capacity of the boat was probably seventy-five tons, on a draft of eighteen inches. It was built by Thaddeus Hyatt, of New York city, who was an enthusiastic friend of Kansas and always ready to spend his great wealth in any way for her advancement.

The first and only trip of this boat on the Kansas river began at Wyandotte April 4, 1857, and ended May 9 of the same year. The run to Lawrence, a distance of sixty miles by the river, occupied three days, owing to a low stage of water and high winds. At De Soto the smoke-stacks ran afoul of the ferry rope, and this and the gale of wind wrenched them down to the deck, a further occasion for the delay.

John Speer was a passenger on his way home to Lawrence from an Eastern trip in the interest of free Kansas. The following facts are gleaned from an account of the trip published in the Lawrence *Tribune*, of which he was the editor:

April 7, 1857, the steamboat Lightfoot, built expressly for the Kaw river trade, arrived at the Lawrence landing, at the foot of New Hampshire street, loaded down with freight and passengers. It was considered at the time a great event in the history of Lawrence, and Captain Bickerton was on hand with his favorite cannon, "Old Sacramento," to fire a national salute in honor of the formal opening of steamboat navigation on the Kaw. Several steamboats larger than the Lightfoot had made trips up the river at different times before this, but it was given out that the Lightfoot had been built expressly to run on the river from Kansas City, Wyandotte and Quindaro to Lawrence, and the people flattered themselves that Lawrence was about to become almost a seaport, or at least a port of entry for cheaply freighted goods. We are truly sorry that we have not preserved a full list of the passengers who came up on that historic steamboat, but we do recollect a goodly number of them, some of whom were coming as fresh immigrants to the territory, and others returning to it from a visit to the East. Among the latter we remember Gen. C. W. Babcock, then postmaster at Lawrence; Gen. S. C. Pomeroy, then an agent of the New England Emigrant Aid Society; Paul R. Brooks, then a prominent merchant; Mrs. C. I. H. Nichols, then and since well known as a writer and lecturer, accompanied by her two sons and a daughter; Miss Bernecia Carpenter, a highly educated and accomplished young lady who strongly attracted the attentions of the enthusiastic young poet, Richard Realf; Horace A. W. Tabor, his brother John F. Tabor, and sister, Mrs. Moye, the brothers bringing each a young wife fresh from the hills of Vermont. W. F. M. Arny was the chief manager of the Lightfoot; in fact, he seemed to have full charge of the boat in every department. He was supercargo and bottle-washer, everywhere present, and bound to shine.

The voyage from Wyandotte to Lawrence lasted three days, partly in consequence of a strong head-wind which blew down the steamer's smoke-stacks and forced her to remain tied up to a big walnut tree, not far from De Soto, all day Sunday, giving Mr. Arny a good opportunity to display his talents as chaplain, which he improved to the utmost.

The boat remained at Lawrence a few days and then undertook the return trip to Wyandotte, which, owing to low water and ignorance of the channel, consumed the time until May 9, as has been stated, the greater part of the time being spent on sand-bars. Upon reaching Wyandotte the

boat abandoned the Kansas and entered the Missouri river trade, but of her ultimate fate I am not advised.

The Violet was a side-wheeler, disproportionately wide for its length, being some thirty feet beam and not to exceed eighty or ninety feet in length, and was rated at 100 tons. It was built at Pittsburg, expressly for the Kansas river, and reached Kansas City April 7, 1857, well loaded with freight and passengers. David Martin and family, among the number the lad who in his splendid manhood has since honored the state in many useful and prominent positions and the present secretary of the Historical Society, were passengers on this steamer.[33] J. N. Deamer, 1945 Vermont street, Lawrence, was also a passenger on the Violet, taking the boat at Pittsburg. The boat reached Lawrence on April 9 and concluded to go no higher, owing to the rapidly falling river and the shallowness of the channel. After discharging its load, the return trip was undertaken, and consumed just a month, the boat arriving at the mouth of the Kansas on May 10, where the writer saw it scraping its way over the bars to get into the Missouri.

With this disheartening experience the owners of the Violet decided to place her in the trade of the Southern rivers, and accordingly she carried individual crops of cotton from the St. Francis, Cache, White and Arkansas rivers to New Orleans, paying for herself many times over in the following three or four years.

Whether it is still in vogue or not I am unable to state, but in the days before the war it was a favorite custom for the planters along the Southern rivers to charter a steamboat to take the season's crop of cotton to market, and at the same time to convey the planter's family to the metropolis for a touch of high life. The winter rains brought all the rivers, bayous and sloughs to a fine boating stage, so that an ordinary-sized steamer had no difficulty in reaching the family mansion, which was usually built near some watercourse, and taking on the freight and passengers with the greatest

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NOTE 33.— DAVID MARTIN was born in county Antrim, near Belfast, Ireland, December 1, 1814, and brought to America in 1819. Mary Howell was born in Pittsburg, Pa., in 1822. They were married in Cambria county, Pennsylvania, September 16, 1840. The following editorial, entitled "Our First Night in Kansas," was published in the Junction City *Union*, April 14, 1887:

"On the 17th of March, 1857, the editor of the *Union*, then fifteen years old, left Hollidaysburg, Pa., with his father's family, for Kansas. We came down the Ohio river to St. Louis on the steamer Cambridge. At St. Louis we found a small boat called the Violet, advertised for all points on the Kansas river. The *paterfamilias*, having spent 1855 and 1856 in Kansas, was already filled with the idea that nothing was impossible with Kansas, and, of course, the Kansas river was navigable; so passage was taken on the Violet, a little stern-wheeler, for Lecompton, a point where a number of Pennsylvanians had located. There was a great rise in the Missouri, and the Violet was hardly equal to the task of moving upwards against the current of a flood. We were two weeks exactly in reaching Kansas City. At various points along the Missouri where the boat landed large crowds of people would gather and make insulting remarks about the 'damned Yankees,' which meant at that time any Northern person, and speculate about the number of Sharp's rifles we had, how many niggers we had stolen, etc. The impression left on our mind is that they were a hard-looking lot of citizens, and we recollect that they roiled our temper considerably.

"At Kansas City the first thing that caught our eyes was a printing-office, and in a few minutes after the gangplank landed we were looking around in the office of the Kansas City *Enterprise*. We obtained a copy of the paper from a man who said his name was R. T. Van Horn (since known to fame), and that he was from Indiana county, Pennsylvania. Two of the party left the boat in the afternoon and walked to Westport, four miles out, with the view of starting from there the next morning for Lecompton. After dark we started for Westport also, accompanied by two boys of our own age from St. Louis, and an uncle, William Martin, from Indiana county, leaving the remainder of the family on the boat to make the trip up the Kansas river. We passed through a line of camp-fires from the levee to Westport. We joined the party, and the next morning started on our first walk, six of us, for Lecompton, where we arrived, very footsore, the evening of the second day. This was the 9th of April, thirty years ago.

"A raw, cold wind prevailed, and prairie fires burned all around us. We dined on crackers. Night overtook us, and the wind blew harder and colder, and the prairie fires looked more wonderful to us. Some one had told us there was a place to stop ahead on the road called Fish's hotel. We reached there about nine o'clock. We entered and found eight or ten men sitting around the fireplace. We asked if we could stop over night. One of the party replied he guessed so, and, without any further attention, they proceeded with their talk. A bench on one side of the room

ease. The trip was usually planned about the time of the social season, and upon arriving at New Orleans the proceeds of the year's crop were largely spent in the festivities of Mardi Gras and its attendant pleasures, the steamer affording a home for the family in the meantime and being the scene of many receptions and parties. When the season was ended the boat would convey the planter and his family and a year's supplies back to the plantation and the old mansion under the live-oaks festooned with Spanish moss and surrounded with a groop of negro quarters, where the home-coming would be vociferously celebrated by a reception given by the blacks which made up in cordiality what it might lack in formality.

So, it turned out that the little steamer which had been built to promote the ends of freedom and free Kansas drifted away from her christening vows, and spent her life in Dixie. When the civil war came on, she was employed by the Confederates as a transport on the Arkansas river, where she was found disabled, by the Union army, at the time of the Van Buren raid, lying against the bank at the landing at that town. Three other boats, the Frederick Notrebe, Key West, and Rose Douglas, were captured while trying to escape down the river, and were brought back and burned, and from these the Violet caught fire, and was consumed also.

The steamer Lacon, a little side-wheeler, was built at Lacon, Ill., for the Kansas river, and left on her maiden trip in March, 1857. It had been the intention of my father and family to take this boat at Peoria for Lawrence direct, but we could not get ready in time to do so. The boat made several trips as far as Lawrence, reaching there in the latter part of April, but finally found it advisable to abandon the Kansas and seek business on the Missouri, and later found her way back to Illinois.

An account of the first trip of the Lacon to Lawrence is contained in a set of congratulatory resolutions adopted by the passengers, and presented to the officers of the boat, extolling the boat's appointments—barring its bar—commending the management, and recounting the loveliness of the

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was unoccupied, and without being asked we ventured to sit down. We were entertained for fully half an hour with stories of a killing here and a killing there, several fights at various other places, and of prospective fights in the next few days by the dozen. There was nothing to cheer in our reception. We were nearly dead from our day's walk, but all we could do was to await developments. Suddenly the gang all got up and walked out without saying a word. Then we were certain we were in a deadfall of some kind and that it was time to say our prayers. We will never forget the relief the party all experienced when a man opened the door, threw in a buffalo-robe, and, with a cordiality and hospitality unbounded, said, 'Go to bed.' ['Fish's hotel, . . . a stopping-place to which the free-state settlers were always cordially welcomed by the Shawnee proprietor.'—Cutler's History of Kansas, 1883, p. 308. This hotel was in Eudora township, the northwest quarter of the southeast quarter of section 8, nearly five miles from the eastern line of Douglas county, on the Westport road.] A buffalo-robe and the bare floor for six! It was better than being massacred or lying out in the wind. It was all so ludicrous that we had some fun out of it, and we worked quite a while to stretch the robe. We put in the night the best we could, and started the next morning, without breakfast, leaving the landlord and the cook growling because the latter had not made biscuits enough for the crowd. At noon we reached Lawrence, and we remember consuming a section of gingerbread for our dinner. The walk from Lawrence to Lecompton was simply awful, and we rolled on the prairie every half-mile.

"We arrived at our destination at four or five in the evening. We put up at Locknane's boarding-house. As soon as possible we hunted the post-office. A Hollidaysburger named Andrew Rodrigue was postmaster. We found a copy of the Hollidaysburg *Standard*. It contained a notice concerning the Rev. D. X. Junkin, D. D., in whose church we had been raised, which provoked Rodrigue to a terrific tirade of abuse of the doctor. The morning we left home the doctor was there as early as four o'clock, having prayers with the family; he packed most of the luggage to the depot; and he had written our carriers' address but three months before. We had war in a minute. It breaks us up to this day to think of that old man. We were not as calm and mild mannered then as we are to-day, and we had not ranged around the canal in our hoodlum period without gathering some lip; so we vindicated the good doctor to our own satisfaction. Rodrigue was killed a year or so later in a fight with a man named Thompson.

"The family spent another week on the Violet in reaching Lawrence, where they disembarked and employed some wagons to drive them out to the claim, about twelve miles, fully convinced that the Kaw river was not navigable."

river scenery, all published in the *Herald of Freedom*. Mrs. C. K. Holliday was a passenger on the boat on this trip.

The year 1857 was the dryest, up to that date, ever known in the history of the territory, and the rivers were all unusually low. During the summer of that year it was safe to ford the Kansas at almost any point, and several of its largest tributaries dried up or became mere rivulets. The Missouri was navigated with the greatest difficulty, and only the immense profits of the Kansas rush made it practicable to navigate it at all.

The Otis Webb, Captain Church, 1857–'58, was a side-wheeler of 100 tons burden, and was built at Wellsville, Ohio, in the summer of 1857, by Gov. Charles Robinson, Otis Webb, Fielding Johnson, and Col. George W. Veale. She was brought to the mouth of the Kansas in the fall of that year, and entered service in the following spring, making regular trips from Leavenworth to Topeka. Johnson and Veale had a store at the site of the present government building in Topeka, and all the goods for this store were brought up the river on the Webb. She drew twenty-six inches of water, and cost $7000. One of her cargoes was a sawmill outfit for the Emigrant Aid Company, if I mistake not. This boat finally found it more profitable to run in the Missouri river trade, and had a route from Quindaro and Parkville to Fort Leavenworth. It once essayed a trip on the Little Platte of Missouri, and struck a snag. Its bones are there yet.

The Minnie Bell was built in Pittsburg, in 1858, by a company of which Judge Mark W. Delahay was a member and a principal stockholder. Captain, Frank Hunt.

Lawrence *Republican*, February 25, 1858: "The steamer Minnie Bell, that will ply upon the Kansas river as soon as navigation opens, draws nine inches light and fourteen inches with fifty tons. She now has eighty-five tons and draws seventeen inches."

Wilder's Annals of Kansas: "The steamer Minnie Bell first arrived at Lawrence March 12, 1858; on the 24th of April she had made three trips to Lawrence. In September she made a trip to Manhattan."

The Minnie Bell left for Lawrence with 50,000 feet of pine lumber aboard.

The *Journal* of July 15, 1858, contains a gossipy letter from a passenger on the Minnie Bell returning from Manhattan. She speaks of meeting two large flatboats propelled by sails—the Hazel Dell, off Louisville island, and the Broad Horn, at Tecumseh island. The latter failed to signal the steamer and a collision came near being the result. On the 9th of July she laid up at Lecompton all day on account of a heavy storm. On the 15th of July she again left Kansas City for Manhattan with eighty tons of freight. On the 25th of July the drawbridge at Topeka[34] had been washed away by a flood, and, on August 17, J. S. Chick came down the Kansas valley by stage and reported the Minnie Bell aground ten miles below Manhattan. On August 26 Mons Bordeau arrived at Kansas City with the first news of gold at Pike's Peak, and advised miners to take the Arkansas river route, as "the Kansas is destitute of timber and water." In September the steamer ran from Lecompton to Kansas City, a distance of seventy-five miles by river, in seven hours, and made seven landings. The above data will serve to illustrate the great fluctuations of the stage of water in that river during a boating season.

NOTE 34.—This boat is remembered by old settlers in Topeka. The boat landing in this city was at the foot of Kansas avenue, just east of the present Melan bridge, between the bridge and where is now Wolff's packing-house. The water was deep there.—MRS. J. W. FARNSWORTH.

Late in the fall of 1858 the Minnie Bell made her last trip, Ed. Monroe, of Lawrence, piloting her from Lawrence to Kansas City. At the latter place she was attached for debt, laid up, and lost to view.

Early in 1858, probably in May, the Kate Swinney, a lower Missouri river boat of 600 tons burden, brought 300,000 feet of pine lumber to Lawrence as an experiment. It was a piece of temerity to bring so large and fine a boat into the Kansas river, and the astonishment of the citizens at seeing her forging up the river as though it had been her favorite route for years was beyond expression. The boat remained at the foot of New Hampshire street for several days, while the owners of the lumber were disposing of it, before it was finally decided not to go on up to Topeka. As the boat was one of the largest craft in the lower Missouri trade, a side-wheeler drawing about six feet of water, the stage of the river may be imagined. It was the highest water since the great flood of 1844, up to that date, and was never exceeded since until 1903. The lumber was sold to Mr. Robert Morrow for $100 per thousand feet.

When the cargo was unloaded, the steamer returned to the Missouri with ease.

The Kate Swinney was a magnificent craft, and was peculiar in that she had a "captain's house" detached from the texas at the edge of the hurricane deck. She sank on the upper Missouri, but just where I am unable to state.

The abundance of water in the river in 1858 and the successful trip of the Kate Swinney inspired great hopes in the Lawrence people that the Kansas would be found navigable as far up as their city. From a private letter from Capt. John G. Haskell, of Lawrence, I quote the following:

"Lawrence cherished high river-navigation hopes—we had a rock levee (now under the dam). Pinckney street was expected to be the wholesale commercial street. Its lots faced the levee reservation from Kimball's old foundry to a point east of the present paper-mill.

"Pinckney street lots constituted the cream of the 'drawings.' Massachusetts street lots south of Winthrop were too remote to be reckoned as valuable for business."

Kansas City *Journal*, March 17, 1859: "The elegant little steamer Silver Lake leaves for the Kansas river this evening. She seems to have every requisite for successfully navigating the Kansas, combining, as she does, light draft with great power. With an ordinary stage of water, she will doubtless make regular trips a greater portion of the season."

It was the intention of this boat to go as far up as Manhattan, and the *Journal* encouraged the enterprise by stating that large consignments of freight awaited the boat at Lecompton, Tecumseh, Topeka, St. George, Manhattan, etc., and advised merchants at Grasshopper Falls, Ozawkie, Indianola, Willow Springs and Superior to order their goods to the nearest point on the Kansas river.

Kansas City *Journal*, April 1, 1859: "The steamer Silver Lake returned yesterday from Topeka after a most successful trip, loaded with corn and hides for Colonel Nelson, J. S. Chick & Co. It is gratifying to see the great piles of corn and hides piled up on the levee, the first shipment by steamboat ever made of the products of Kansas.

"On April 16 the Silver Lake returned from her second trip to Topeka, having made the run from Kansas City to Tecumseh in twenty-seven hours.

"On May 19 this boat ran from Lawrence to Kansas City, a distance by river of sixty miles, in five hours, and made six landings, carrying 2300 bushels of corn and twenty passengers.

River scene at Lecompton in 1855, according to a

"On May 31 she arrived from Lawrence, bringing 800 sacks of corn.

"On June 3 she left for Lawrence with sixty tons of freight, a part of which was 200 grindstones.

"On June 21 she left for another trip to Lawrence."

On June 26 the Kansas City *Journal* replies to an article in the Lawrence *Republican* alleging that excessive charges are made for freight on the Kansas river destined for Ridgeway, Osage county, Kansas. The Lawrence editor says that a through rate and a bill of lading was given from St. Louis to Lawrence, but that the goods were taken from the Missouri river boat at Kansas City and loaded on the Col. Gus Linn, an independent boat on the Kansas river, and reshipped at local rates, drayage charges included, "when the Silver Lake, a boat of the line, would have brought them to Lawrence at a saving of eighteen dollars to the shipper." The *Journal* replies that there are no regular lines on the Kansas river, and that one boat is as much entitled to the freight as another.

On May 29 Captain Willoughby published a card in the *Journal* in his own vindication concerning an unfortunate accident at Delaware crossing, by which a ferryman lost his life. He states that the pilot sounded the proper signal for the ferry, but the man in charge failed to act promptly in lowering the cable for the boat to pass over. When the steamer was but a short distance away the ferryman climbed out on the cable, sliding a heavy weight before him, to sink it for the boat to pass over. He was too late. The cable caught on the boat and the utmost confusion ensued, as the upper deck was in danger of being torn off. In the emergency, Captain Willoughby ordered the cable cut, which was done, and the ferryman was precipitated into the river. A yawl was immediately lowered, but the unfortunate man had been carried under the boat and drowned. Captain Willoughby gives it

beautiful lithographed real-estate map of that period.

as his opinion that several lives would have been lost if he had not cut the cable.

The last trip of the Silver Lake to Lawrence ended July 10, 1859.

"Old Willoughby," as he was called by river-men, not a term of endearment, but rather in aversion, was noted for his vociferous and shocking profanity. He had no peer or pretended rival even among the blasphemous deck officers, who swore with every breath. Willoughby distrusted his officers, and refused to allow the clerk to handle the boat's money or put it in the safe, and carried it about with him stowed away in his clothes. When last heard from, he was eking out an existence down at Memphis catching catfish.

Kansas City *Journal*, April 4, 1859: "The steamer Morning Star, for the Kansas river, arrived at this port yesterday."

This is the only mention of this boat I have been able to find in any of the papers of the time. There was a boat in the Missouri river trade of this name about that time, and it is not unlikely that the route of the boat was changed from the Kansas to the Missouri without making any attempt to navigate the former stream.

I am bound to believe that the boat referred to was none other than Tom Brierly's floating palace, the famous Morning Star, since I never heard of a second boat of the name. No more elegant steamer ever floated on the Missouri river, if, indeed, on any Western river. The excellence of her table is spoken of to this day, and the style of her waiters, who wore evening suits when serving dinner, including white gloves with stars on the gauntlets. What ever possessed Captain Brierly to take such a boat up the Kansas, or to seriously contemplate such a trip, is beyond my comprehension.

Come to think of it, the undertaking was not much wilder than the trip of that other magnificent craft, the Kate Swinney, to Lawrence.

The Morning Star was burned at Bissell's Point, on the Mississippi, just above St. Louis, when laid up for the winter.

Poor Captain Brierly, one of the "big" river-men of his time! He "lost out" in the final shuffle and died down on the Yazoo.

Pittsburg *Gazette*, April 11, 1859: "Capt. B. F. Beasley has just finished a boat in this city expressly for the Kansas river. This boat draws eight inches light, is 135 feet long on deck, 28 feet beam, 2 feet hold, and carries 300 tons. Her cylinders are 11 inches, with a 3-foot stroke; she has 2 boilers. She has fine accommodation for passengers, and expects to go within 150 miles of Pike's Peak. The name of the steamer is Col. Gus Linn."

Pittsburg *Furnace*, April 12, 1859: "The Kansas river packet, Col. Gus Linn, made a trial trip yesterday. She is the lighest-draft steamer ever built, drawing but six inches aft and seven inches forward. She leaves for the Kansas to-morrow, and has quite a number of passengers for Pike's Peak at $130 fare. They will go in stages beyond Buddville, the head of navigation."

Kansas City *Journal*, May 5, 1859: "Captain Beasley, of the Gus Linn, made a trip up the Kansas on the Excel as far as Fort Riley in 1854, and considers it a boatable stream. He built the Linn expressly for it and is sanguine of success."

Kansas City *Journal*, May 7, 1859: "The steamer Gus Linn arrived at this port yesterday morning. From Charles P. Budd, the clerk, we learn that she brought sixty passengers, and will engage in transferring government freight from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley, the former having been abandoned as a military post."

Kansas City *Journal*, May 10, 1859: "The Linn left for the Kansas river this morning with 100 tons of freight, drawing fifteen inches of water. Col. R. H. Nelson is a passenger."

Leavenworth *Times*, May 28, 1859 (special correspondence): "ON BOARD COL. GUS LINN, FORT RILEY, K. T., May 17, 1859.—As a matter of considerable interest to your home and river readers, I herewith enclose you the 'log' of the new Kansas river packet, Col. Gus Linn,[35] from Kansas City to Fort Riley:

"May 10, eleven o'clock A. M.—Left Kansas City with a full complement of passengers and a miscellaneous cargo, consisting of lumber, groceries, hardware, etc., 140 tons, three-fourths of which is for Manhattan and the fort. Among the passengers are Col. R. H. Nelson, of Kansas City, and J. D. Chestnut, of Wyandotte, both influential citizens, bound on a prospecting tour. The Linn draws twenty-three inches forward and eighteen inches aft. At two o'clock, passed the draw in the Wyandotte bridge, five feet in the channel. At De Soto, thirty-five miles up, broke rock shaft and were detained several hours.

"May 11.—Arrived at Lawrence at seven A. M. Discharged several tons of hardware for Allen & Gilmore.

NOTE 35.—"We promised last week to say something further concerning Capt. Sidney Scudder, whom we met at Galveston. The captain was clerk of the steamboat which landed at Junction City in April, 1859, which we believe was the first and only instance in our history when our wharf was honored with a steamboat. The boat was commanded by a Captain Millard [Captain Beasley]. We learn that the name of the boat was the Gus Linn. The only freight it delivered was the shingles used on P. Z. Taylor's house, corner of Sixth and Washington. Among the passengers was Dr. William A. Hammond, during the rebellion surgeon-general of the federal army. To touch the town site of Junction City was regarded as a great feat, and the determination and enthusiasm of the party to do it, inspired by the fluid of that day, was such that they were indifferent whether the boat got back to Fort Riley or not. Captain Scudder says that the boat landed very close to a sawmill, which agrees with the tradition we have. Panton's steam grist-mill occupies the spot to-day. The boat was one whole day in making the trip from Fort Riley to Junction City and back. The windings of the Smoky Hill, seen through uncorked bottles, made great confusion among the party, as very frequently the head of the boat led directly toward the port they had just left. The feat accomplished of having touched a point further west than any other boat, the return to the fort was characterized by a first-class drunk, with the single exception of our friend in Texas. Bob Wilson and an army officer, whose name we cannot learn, were so overcome that they were left on this side of the Republican for the purpose of fighting a duel. The boat left them, their ardor cooled, the ferryman would not put them across the river, which compelled them to wade. The government sawmill was then located right in the forks of the two rivers. William Cuddy, then one of the editors of the Junction *Statesman*, was one of the party who made the trip, and he wrote a long and enthusiastic account of it for the *Statesman*."—Junction City *Union*.

"May 12.—Left Lawrence at nine A. M., amid shouts of a large crowd of people. Weather beautiful. Navigation all that could be desired. At 1:30 P. M., passed the Silver Lake hard aground, bound down. We were delayed by having to land frequently and cut wood for fuel. Lecompton, three P. M. Here we were met by a delegation of citizens; among them were Colonel Heminway, of the Rowena hotel, D. S. McIntosh, and others, who entertained the officers and passengers for two hours.

"May 13, ten o'clock A. M.—Arrived at Tecumseh, county-seat of Shawnee county, situated on the south bank of the river, 100 miles from its mouth. Laid up three hours to repair broken rudder. Arrived at Topeka at seven P. M.

"May 14, six o'clock A. M.—Left Topeka and ran aground half a mile above town. Sparred off without serious detention. At 12:15 o'clock, captain shot a large wolf on the shore. Excellent stage of water all day. Average speed, five miles per hour.

"May 15, four o'clock P. M.—Reached St. Mary's Mission, Pottawatomie reserve. The settlement contains about 4000 Indians, half-breeds, and whites, and is under charge of Father Schultz.

"May 16, ten o'clock A. M.—Reached Wabaunsee. This place contains a store and fifteen houses. It is a county-seat and the prospective terminus of an important railroad. It claims the finest town site in the territory. Passing the embryo city of St. George, ten miles above, we reached the junction of the Kansas and Blue rivers and moored in full view of the flourishing city of Manhattan. Here we found Hon. A. J Mead, Col. W. M. Snow, Rev. Mr. Blood, and others, waiting to receive us. News of our arrival spread like wild-fire, and within fifteen minutes the boat was taken by storm. Though somewhat depressed at the effects of the tornado of the day before, the citizens expressed themselves as delighted with the arrival of the boat. A ball was conducted in the cabin until after midnight.

"May 17.—River rising rapidly. Have just arrived at the fort. Officers of the Colonel Gus Linn: Captain, Benjamin F. Beasley; William Morris, mate; Charles P. Budd, clerk; George Davis, pilot; Dan Watkins, bartender. E. P. H."

Kansas City *Journal*, May 22, 1859: "The Kansas river packet, Col. Gus Linn, arrived last night at seven o'clock with 41 passengers and 2300 sacks of corn shipped from Junction City, fully demonstrating that the Kansas is navigable for boats of light draft in an ordinary stage of water. Colonel Nelson is an old river-man, having run boats on the Illinois in 1829–'33. He says the Kansas resembles the Illinois, but is a better stream."

This boat ran from Junction City to Kansas City, 243 miles, in 26 hours, and made 30 landings, on the trip referred to.

Kansas City *Journal*, May 26, 1859: "The steamer Col. Gus Linn leaves to-day for Manhattan, Junction City, and way landings."

Kansas City *Journal*, June 17, 1859: "The Col. Gus Linn, the favorite boat, whose gentlemanly officers have won for themselves and their boat hosts of friends both here and at various points on the river, arrived quite late last Wednesday evening. She left here on May 26, taking up quite a large quantity of freight and a number of passengers. Mr. C. P. Budd has favored us with a perusal of the 'log' book, and from it we glean some incidents of the trip.

"The first coal-bank is ten miles above the mouth and yields an inferior quality of coal. They were five days in reaching Fort Riley. Returning, she took 2200 bushels of corn at Manhattan and 500 sacks at Topeka, a portion of which she was obliged to leave on the bank to lighten over bars. On the 14th they met the Star of the West hard aground. She is described as a model little boat: forty feet keel, twenty feet beam, with a railroad engine and upright boiler, and draws twenty-six inches with twelve tons of freight. She was built for the Wisconsin.

"Captain Beasley regards the Kansas river as a good stream for navigation, and thinks there will not be near the trouble when the water gets lower and the channel more clearly defined. The Linn will start on another trip to-day with a full load of freight.

"Mr. Budd informs us that while the boat was aground near Topeka some of the deck hands washed several particles of gold from the sand in the bed of the river. No claims have yet been sold, but it is really said that there is to be a daily express started from Leavenworth next week to the new diggings. The gold is a fact."

Kansas City *Journal*, June 29, 1859: "The Col. Gus Linn left for the Kansas river last evening with 100 tons of freight and as many passengers as she could accommodate.

Topeka *Tribune*, June 29, 1859: "While the little Kansas river steamer, Col. Gus Linn, was lying at the Lecompton wharf recently, there was a great

stir made in the ladies' cabin. A doctor was sent for and in a very short time after his arrival there was another passenger added for the trip. In other words, a lady on board, a Mrs. Kelly, of Junction City, was made a mother. The babe, a girl, was immediately named Gusta Linn. The mother and child were doing finely when the steamer left for Manhattan."

Many stories are told by the old residents along the Kansas of the strenuous efforts of Captain Beasley to control the traffic of the river. He took all the freight he could stow on his boat without sinking her, even if he had to unload a part of it to get over the bars to accommodate the next that offered. Once in coming up the river his boat ran aground just above Rising Sun, a rival of Lecompton, and directly opposite that town. Capt. Jerome Kunkle, who lived in Rising Sun at the time and a number of years after steamboating had ceased on the river, told me the story of what happened. It was in July, and the river was getting low, but the Col. Gus Linn used to start up with her guards dragging in the water and accommodate her draft to the condition of the channel by landing enough freight on the bank, every time she grounded, to get over the bar and on up to the next one. When the boat ran on the bar above Rising Sun, Captain Beasley unloaded 1500 sacks of flour in a papaw patch on the bank, and, leaving a deck-hand to guard it until the next trip, went on up the river.

Every alternate house in Rising Sun was a saloon, and the inevitable happened. The deck-hand spent most of his time in the village, and razor-backed hogs of the Delaware Indians took care of that flour. Kunkle said the papaw bushes looked as if they had been whitewashed.

Judge John Pipher told me of his experiences on the last trip of the Gus Linn from Manhattan to Kansas City. He said the boat started from Manhattan with every pound of freight she could reasonably expect to carry over the bars, but Captain Beasley took all that was offered at points below, even though he had to land it again as soon as he was out of sight of the town. As the river was falling, it was necessary to hustle, and so the captain impressed all the male passengers into the service as roustabouts, regardless of the fact that they had paid first-class fare.

At Topeka several thousand bushels of corn were taken aboard, and the boat went down to her guards. The passengers remonstrated, but to no avail. Captain Beasley said he proposed to control the river, and shut out all other boats. Just above Tecumseh, this corn was landed to make room for a consignment from that town, and this, in turn, was dumped out on the bank above the Coon Creek bar, to make room for a lot more at Lecompton. When the boat reached the wharf at Lecompton, the bank was piled high with sacks of corn, and Uncle George Zinn, one of the largest farmers in Douglas county at the time, was there with a force of men to load it on the boat. This reenforcement of fresh laborers afforded the captain and passengers an opportunity to take in the town. Judge Pipher preferred to remain at the boat and watch the loading of the corn.

When the boat was ready to sail, the captain was found in a saloon up town, blind drunk, and assisted back to his craft. Coming to Judge Pipher, sitting on the bank near the boat, he invited him to go to Kansas City as his "guest," an invitation which the judge, loving a joke, thankfully accepted. A few miles below the town the boat grounded good and hard, and, as was the custom for the trip, all the male passengers were called on to carry freight ashore. Pipher said it was as comical as anything he ever

saw, when the captain graciously approached him, and, in the blandest manner possible, apologized for the necessity of calling upon him to assist in relieving the boat of her surplus freight, not recognizing him as one of the passengers who had worked his passage all the way from Manhattan.

Kansas City *Journal*, July 17, 1859: "Friday we had the pleasure of shaking hands with Captain Beasley, of the steamer Col. Gus Linn. He informed us that his boat was lying about three miles below Lecompton, waiting for high water before she attempts to descend. She has on board 1500 sacks of corn for this place, and the captain says that not less than 10,000 bushels are awaiting shipment along the banks of the river. The captain is sanguine that the Kansas can be navigated for several months in the year. He expects to return to his boat again in the course of eight or ten days, and hopes to land the 'Gus' at our levee before two weeks."

Kansas City *Journal*, August 11, 1859: "The steamer Col. Gus Linn at last accounts was lying at Lecompton on the levee, indisposed."

Kansas City *Journal*, September 21, 1859: "Yesterday afternoon the steamer Col. Gus Linn, a Kaw river packet, put off 1300 bushels of corn at our levee, which was grown in the Kaw valley. We learned from the officers of that boat that at Manhattan, Topeka, Tecumseh, Lecompton and Lawrence there is not less than 40,000 bushels of corn awaiting shipment. We shall look for this corn down on the first rise in this new stream of Western commerce."

On one of her trips the Col. Gus Linn met a steamer named the Adelia,[36] near Lawrence, bound up. This was May 21, 1859. Like the Morning Star, I have been unable to find any further mention of this boat or learn anything of her history.

Kansas City *Journal*, July 24, 1905: "*To the Journal*: The steamer Gus Linn was built expressly to navigate the Kaw river, by Captain Beasley, in 1858. She made several trips from Kansas City, Mo., to Manhattan and Fort Riley. On her last trip down the river, the river fell so fast that navigation was suspended, and prevented the Gus. Linn from reaching her destination, Kansas City. She lay hard aground between Lawrence and Lecompton, Kan., during the summer of 1858. The quartermaster's report will show that the government sent several steamboats from St. Louis to Fort Riley, for several years previous to 1858. Capt. Joseph S. Chick should refresh his memory and tell all about the navigation of the Kaw river fifty years ago. If the government had expended half as much money removing obstructions and building wing-dams on the Kaw river as was appropriated for the improvement of the Osage river, the Kaw river would have been navigated for the past fifty years.—Capt. S. O. Hemenway."

Of the fate of the Col. Gus Linn, the boat that did more to demonstrate the practicability of the navigation of the Kansas than any one of the score or more which made the attempt, I have no knowledge. Probably she, too, went South and joined the Confederacy.[37]

Kansas City *Journal*, May 24, 1859: "The steamer Colona, for the Kansas river, or as it is inscribed on her wheel-houses, 'Kansas City and Lawrence Packet,' arrived at our levee yesterday. She is a stanch little side-wheeler, built on the Ohio by Captain Hendershot, and makes the third regular packet now running on that river."

Kansas City *Journal*, May 31, 1859: "The steamer Colona arrived from Topeka last evening. She brought a fair trip of passengers and freight, and made the run from Lawrence to this city in four hours and forty-five minutes. She had no difficulty anywhere, and found eight feet of water on the bars."

Note 36.—The Adelia was built at California, in 1853, and was rated at 127 tons. 1.

Note 37.—See Gus Linn, in list of upper Missouri river steamboats, this volume, p. 314.

Kansas City *Journal*, June 11, 1859: "The Colona is advertised to make an excursion up the Kansas river to-day. Those of our citizens who have never taken a trip on the Kansas have the opportunity of a day's enjoyment on one of the safest and best boats on the river."

The run of this boat from Lawrence to Kansas City in four hours and forty-five minutes, is, I believe, the best time that was ever made by a boat between those points, if indeed it was ever exceeded anywhere on the Kansas river. I have been interested to learn more of this boat, but have been unable to do so, and know nothing of her fate.

Kansas City *Journal*, June 11, 1859: "The Star of the West, built for the Kansas, passed up last evening to Wyandotte."

Topeka *Commonwealth*, August 10, 1877: "In the fall of 1859 a small steamer, called the Star of the West, was brought into the Missouri river, on her way to Denver City; the owner having been fully persuaded that the Platte could be navigated to the foot of the mountains with a craft of so light draft. By the time he had reached the mouth of the Kaw, however, other steamboat men convinced him that no steamboat could float on the Platte. He therefore sold his Star of the West to Capt. G. P. Nelson, of Wyandotte, to whom we are indebted for many of the particulars given in this article."

This boat must not be confounded with the one of the same name which ran on the Missouri river and had trouble with a load of "abolitionists" in 1856.

Captain Nelson made a trial trip with the Star of the West in the Kansas river in the fall of 1859. He came near Lecompton, where his craft grounded and remained all winter. Becoming convinced that the Kaw could be navigated only by boats of remarkably light draft, Captain Nelson then commenced the construction, at Wyandotte, of a new hull for the machinery of the Star of the West.

It is related by old citizens of Lecompton that this boat, which towed the wrecking boat to be used in recovering the remains of the Hartford, and grounded in an attempt to get its tow over the bar at Lecompton, was loaded with whisky, and that, during the time of its retention by low water and ice at Lecompton, this cargo was sold at the ante-war price of twenty-five cents a gallon.

In the fall of 1859, the St. Louis *Democrat* caused a sensation by the publication of an editorial of five columns in length, entitled "Let Us Make a River to the Mountains."

The scheme, which was elaborated at great length, was to turn the waters of the Arkansas into the Smoky Hill, by a canal from Big Bend (Great Bend), in a northeasterly course, to the south bend of the Smoky Hill, southwest of Salina, and the Platte into the Republican in Nebraska, where the two rivers approach within about twenty miles of each other, also by a canal.

If the author of that article had been acquainted with the character of the earth through which he proposed to construct his canals, he would as soon have thought of carrying milk to market in a sieve, not to mention the objection that during the season when the canals would be needed there would be no water in either river to divert for the purposes of navigation.

The steamer Kansas Valley was built in 1860, out of the materials of the Star of the West, largely, and was completed in June of the "dry year."

Topeka *Commonwealth*, August 10, 1877: "The new boat was called the Kansas Valley. When finished, ready for cargo, this boat drew only nine

inches of water. Instead of a lead and line, she was provided with a two-foot rule for soundings. She landed her first cargo of freight at Tecumseh in June, 1860. By that time the famous 'dry season' had fully set in, and a nine-inch-draft boat was entirely too much for the waters of the Kaw for the balance of the year.

"Early in the spring of 1861 Captain Nelson entered the 'relief' service with the Kansas Valley, and shipped from Atchison to Wyandotte eight cargoes of relief goods consigned by General Pomeroy to the people of central and southern Kansas. His last trip was a forty-ton cargo, with which he started out from Atchison for Topeka and the Kansas valley in the latter part of March, 1861, and landed at the foot of Kansas avenue, in Topeka. She had been obliged, however, on account of 'low water,' to discharge half of her freight at Lawrence. . . . Captain Nelson made several trips up the Kaw to Lawrence and below during the spring and summer of 1861. . . . The little Kansas Valley was a side-wheeler, and was, it is believed, the lightest-draft boat that ever floated on Western waters. She cost Captain Nelson $2400. He sold her in the fall of 1862 to Captains Ford, Burke, Horn and Nicely for $5000. He had made money in running her and sold her for a good margin of profit. The purchasers, ten months after, sold the boat for $6000, having realized $11,000 during the time they had owned her. She was employed in carrying military goods to and from Fort Leavenworth during the war. She sank at Omaha in 1865. She was the first steamboat built at Wyandotte."

The steamer Eureka was still another small steamer built for the Kansas in 1860, but it was the year of the drought, and one trip to Lawrence satisfied the owners that the navigation of the river must be deferred until there was some water in it. Old residents will recall that during the torrid days of that awful summer the Kansas ceased running at Topeka during the daytime, although a rivulet emerged from the sand during the night, when the evaporation was less than during the daytime.

The steamer Izetta was a small boat built in 1860 for the Kansas river, but in consequence of the extremely low water of that year was soon compelled to abandon the project of its navigation. The boat made a trip as far as De Soto, loaded with the iron for the Douglas county jail, at Lawrence. Owing to sand-bars and other tribulations the cargo was discharged and the boat returned to the mouth of the river. The materials for the jail were afterwards hauled on wagons to Lawrence.

The steamer Mansfield[38] was another illustration of the follies of boatmen on the Kansas that year—1860. No water, no freight, nobody coming up the river, nobody with money to pay fare down the river, and compelled to return to the Missouri for business.

The Tom Morgan was built by Thomas Morgan and John Hall in 1864 for the Kansas river trade, but the Missouri river trade proved the more lucrative and she entered that service. She sank in 1865 below Leavenworth. The boat had made a trip up the Little Platte and sank in the Missouri, presumably by striking a snag; but as she was abandoned in the ice, the exact cause was never known.

The steamer Emma, 1864, captain, G. P. Nelson, was another venture of Captain Nelson's, and was placed temporarily in the Missouri river trade, although she was designed for the Kansas. She sank the same year she was built.

The steamer Joe Irwin, 1865, was also a Wyandotte product and was designed for the Kansas river, although the immense profits of the Missouri

NOTE 38.—The Mansfield was built at Belle Vernon in 1854, and was rated at 166 tons.

river trade drew her temporarily to that service. After the war she drifted to the South and sank in the Tennessee river in 1866.

The steamer Hiram Wood was built in 1865, as a result of the phenomenal profits of steamboating on the Missouri river during the war, and was intended to be placed in whatever trade would pay the best when the rush was over. She was built at Wyandotte, equipped at Leavenworth, and was used for a number of years, after the great profits had ceased, as a ferry at Yankton.

The steamer Jacob Sass, like her immediate predecessor, was a Wyandotte product, and was equipped at Leavenworth in 1865. She was of a type adapted to the Kansas or the coast trade of the Missouri, although she remained in the latter river to the day of her death, which occured on a snag between Omaha and Sioux City in 1867 or 1868.

Leavenworth *Conservative*, August 15, 1865: "NEW BOATS.—Two new boats have just been built here this season and are nearly completed. They were built under the direction of Captain Burke, of the Emilie, one of which he owns. Their size is about the same, 130 feet long, 22 feet breadth of beam, and 250 tons burden. One is named E. Hensley and the other Jacob Sass, the latter being owned by Sass & Packard. The machinery was made by the Western Foundry, of Wilson & Estis, of this city, and is of the best. The boats are both beautifully and elegantly furnished with the latest boat improvements. There have been a large number of boats built at Leavenworth within the past few years and these are the finest of them all."

The steamer E. Hensley, Captain Burke, while a Missouri river boat, nevertheless, made several trips as far as Lawrence on the Kansas river, in 1865. This was just as the Kansas Pacific railroad was being constructed, and before it was prepared to handle the immense amount of freight offering for the West. Lawrence had been quite an outfitting point for the trade of the plains, and it was with goods for this trade that the Hensley came loaded.

The following account, written by Ed. P. Harris, and published in the Lawrence *Tribune* of August 18, 1865, refers to a trip of the steamer Hensley made at a time when the Kansas river floods had carried away the railroad bridge across that river at Wyandotte:

"On Tuesday last Messrs. Ridenour, Grovenor, Seibert and others went to Leavenworth and succeeded in chartering the new boat, E. Hensley, just completed there, to make at least one trip to Lawrence. She got up steam on Wednesday afternoon and came down to Wyandotte the same evening, loaded, and left for this port yesterday morning, arriving here last evening. She was loaded with freight for the following gentlemen:

"Ridenour & Baker, 527 packages of merchandise, 435 sacks of flour; Pearce, Mayberry & Co., 68 packages; F. W. Read, 4 cases; G. W. Seibert & Co., 577 sacks of flour, 13 packages tobacco; Guilding & Co., 6 barrels; J. Moreland, 42 barrels of apples; H. H. Sawyer & Co., 50 barrels fruit and 5 packages; Kimball Brothers, 12 packages; G. Grovenor, 50 doors, 10,000 feet of lumber, 28,000 laths; P. McCurdy, 15 cases; S. B. Catts, 3 cases.

"The Hensley was built entirely at Leavenworth and is owned by Capt. Sam Burke, E. Hensley, and John Nicely. Charles Stafford was her builder. She is officered as follows: Sam Burke, captain; John Hanna, clerk; Lawson Cloud, mate; Antoine Cabney, first engineer; Richard Kingsley, second engineer.

"Her engine and boilers are entirely new, and were built by Wilson & Estes, of Leavenworth. She is forty-five feet in length, twenty-four feet beam, four and one-half feet in hold, two boilers and two engines, sixteen-inch cylinders, carries 250 tons, and draws three feet of water.

"Her officers are gentlemen, and we can assure freighters and passengers that they will be courteously treated in every respect. Sixty passengers came up on the Hensley yesterday, most of whom had been waiting at Wyandotte for the cars. Captain Burke himself acted as pilot, and ran the river like an old master, as he is. No detention of any kind occurred on the trip, not experiencing even the common fate of river boats—snags and sand-bars. The stream is now in excellent condition, and at present can be navigated by any ordinary Missouri river boat. Many fears were entertained that Captain Burke would not be able to pass the railroad bridge above Wyandotte, as only a small portion of the structure is carried away, leaving but a narrow passage, and the stream here rushes down in a fearful torrent. He held his boat in perfect control, and she rode the waters like a bird, obeying the elements readily. The sight of a steamboat in the Kaw river was a delightful novelty, both to white people and Indians, and all along the stream, from Wyandotte to Lawrence, the river was lined with astonished beholders. No stop was made except at the mouth of Big Stranger, where a small quantity of freight was put off for Mr. Duncan. Here quite a crowd had assembled, and many were the dusky maidens of the forest who looked on with wonder. They were clothed with the usual amount of dirt and bright-colored calico.

"The Hensley is quite a fast boat. She made the trip from Leavenworth to Wyandotte in two hours and twenty minutes. Her time from Lawrence to Wyandotte will be from two and a half to three hours. We understand she will continue in the Kansas river trade as long as the stage of the water continues good and freights offer."

The Jacob Sass and Hensley looked very much alike. They were small side-wheelers. Captain Burke, who built them, was pilot of the Helen Marr when she ran on the Ohio river in 1852, and when Col. R. T. Van Horn, afterwards founder of the Kansas City *Journal*, was her clerk.

The following advertisement appears in the *Kansas Tribune* of August 1, 1865:

"*To Travelers:* The railroad bridge is up again; steamer Emelie is repaired, and through communication is open again between this city and London. Those wishing a good start will take the Union Pacific railroad, Eastern Division, and the nice steamer Emelie. If there is any route over which persons can travel and receive proper attention, it is over this one. No conductor takes more pains and succeeds better than does friend Brinkerhoff,[39] and as for the steamer Emelie, all who have traveled on that boat know that the gentlemanly clerk, J. Nicely, can't be beat, and no man need try to fill the place better. Persons traveling with him once are willing to take the route again. Such conductors and clerks will draw the custom."

In the spring of 1866 the floods carried away the railroad bridge at the mouth of the Kansas, and the company chartered the Alexander Majors, a big side-wheeler, to run on the Kansas river as far as Lawrence until the bridge could be rebuilt. This relieved the freight congestion and gave Lawrence much of her old time prestige as a transfer point.

Lew. Hanback came to Lawrence on one of these trips of the Majors, and he always grew eloquent afterwards as he spoke of his first impressions of Kansas obtained from the deck of that steamer.

This was the last of steamboating on the Kansas river. The railroads early secured the passage of a little bill in the Kansas legislature which was intended to put a quietus on that enterprise forevermore. It is as follows:

NOTE 39.—Mr. Jacob O. Brinkerhoff, living in Kansas City, Mo., at present and for many years past superintendent of the Kansas division of the Union Pacific railway.

AN ACT declaring the Kansas, Republican, Smoky Hill, Solomon and Big Blue rivers not navigable, and authorizing the bridging of the same.

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Kansas:

SECTION 1. That the Kansas, Republican, Smoky Hill, Solomon and Big Blue rivers, within the limits of the state of Kansas, are hereby declared not navigable streams or rivers.

SEC. 2. Any railroad or bridge company having a charter under any general or special law of the state of Kansas shall have the same right to bridge or dam said rivers as they would have if they never had been declared navigable streams.

SEC. 3. All acts and parts of acts in conflict with this act are hereby repealed.

Approved February 25, 1864.[40]

This law became effective by publication in the Laws of 1864, and was advocated for the purpose of encouraging the building of railroads, of which the state stood in grievous need.

Probably it was the most expensive piece of legislation, considered from an economic standpoint, that was ever put on a Kansas statute-book.

Of course, nobody but Jim Lane ever supposed that the Republican, Smoky Hill, Solomon, Big Blue and other small rivers of the state were navigable, and he only about campaign times; but the Kansas might easily have been made navigable as far as Lawrence, when not obstructed by ice, and for several months in the spring and early summer as high as Topeka. The bridges built without draws and the dam at Lawrence, as a result of the law referred to, were a crime against the public welfare of Kansas. This is not my opinion alone, but the opinion of disinterested judges who are far more competent to judge of the far-reaching and pernicious effects of this legislation.

Under date of January 8, 1879, J. D. McKown, assistant engineer, U. S. A., submitted a report to his department of an examination of the Kansas river from its mouth to Junction City, Kan. From this I make the following extracts:

"The general course of the Kansas river is nearly east, and empties into the Missouri at Kansas City, about 190 miles from Fogarty's mill [at Junction City]. The distances here given, as well as those hereafter, are by the river.

"The river passes through one of the finest agricultural districts in the state of Kansas. The counties bordering on the river are Davis, Riley, Wabaunsee, Pottawatomie, Shawnee, Jefferson, Douglas, Leavenworth, Johnson, and Wyandotte.

"The bed of the river is of a sandy nature, sand-bars and snags being the principal natural obstructions to contend with, although there are a few rocks in the way. The other obstructions are bridges and a mill-dam.

"The best method of improvement for a river of this character is to contract the channel by the use of dams or dykes built of brush and stone. . . .

"There are a number of snags scattered through the length of the river, and in some few places so plentiful as to be a serious impediment to navigation. The approximate cost of removing those in the way will average about $150 per mile.

NOTE 40.— Laws of Kansas, 1864, chapter 97, p. 180.

"The following approximate estimate of the cost of improving the river from Junction City to its mouth is respectfully submitted:

Locality.	Cost of dam.	Cost of taking out rock.	Cost of taking out snags.	Total cost.
Fogarty's mill to Republican river [6 miles]	$4,500 00	.....	$937 50	$5,437 50
Republican river to Manhattan [24 miles]	54,000 00	.....	3,600 00	57,600 00
Manhattan to St. George [13½ miles]	30,375 00	$3,000 00	2,025 00	35,400 00
St. George to Wamego [10½ miles]	23,062 50	.....	1,537 50	24,600 00
Wamego to St. Marys [14 miles]	31,500 00	5,000 00	2,100 00	38,600 00
St. Marys to Topeka [32½ miles]	67,500 00	.....	4,875 00	72,375 00
Topeka to Lawrence [37½ miles]	72,000 00	.....	5,587 50	77,587 50
Lawrence to Tiblow [30½ miles]	58,500 00	.....	4,575 00	63,075 00
Tiblow to mouth of river [20½ miles]	31,500 00	.....	3,300 00	34,800 00
Totals	$372,937 50	$8,000 00	$28,537 50	$409,475 00
Added for engineering expenses and contingencies				40,525 00
Grand total				$450,000 00

"The foregoing estimate is made with a view of giving a channel of four and one-half feet in depth from Topeka to the mouth, and of three and one-half feet from Junction City to Topeka.

"In the above estimate I have not taken into consideration the cost of altering the bridges or of the work necessary to be done at the Lawrence dam.

"Between Wamego and St. Marys a section and discharge of the river were taken. The result shows the passage of 2500 cubic feet of water per second. The stage of water, as near as could be ascertained, was four-tenths of a foot above low water. . . .

"The opening of the Kansas river to navigation would be of the greatest benefit to the people of that part of the state through which it flows, and I would respectfully suggest that an appropriation for that purpose be recommended.

"As an appendix, I enclose herewith the statement of Mr. Gray, secretary of the Kansas Board of Agriculture.

"Respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. D. McKown, *Assistant Engineer.*"

In submitting this report to chief of engineers, Gen. A. A. Humphreys, Maj. Charles R. Suter, the superior officer of McKown, says:

"The Kansas is one of the largest tributaries of the Missouri, and had in former days considerable commerce, but in its present condition it is absolutely impassable owing to the artificial obstructions placed in it. There is a mill-dam at Lawrence, forty-nine miles from the mouth, and scattered along the 190 miles of river examined there are no less than ten bridges unprovided with draws and, of course, impassable for boats. Until these structures are removed or altered, it is useless to undertake the improvement of the navigation.

"From Junction City to Topeka, 104 miles, the least low-water depth is twelve inches, and thence to the mouth, eighty-six miles, it is not less than twenty-four inches.

"Throughout its whole length the river is much obstructed by snags, which are constantly falling in from the caving banks, and by shifting sand-bars similar to those of the Missouri.

"To give a least depth of four and one-half feet from Topeka to the mouth, and of three and one-half feet from Junction City to Topeka, by contracting the width of channel and protecting the banks, about $400,000 will be required, and the removal of snags and rocks from the channel will require about $50,000 more.

". . . If the bridges were provided with draws, and a short canal with a lock were built around the dam at Lawrence, the removal of snags would enable small steamers to navigate the stream at all but the lowest stages of water, and would probably be of much benefit to the people living along the stream."

On February 9, 1893, Suter, who had meantime been promoted to lieutenant-colonel of engineers and made president of the Missouri River Commission, made another report on the Kansas river, which is strangely at variance with his former views. In his later report he says:

"The low-water depth from the mouth to Topeka, seventy-four miles, available for navigation, is about twelve inches; above that point, about six inches. The bars are of sand, constantly shifting in position, and the banks are easily eroded, thereby constantly adding to the supply of snags. In early days this river was navigated. Just when navigation ceased I have not been able to find out, but it probably followed the construction of the Kansas Pacific railroad and the dam at Lawrence. In 1864 the state legislature of Kansas declared the stream unnavigable, and authorized bridges to be built over it and dams to be constructed, as on any other unnavigable stream. This law has not been sustained by the United States courts, but the bridges have been built, nevertheless, as before stated.

"When the report of 1879 was submitted it was thought that a substantial improvement by means of contraction works was possible. Costly experience at home and abroad obtained since that date has, however, convinced me that an open-river improvement on a stream of such high slope and small volume is impossible, and that canalization, with locks and either fixed or movable dams, would be the only feasible method. The cost of such an improvement would be very great, and, when added to the cost of altering all the existing bridges, would run up into figures which would not be justified by any possible benefit that could be conferred at the present time. From all that I can ascertain, a desire to reduce railroad rates by introducing water competition is the basis of the present movement. Bearing in mind that the distance by river is only 176 miles, by land 135 miles, and that there is practically a continuous line of railroad on both banks, it will be seen that nothing but extraordinarily favorable conditions of navigation would render such competition possible.

"These conditions do not exist naturally, and could only be supplied artificially at great cost. In any case, as long as the Missouri cannot be profitably navigated as far up as Kansas City, it would seem useless to expend money on a tributary entering above that point. After the Missouri below the junction of the Kansas river has been improved to such an extent that through water transportation can be given, it is possible that the case may present a different aspect; but as it now stands, I am compelled to state that, in my opinion, the Kansas river is not at the present time worthy of improvement by the general government."

It is interesting to note that the figures in the two reports do not agree, although manifestly the only authority for giving any figures at all was contained in the former report, made by McCown. For example, the distance from Junction City to the mouth of the Kansas is given as 190 miles in the first report; in the latter, as 176 miles. The depth of water from Junction City to Topeka is given at 12 inches, and from Topeka to the mouth at 24 inches, in the first report; in the latter, it is given as 6 inches from Junction City to Topeka, and 12 inches from Topeka to the mouth.

Suter says the act of the legislature declaring the Kansas unnavigable has not been sustained by the United States courts, and it is well known that Congress regards it as a navigable stream, and that the dam and bridges without draws are maintained in violation of law; and yet he says "the cost of altering all the existing bridges would run up into figures which would not be justified by any possible benefit that could be conferred at the present time." Does he suppose that the general government would bear the expense of altering all the existing bridges, which have been built and are being maintained in violation of law?

The unnavigable condition of the Missouri is referred to. Probably, if

the Missouri River Commission had been as anxious to improve the navigation of that stream as they seemed to be to protect railroad property along its banks, the condition of the river would not be as deplorable as it is today.

The bare possibility, however, of navigating the Missouri river is alleged and set up by the railroads as the occasion for using it as a basing point for freight rates. Whether a flimsy pretext, or not, it is used effectively for this purpose, and has been, to the tremendous injury of the people of Kansas. Take the rate on sugar, for example. It was, and I presume still is, contended, that the practice of charging a less rate for the longer haul from the Pacific coast points to the Missouri river than to interior points in Kansas is justified by "water competition." As a result, a car of sugar from San Francisco to Salina would be billed through to Kansas City, and then rebilled back, over the same route, to Salina, the wholesale dealer being compelled to pay the proportion of the through rate from Salina to Kansas City, and the whole of the local rate back to Salina, unjustly, and as a tribute to the Missouri river town, for the fiction of "water competition." No boats are running on the Missouri to Kansas City. There is, in fact, no water competition, but the bugaboo is there, and the railroads find it convenient to get scared, and keep scared, by it. And the pity of it is, that the Interstate Commerce Commission, with apparent indifference to Kansas' interests, justifies the practice.

Now, if this is to be the policy, why not the people of Kansas have a little bugaboo of their own, or, rather, undertake to make the contention of the railroads an established fact, rather than let it continue as a fiction and a myth? What 's a half-million dollars or so to the government, if, by the expenditure of that sum, several millions of its citizens in Kansas, Nebraska, Oklahoma and Colorado are to be permanently benefited? This would be accomplished by moving the basing point to Junction City, or even Topeka. It is not a local question; it is one for every citizen of the state to consider; and, for this reason, the Kansas delegation ought to unite, and work in harmony for the opening of the Kansas river to navigation. The work might well be undertaken in sections; as, for instance, to Lawrence at first, then to Topeka, and so on, up as high as Junction City. The advantages would not be confined to the benefits to be derived from the passage of boats, but the cleaning out of the river and the protection of the banks from erosion would immensely benefit the farmers in the valley, and minify the danger from floods. This is a subject upon which Dudley C. Haskell[41] spent much time and study, and it was his opinion that the navigation of the river was altogether practicable. If he had lived, Lawrence would have had navigation long ago, and the benefit of Missouri river rates. John A. Anderson[42] had in mind the same project, and the improvement of the river to Manhattan, believing that coal, structural iron, implements and all heavy and bulky articles of commerce might advantageously be brought to that point by water. With a large and influential delegation demanding recognition in the river and harbor bill, the necessary funds would be forthcoming at once. Kansas congressmen have been voting millions to improve insignificant streams throughout the country, Kansas excepted, and it might

41. Member of Congress, second congressional district, 1877–'81.

42. Member of Congress, fifth congressional district, 1879–'91.

be well to ask the beneficiaries of these schemes to reciprocate now, by helping improve a real river, and control its energies and turn them to good account.

Before the first cargo had reached Lawrence the railroads would suddenly discover the injustice of their present discriminations against interior Kansas points and readjust their rates.

This article is written in Portland, Ore., a long way from Kansas and Kansas conditions, but where the benefits for which I am contending are illustrated, and exist, as a result of precisely the policy here urged. The Willamette river is navigable for about 100 miles above Portland. That is, it is navigable for small boats throughout the year as far as Salem, some fifty miles, and for one-half of the year to Corvallis, the head of navigation. The Yamhill is a stream about as large as the Delaware at Lecompton, and is navigable for a distance of some twenty miles. The boats on these rivers draw about two feet of water when loaded to their capacity, but continue to run as long as there is one foot of water on the bars and they can handle one-third of a load. The towns along these rivers are served by one and in most instances by two lines of railroad, although not in competition with each other, and the rates are one-half less than those at towns equally distant from Portland, not on navigable streams, but also served by one or two lines of railroad. The conclusion is irresistible that the lesser rate is made because of water competition, and it is equally conclusive that the rates at non-competitive points are excessive or based upon the piratical maxim of charging "all the commodity will bear," regardless of whether it is fair or not. Now, for one-half of the year there are few or no boats in the upper Willamette, but the low rates are maintained whether the boats are run or not, just as low rates are made to Kansas City points on account of water competition, when there is no water competition. The reason for this is, that the railroads which serve the communities realize the importance of making concessions for twelve months for the profits they will get from the whole traffic for six months; retaining meanwhile, the good will of the communities, without which no transportation company can permanently prosper.

I am under lasting obligations for data furnished for this article to Dr. W. L. Campbell, of Kansas City, Mo., who in his vigorous young manhood was a sucessful pilot on the Missouri, and who knows steamboating all the way from choking a cottonwood on the bank to entertaining the most select assembly in the ladies' cabin; and to George W. Martin, secretary of the State Historical Society, for his magnificent exhibition of Christian forbearance when he ransacked the Society's library for the balance of the stuff.

V.

STATECRAFT.

THE KANSAS STATE SENATE OF 1865 AND 1866.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society, by EDWIN C. MANNING,[1] of Winfield.

AN invitation to write of the Kansas senate of forty years ago carries me back to the days when the boys were coming home from the war. The war was still on when the first session assembled, and peace had arrived when the second session answered roll-call in the "Old Constitution Hall," January 9, 1866.

It was upon the floor of this same senate chamber that Col. Edwin V. Sumner, of the First United States cavalry, which was in camp at Topeka at the time, appeared in the uniform of a federal soldier, and, by order of President Franklin Pierce, dispersed the senate branch of the first free-state legislature, on the 4th day of July, 1856.[2]

Between the two sessions of the legislature of which I write the "better time" had come, of which John G. Whittier had written ten years previously,

NOTE 1.—For sketch of Edwin C. Manning, see seventh volume Kansas Historical Collections, p. 202.

NOTE 2.—Arthur S. Lake, a correspondent of the Historical Society, at Shenandoah, Iowa, September 27, 1904, made this inquiry: "In volume 8, Kansas Historical Collections, p. 346, foot-note, it is stated that when the address of Col. E. V. Sumner to the legislature reached Jefferson Davis, secretary of war, Sumner was superseded, from which statement I infer that the address expressing regret was the cause of his removal. In volume 6, page 300, Governor Robinson says both the president and secretary of war disowned the dispersion of the legislature by Sumner. After reading these two statements I am led to ask you as to the cause of Colonel Sumner's removal—the sentiments in the address or his act in dispersing the legislature?" In response the secretary wrote, September 30, 1904: "I do not find any expression showing that the president and secretary of war disowned the job. One of the biographers of Sumner says: 'He was in command of Fort Leavenworth, Kan., in 1856, where he incurred the displeasure of the secretary of war and was removed.' Sumner's personal sympathies were with the free-state party. On the 23d of June Governor Shannon wrote to Colonel Sumner: 'Should, therefore, this pretended legislative body meet as proposed, you will disperse them, peacefully if you can, forcibly if necessary. Should they reassemble at some other place, you will take care that they are again dispersed. (Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 3, p. 316.) Then follows a statement that the civil authorities will be instructed to help. On the 4th of July Acting Governor Woodson issued a proclamation forbidding all persons claiming legislative power and authority to assemble (Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 3, p. 320), and quoting from a proclamation by President Pierce that 'such plan for the determination of the future institutions of the territory, if carried into action, will constitute the fact of such insurrection,' and would 'require the forcible interposition of the whole power of the general government.' (Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 5, p. 259.) In dispersing the legislature, Colonel Sumner made the following statement: 'The proclamation of the president, and the orders under it, require me to sustain the executive of the territory in executing the laws and preserving the peace.' (Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 3, p. 320.) Colonel Sumner was surely acting under orders, and if the president and secretary of war had desired to disown the job they would have rebuked the governor and secretary of the territory." There is no controversy as to the words used by General Sumner to the legislature, the last being: "I repeat, that this is the most painful duty of my life." The following is the correspondence, stripped of official verbiage, found in volume 4, Kansas Historical Collections, pp. 446-453:

Col. E. V. Sumner to Acting Governor Daniel Woodson, June 28, 1856: "I am decidedly of opinion that that body of men ought not to be permitted to assemble. It is not too much to say that the peace of the country depends upon it. In this affair it is proper that the civil authorities should take the lead, and I would respectfully suggest, whether it will not be better (if you find they are bent on meeting) to have a justice of the peace and the marshal in person join Major Sedgwick, and have writs drawn and served on every one of them the moment they get

in his poem on "The Burial of Barber," one of the victims of the slavery crusade:

"You in suffering, they in crime,
Wait the just award of time,
Wait the vengeance that is due;
Not in vain a heart shall break,
Not a tear for freedom's sake
Falls unheeded; God is true.

"While the flag, with stars bedeck'd,
Threatens where it should protect
And the Law shakes hand with Crime
What is left ye but to wait,
Match your patience to your fate,
And abide the *better time?*"

Some of the members of that senate had seen the beginning and were to see the ending of that struggle which first took sanguinary form on the soil of Kansas and grew to a conflict which convulsed the nation from ocean

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together. I suppose it would be a bailable offense. If you think there is a possibility of having any difficulty in carrying out this measure, I will thank you to apprise me of it in time for me to get there; for it is right that I should take all the responsibility whenever we have to use force."

Colonel Sumner to Adjt.-gen. S. Cooper, July 1, 1856: "I enclose a letter from the acting governor, with my reply thereto. I shall march in a few hours to Topeka. If they persist in assembling as a legislature, and should be supported by any considerable number of people, it will be a difficult and delicate operation to disperse them. I shall act very warily, and shall require the civil authorities to take the lead in the matter throughout. If it is possible to disperse them without violence, it shall be done."

Acting Governor Woodson to Colonel Sumner, June 30, 1856: "[Your dispatch of the 28th came to hand last evening. There is now no ground to doubt that the bogus legislature will attempt to convene on the 4th proximo, at Topeka, and most extensive preparations are being made for the occasion. The country in the vicinity of Topeka is represented to be filled with strangers, who are making their way towards that point from all directions. Last evening I received information, through a gentleman residing in Lawrence, that a dispatch had been received in that place the night previous, to the effect that General Lane was on his way to Topeka with a very large force, and was then somewhere between that place and the Nebraska line."

Colonel Sumner to Adjutant-general Cooper, July 7, 1856: "I concentrated five companies of my regiment at Topeka on the 3d inst., and brought up two pieces of artillery on that night. I was informed on my arrival that the legislature would not meet if I would give an order forbidding it. I said that that was the province of the governor, and that he would issue a proclamation to that effect, and that I was particularly anxious that they should yield to it, and not compel me to use force. On the morning of the 4th the proclamation (enclosed) was read to the people by the marshal, and also that from the president. A part of the members complied with them and did not assemble; but a number of both houses determined to meet at all hazards, and I was obliged to march my command into the town and draw it up in front of the building in which the legislature was to meet. I then went into the house of representatives, which had not organized, and said to them that, under the proclamations of the president and the governor, the Topeka legislature could not assemble, and must disperse. They had the good sense to yield at once, and to say that they should not array themselves against the authorities of the United States. I then went into the upper house, or council, and made a few remarks to them, and they at once coincided with the lower house, and thus the Topeka government was brought to an end. There were about 500 men present, and it was a more delicate affair from the fact that it happened amidst the festivities of the Fourth of July."

Colonel Sumner, July 7, reported his return to Fort Leavenworth, and his action at Topeka, upon which Jefferson Davis indorsed as follows, July 19: "The communication of Colonel Sumner and the proclamation enclosed indicate that circumstances, not disclosed in previous report, *existed to justify him in employing the military force to disperse the assembly at Topeka.* Though thus indicated, it is not yet made fully to appear that the case was one in which, by his instructions, he was authorized to act, viz., that the governor had found the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, and the powers vested in the United States marshal, inadequate to effect the purpose which was accomplished by the employment of the troops of the United States. Colonel Sumner will be called upon to communicate upon this point."

Colonel Sumner, Oneida Lake, N. Y., to Adjutant-general Cooper, August 4, 1856: "The free-state legislature of Kansas, elected and organized without law, was considered by the governor and myself as 'insurrectionary,' and, under the president's proclamation of February last, we felt bound to suppress it. If it had been suffered to go on it must have led to the most serious consequences. Even if they had not attempted to put their laws in force, the very enactment of them, together with the other proceedings of an organized legislature, would have encouraged the free-state party in a still more decided resistance to the laws that the president had determined must be maintained. Under these circumstances, I felt it to be my duty to maintain the proclamation of Acting Governor Woodson. The marshal was sent into Topeka to read this proclamation and also the president's, and I had previously informed the people that I was anxious that they should comply with them, and not compel me to display force on the occasion. When the marshal returned to my camp he reported to me that the legislature would assemble

to ocean, and vibrated through all the dominions of man. They were now assembling in the twilight of a new destiny.

On the 7th day of February, 1865, the senate adopted by unanimous vote senate concurrent resolution No. 42, as follows:

"Concurrent resolution ratifying certain proposed amendments to the constitution of the United States abolishing slavery.

"WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States has submitted the following proposed amendments to the constitution of the United States to the legislatures of the several states for ratification, namely:

"ARTICLE XIII.

"SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

"*Therefore, be it resolved by the Senate, the House of Representatives concurring therein,* That the foregoing proposed amendments be and they are hereby ratified.

"*Resolved,* That the governor of the state of Kansas is hereby requested

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in defiance of the proclamation. I KNEW there was a large body of men there to sustain this act. I was therefore compelled to march a command into the town and say to the members of the legislature that they could not organize and must disperse. A convention, or mass meeting, was in session there at the time, and a committee waited upon me to inquire if I intended to disperse them. I said, 'No, by no means; our citizens have a right to assemble in convention whenever they please. It is only the illegal legislative body with which I have anything to do.' I regret that I have been misunderstood by the government. From beginning to end I have known no party in this affair. My measures have necessarily borne hard against both parties, for both have, in many instances, been more or less wrong. The Missourians were perfectly satisfied so long as the troops were employed exclusively against the free-state party; but when they found that I would be strictly impartial, that lawless mobs could no longer come from Missouri, and that their interference with the affairs of Kansas were brought to an end, then they immediately raised a hue and cry that they were oppressed by the United States troops."

Indorsement on the foregoing by Jefferson Davis, secretary of war, dated August 27, 1856: "If the 'serious consequences' anticipated by the colonel commanding First cavalry from the convention of the free-state legislature of Kansas had been realized, it might have been necessary for him to use the military force under his command to suppress resistance to the execution of the laws, and he would have had no difficulty in finding his authority, both in the president's proclamation and in the letter of instructions which accompanied it. But if the exigency was only anticipated, it is not perceived how authority is to be drawn from either, or both, to employ a military force to disperse men because they were 'elected and organized without law.' The reference to the dissatisfaction of the Missourians seems to be wholly inappropriate to the subject under consideration, and the department is at a loss to understand why that reference is made; the more so because, in answer to an inquiry from Colonel Sumner, he was distinctly informed, by letter of 26th of March, 1856, that the department expected him, in the discharge of his duty, to make no discrimination founded on the section of the country from which persons might or had come."

Colonel Sumner to Adjutant-general Cooper, August 31, 1856: "I received yesterday your letter of the 28th instant, with the secretary of war's indorsement on my letter in reference to the dispersion of the Topeka legislature. In reply, I would respectfully refer to my remark in that letter, that both Acting Governor Woodson and I did consider the Topeka government 'insurrectionary' under the proclamation of the president, and under that proclamation we felt bound to suppress it. Surely, were we not bound to consider it so, when the principal officers of the Topeka government had been arrested for treason by the highest judicial authority in the territory, and were still held as prisoners under that charge, with the sanction of the government? It is true we might have waited till the action of this legislature had led to some overt act of treason; but as I understood the letter of instructions of February 18, 1856, it was expected that peace would be maintained in the territory by the moral force of the presence of the troops; and in order to do this, it was necessary to be very vigilant in anticipating combinations that would have become uncontrollable. When the circumstances arose that compelled Governor Shannon to issue his proclamation placing himself between the two parties, and calling upon me to maintain it, I dispersed immediately several large armed bodies of both parties; and that, too, when they were on the point of coming into collision. Under that proclamation all things had become quiet, with the exception of a few brigands, belonging to no party, who were prowling about the territory. All this was done by the moral influence of the troops alone, for happily not a shot was fired. I supposed that my letter of the 11th instant would be satisfactory; but as it is not, I would respectfully refer to the proclamation of Acting Governor Woodson, a copy of which was forwarded to the War Department, and which was issued expressly to prevent the assembling of the Topeka legislature, declaring, among other things, that this unlawful legislative movement was insurrectionary. He made no written requisition upon me to enforce it to which I can refer, for the reason that he was personally present in my camp, desiring the interposition of the troops, as the marshal had returned and informed us that he had read the proclamations to the people, and that they would be disregarded. Under these circumstances, could I have acted differently without a palpable violation of my letter of instructions of February 18, 1856, which requires the commanding officer to interpose the troops whenever called on by the governor to do so?"

Colonel Sumner to Acting Governor Woodson, March 27, 1857 (Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 4, p.

to transmit to the president of the United States, the president of the senate, and speaker of the house of representatives in Congress, a copy of the foregoing resolutions, duly certified by the presiding officers of the two houses and the chief clerks thereof. FREDERICK WILLIAM POTTER,
President pro tempore of the Senate.
JACOB STOTLER,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

"I hereby certify that the foregoing resolution originated in the senate on the 6th day of February, A. D. 1865, and passed the senate on the 7th day of February, A. D. 1865, unanimously. A. SMITH DEVENNEY,
Secretary of the Senate.

"I hereby certify that the foregoing resolutions passed the house of representatives on the 7th day of February, A. D. 1865, unanimously.
D. B. EMMERT,
Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives.
S. J. CRAWFORD,
Governor of Kansas."

The original copy of this resolution is found in the office of the secretary of state. For some reason it was never published in either the journals or the laws.

Kansas was thus among the very first states in the Union to approve the amendment to the national constitution proposed by Congress, even before the close of the war.

The legislature assembled at noon on the 10th day of January, 1865. At least seven of its members had been engaged in the field as soldiers in Kan-

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745): "General Smith is absent, and he gave me no instructions when he left, and I feel obliged, under all the circumstances of the case, to forward your requisition to the general-in-chief. I trust that no evil will result from this short delay; and I would respectfully suggest whether it would not be safer to pause a little in military matters until we know the policy of the new administration. If difficulties should again arise similar to those of last year, I do hope that the government will either put an iron grasp upon the territory, that will secure every man in all his rights (and this is practicable), or else withdraw every soldier from the territory and let the people settle their own difficulties in their own way."

Gazette and Courier and American Republic (no location), August 11, 1856: "The president sent a message to the senate on Tuesday, stating, in reply to a resolution, that no order was issued from the War Department to any officer commanding in Kansas to disperse any unarmed meeting of the people of the territory, or prevent them by military power from assembling. From the correspondence transmitted, it appears that the secretary is not satisfied that the circumstances were such as to justify Colonel Sumner in employing military force to disperse the assembly at Topeka, and has called upon him to communicate upon that point, it not fully appearing that the case was one upon which by his instructions he was authorized to act. We have no words with which to express our contempt of an act like this by President Pierce. Colonel Sumner is an old soldier, and knows what it is to be a strict constructionist. He undoubtedly has obeyed his instructions to the letter. But the act performed by him is deprecated by the people, and, besides, the act is doing damage to Mr. Buchanan; therefore the president must perform an unparalleled act of meanness, by attempting to take the bundle of infamy from his own shoulders and cast it upon the brave man who, while obeying instructions, declared it to be 'the most painful duty of his life.'"—Webb Scrap-books, vol. 16, p. 6.

Letter in the New York *Times*, dated Buffalo, August 9, 1856, and signed "Lawrence": "What are we to understand by the 'ordinary course of judicial proceedings, and the power vested in the United States marshal'? Nothing more nor less than the calling out of the territorial militia by the governor and summoning of another *posse comitatus* similar to the one in May last, at Lawrence, by the marshal!

"It is well known that, for the purpose of dispersing the Topeka legislature, no territorial troops or marshal's posse were called out. Had the attempt been made with such a force as assembled at Lawrence, nothing would have been more certain than a bloody collision at Topeka on the Fourth of July. The free-state men were prepared for such force, but were unwilling to resist United States troops. If Secretary Davis publishes all the instructions that had been issued to any military officer in command in Kansas, by what authority did Colonel Sumner disperse and drive out armed parties of Missourians? The latter did not form an 'insurrectionary combination,' nor offer 'armed resistance to the execution of the law.'"—Webb Scrap-books, vol. 16, p. 37.

Richmond *Enquirer*, September 5, 1856: "The timely action of the president has disconcerted these plans and put a new face on affairs. The army is still on foot in Kansas, and we are glad to see that Colonel Sumner, the abolition commander at Fort Leavenworth, has gotten leave of absence from the seat of troubles, which we hope is of indefinite duration. Lane and Brown, and their army of lazzaroni and thieves, will have to face the federal troops on one side, while the infuriated pro-slavery men, who are mustering by thousands to avenge themselves, will attack them in the rear. They have sowed the whirlwind; let them reap the storm."—Webb Scrap-books, vol. 16, p. 248.

sas regiments and having recently returned home had been elected to the senate, namely: D. W. Houston, Wm. Weer, Thomas E. Milhoan, M. Quigg, Charles P. Twiss, Frank H. Drenning, and E. C. Manning. Now they were to take up the work, with Gov. S. J. Crawford, who had been elected while in command of his regiment in the field, of ameliorating the conditions incident to a ten years' struggle in the battle of human rights, and adjusting the national constitution to liberty without distinction. These men met the champions of slavery on field and forum, and the longed-for finish was close at hand.

The names of the men who answered to the roll-call forty-one years ago this January were: Oliver Barber, W. K. Bartlett,[3] G. A. Colton, F. H. Drenning, A. Danford, C. V. Eskridge, Henry Foote, O. J. Grover, W. P. Gambell, D. W. Houston, Daniel H. Horne, J. H. Jones, James F. Legate, J. T. Lane, Thos. Murphy, T. E. Milhoan, E. C. Manning, F. W. Potter, M. Quigg, John Speer, Samuel Speer, A. H. Smith, Charles P. Twiss, and Wm. Weer.

James McGrew was lieutenant-governor and president of the senate, and was an excellent presiding officer. He was a merchant at Wyandotte, whose general assortment store faced and looked down upon the navigation of the Missouri river, and maintained the fragrance of calico in its front end, and the odors of tobacco, coal-oil and molasses at the rear end of the storeroom. In personality, he was a large man, with black hair, heavy black whiskers, of bilious complexion, and gentle mien; but he looked as though he might be an "ugly man in a row."

It would be difficult to collect into the higher branch of the legislative assembly of any state in this Union so heterogeneous a group of individuals as composed this assembly. In their veins were strains of all the rebellious bloods of Europe. All were a little above the average citizen in energy and intelligence—some of them markedly so. Concededly the ablest lawyer and the smallest man, physically, was W. P. Gambell, a Democrat from Leavenworth; C. V. Eskridge was the most versatile; Col. Wm. Weer was the most brutal and aggressive; John Speer the most sentimental; A. Danford and Henry Foote the best groomed and classical. D. W. Houston established his forensic fame by paraphrasing Pope's lines as follows: "Lo, the poor Indian, whose untutored mind clothes him before and leaves him bare behind,"

NOTE 3.—WILLIAM K. BARTLETT settled in Junction City in 1859. He belonged to a crowd of Maine boys, of whom Hon. E. S. Stover, at one time noted in Kansas, but now of Albuquerque, N. M., was one. His feet were about the shape of a horse's hoof, with a slight toe turning backwards. He was a man of strong mental power, of the strictest integrity, with but little education, and the end showed that his mind was almost as badly warped as his feet. He was gifted with great originality and picturesqueness in abuse, and when the boys wanted some music they would gather in his place and start him on the Democratic party, or some other equally inspiring theme. The frontiersmen for miles off trusted their money with him without the scratch of a pen. He kept a little store, a bolt of calico, some groceries, and occasionally he would kill a beef for the accommodation of the settlement. He served as postmaster for several years, and in 1864 was elected state senator. He was elected to vote for Jim Lane, and his popularity was such that the Republicans had to nominate him to save themselves that year. Bartlett represented the twentieth district, which included Wabaunsee and all west except Riley. In the four counties of Wabaunsee, Geary, Dickinson, and Saline, the vote stood: W. K. Bartlett, 382; R. S. Miller, 225; total, 598. In the four counties named, in 1904, there were 13,667 votes cast for president. For three years Bartlett paid the salary of William S. Blakely while he was a printer working on the Junction City *Union*. He finally abandoned his little store, built a big stone building, started a sawmill, and he went the sawmill route. He was practically insane for a couple of years, and it cost the county $100 a month to take care of him. We were a witness once to a settlement he made. He gave a man his note for $1100 for sawlogs. As the man departed, Bartlett heaved an awful sigh, and remarked: "Thank God, there is another debt paid." It came from a man who was naturally honest, but he was taken down with the sawmill disease, which was notorious in the early days for ending men financially. He played a strong hand in all public, political and business affairs. He was a big-hearted, generous man. He lies in a lost grave, plowed over in a corn-field. He deserved better. He died about 1869.

while discussing some measure relative to Indian reservations. James F. Legate was mentally a great man, but not in the class whose death inspires the granite to impulsively leave the quarry to stand guard above his resting-place. F. W. Potter was the most eloquent. I have heard most of our orators of national fame since 1860, but few, if any, could stir the human emotions as could Potter when aroused. A. Smith Devenney was secretary; M. M. Murdock, docket clerk; L. M. Benedict, engrossing clerk; Ira H. Smith, journal clerk; and W. B. Bowman, enrolling clerk—all of whom have been Kansas history-builders. The legislature held its sessions in the second story of a two-story brick block which stood on the west side of Kansas avenue, opposite the present federal building in Topeka.

The governor's message was received on the 11th day of January, 1865.[4] From it we learned that: "The reelection of Abraham Lincoln is the people's declaration that the war is not a failure, but that it shall be vigorously prosecuted until the last vestige of American slavery is extirpated"; that "the Kansas soldiers have reared a proud monument to her fame"; that "there are in attendance in the colleges, select and common schools 24,793 scholars"; that "there are eight persons confined in the state penitentiary"; that "the amount of state taxes collected in 1864 was $149,963.14." I note that the state taxes for the year 1905 are $2,229,171.45.

On the 12th day of January, and the third day of the session, the two branches of the legislature met in joint convention to elect a United States senator. On the night previous a final effort had been made to concentrate the open and slumbering opposition to James H. Lane upon some one man as a candidate before the joint convention to meet the next day, and Gen. Thos. Ewing was decided upon. A member of the recent state administration obtained private interviews with the lukewarm followers of Lane and offered them $1000 in cash each to cast their votes for Ewing the next day. But there was no concentration of votes in that direction, and when the roll was called at two P. M., just after a squadron of United States cavalry and a battery of artillery had assembled in the street below the windows of Representative hall, in which the convention assembled, Lane received 82 votes; W. A. Phillips, 7; W. C. McDowell, 4; C. B. Brace, 2; W. Y. Roberts, 2; B. M. Hughes, 1; and Lane was declared elected. A white handkerchief fluttered out the window of the chamber, the cannon boomed, the band played, the cavalry wheeled into marching column, and the military disappeared down the avenue to the tune of "Hail to the Chief."[5]

NOTE 4.—During the senate of 1865-'66, the executive officers were: Governor, S. J. Crawford; lieutenant-governor, James McGrew; secretary of state, R. A. Barker; auditor, J. R. Swallow; treasurer, William Spriggs; superintendent of public instruction, I. T. Goodnow; attorney-general, J. D. Brumbaugh.

NOTE 5.—The legislature of 1864, elected in the fall of 1863, met in joint convention for the election of a United States senator at two P. M., February 9, 1864, and voted as follows for a United States senator for the term beginning March 4, 1865: For Thomas Carney, 68; "against a fraud," 1; excused and declined to vote, 27; blank, 2.—House Journal 1864, p. 289. The spirit of the premature election of 1864 was anti-Lane. In the Senate Journal of 1864, pp. 175-179, is printed a protest signed by the following senators: Abram Bennett, R. G. Elliott, M. R. Leonard, James McGrew, Rufus Oursler, F. W. Potter, S. M. Strickler, and D. M. Valentine. The same protest is printed in the House Journal, 1864, p. 504, signed by the following house members: M. Barnes, J. C. Batsell, H. Cavender, G. F. Donaldson, William Draper, C. V. Eskridge, J. M. Evans, Josiah Frost, B. E. Fullington, O. J. Grover, A. K. Hawks, D. M. Johnston, James Kenner, B. M. Lingo, Wm. J. Oram, T. J. Sternberg, J. Throckmorton, John Wakefield, and J. W. Williams. "The Annals of Kansas" says that Governor Carney never claimed the office, but this action of the legislature was the cause of a very violent political campaign in 1864. The "Annals" further says that it was the Price raid occurring in the campaign of 1864 that elected Lane.

Thursday, January 19, the legislature adjourned until the following Monday, having by joint resolution accepted the invitation of "John D. Perry, Esq., president of the Union Pacific Railway Company, to a free ride from Topeka to Wyandotte and back again, on Friday and Saturday, January 20 and 21." As the "Union Pacific Railway" was only constructed as far west as Lawrence at that time, that portion of the "free ride" between Topeka and Lawrence had to be accomplished by horse conveyance or on foot. The invitation included state officers, supreme court, attachés, and citizens, constituting alltogether about 200 individuals. To this end, Lawrence, Topeka, and the trail between, including Lecompton, were ransacked for conveyances. The cavalcade embraced every then known style of wheel vehicle, from a Concord stage-coach to a "one-horse shay." Gaily rode the 200 on that crisp January day. Some of those who started last arrived at Lawrence first. The speed depended largely upon the "ozone" furnished the driver. The ride was free, the air freer, the Jehu the freest. At Lawrence the cars were awaiting our arrival, and soon, for the first and only time in Kansas history, the whole state administration—legislative, executive, judicial, and military, with an enthusiastic social accompaniment—was being hustled towards the Missouri border.

> A furbelow spasm shook Capitol square
> When the Flora McFlimseys who 'd nothing to wear

learned of the "going event," and the question of "who 's who" rocked the foundations of society. "'T was ever thus."

At Wyandotte the doors were taken off their hinges and revelry began, for—

> "Kansas' capital had gathered then
> Her beauty and her chivalry,"

(of which Col. John Ritchie was one—or two) and—

> "Soft eyes looked love to eyes which spake again."

The Wyandotte reception included a grand ball and banquet given in a large, two-story warehouse which stood on the levee. Gen. Samuel R. Curtis, commander of the military department, was a participant, and with his bedazzling staff added martial glory to the commingling of civil, social and military representatives who had gathered to celebrate the forging of the first link in the chain which was to bind the mouth of the Kaw to the Golden Gate. Such a gathering in old Scotland would have inspired Scott to immortalize the scene with—

> "Where the wonderful waters and warriors and women
> Poured down from the highlands to meet on the border," etc.

But in these days such occasions are numerous and Homers are rare.

On the 14th of February, "Senator Eskridge introduced senate concurrent resolution No. 48, relating to Daniel W. Boutwell," asking Congress to reward him for his heroism in carrying dispatches through the enemy's lines from General Curtis to General Pleasanton, at the time Price's army was moving towards Kansas City, in October, 1864. It was a gallant deed, and the state should have rewarded him for the service. Boutwell and the claim are still alive.

On February 20, after having been in session forty days, the senate adjourned without date, listening in its expiring moments to a panegyric on

the death of slavery from Senator Daniel H. Horne, who was temporary chairman, of which the following are extracts:

"It leaves behind in Kansas crumbling fragments of disappointed ambition; it also leaves behind dark, living monuments carved by the hand of God, to enlighten unborn millions, to inform them that slavery is black treason and death. . . ."

"And as its lingering twilight fades away
The Southern sky doth blacken;
Then pull for freedom, both young and grey,
'On it' and never slacken."

. . . . . .

On the 9th day of January, 1866, at twelve M., the second session of the senate assembled, and A. R. Banks was chosen secretary. Between the first and second sessions of the senate there occurred some changes in the personnel of that body. Sol. Miller, from Doniphan, in place of Lane; Joshua Wheeler, from Atchison, in place of Thomas Murphy; Eugene L. Akin, from Douglas, in place of John Speer; D. B. Emmert, from Fort Scott, in place of Addison Danford; David Anderson, from Miami, in place of G. A. Colton, and Reuben Riggs from Marion Center.[6]

NOTE 6.— As far as can be learned, the following members of the senate and house for 1865 and 1866 are still living: Senate, 1865: James McGrew, Frank H. Drenning, D. W. Houston, E. C. Manning, John Speer; and M. M. Murdock, docket clerk. House, 1865: A. W. Callen, Geo. W. Glick, Cyrus Leland, James R. Mead, Joel Moody, Frank B. Swift; and Thomas Archer, sergeant-at-arms, and C. T. K. Prentice, doorkeeper. Senate, 1866: James McGrew, Frank H. Drenning, D. W. Houston, E. C. Manning, John Speer; and A. R. Banks, secretary. House, 1866: John T. Burris, speaker; J. H. Bonebrake, W. S. Cain, A. W. Callen, R. C. Foster, Geo. W. Glick, Wm. Martindale, John K. Rankin, F. Wellhouse; and Thomas Archer, sergeant-at-arms, and C. T. K. Prentice, doorkeeper.

There were six sessions of the territorial legislature, 1855-'61; the first in 1855, the second in 1857, and annually thereafter; and two special sessions—1857 and 1860. There have been, including that of 1905, thirty-six sessions of the state legislature (1861-1905)—seventeen annual sessions (1861-1877), fourteen biennial sessions (1879-1905), and five special sessions (1874, 1884, 1886, 1898-'99, and 1903.

The following is a list of those who have served as senators and members of the house of representatives three sessions or more. The letter "s" indicates service in the senate:

Elder, P. P., 1861s, 68s, 75, 76, 77, 83, 91; speaker in 1877 and 1891.
Pierce, A. C., 1861, 69, 81.
Woodard, Levi, 1861, 66, 69s, 70s.
Abbott, J. B., 1861, 67s, 68s.
McGrew, James, 1861, 62, 63s, 64s.
Legate, J. F., 1861, 65s, 66s, 71, 75, 79, 81, 89.
Osborn, T. A., 1861s, 62s, 89s, 91s.
Lappin, Samuel, 1861s, 62s, 69.
Grimes, W. H., 1861, 69s, 70s, 73s, 74s.
Jones, J. H., 1861, 63, 65s, 66s.
Broadhead, J. F., 1861s, 62s, 63, 65, 69s, 70s.
Gambell, W. P., 1861, 65s, 66s, 68.
Kunkle, Jerome, 1861, 66, 77.
Scott, J. W., 1861, 67s, 68s.
Humber, N., 1861, 66, 69.
Barber, Oliver, 1861, 65s, 66s.
Wood, S. N., 1861s, 62s, 64, 66, 67s, 76, 77; speaker in 1877.
Rice, H., 1862, 65, 81.
Potter, F. W., 1862, 63s, 65s, 66s, 74.
Plumb, P. B., 1862, 67, 68; speaker in 1867.
Eskridge, C. V., 1862, 63, 64, 65s, 66s, 72, 76.
Fishback, W. H. M., 1862, 63s, 64s.
Grover, O. J., 1862, 64, 65s, 66s, 69s, 70s, 74, 83.
Valentine, D. M., 1862, 63s, 64s.
Medill, James, 1862, 63, 74.
Murphy, Thomas, 1862, 65s, 70.
Leonard, M. R., 1862, 63s, 64s, 79.
Russell, Ed., 1862, 63, 65, 81.
Miller, Sol., 1862, 63s, 64s, 66s, 71s, 72s, 85s, 87s.
Maxson, P. B., 1862, 63s, 64s, 67s, 68s.
Wells, Welcome, 1862, 72, 77s, 79s.
Kellogg, Josiah, 1863, 64, 66, 69, 70, 71s, 72s, 73, 77; speaker in 1863, 64, and 73.
Snyder, S. J. H., 1863, 65, 70s.
Underhill, D., 1863, 67s, 68s.
Stratton, C. H., 1863, 64, 65.
Rogers, James, 1863, 64, 67s, 69.
Page, F. R., 1863, 65, 71.
Baker, T. H., 1863s, 64s, 71, 73.
Johnson, J. P., 1863, 64, 85, 87.
Glick, G. W., 1863, 64, 65, 66, 68, 76, 81.
Campbell, D. G., 1863, 64, 65s, 68, 75, 76.
Clark, N. C., 1863, 67s, 68s.
Foster, R. C., 1863, 65, 66, 67s, 68s.
Fitzwilliam, F. P., 1863s, 64s, 75.
Johnson, D. M., 1863, 64, 68.
Hollinsburg, G. H., 1863, 64, 66, 67.
Lacock, I. J., 1863, 64, 66.
Wheeler, Joshua, 1863s, 64s, 66s.
Throckmorton, Job, 1864, 65, 67.
Rodgers, D., 1864, 66, 67.
Drenning, F. H., 1864, 65s, 66s, 74.
Draper, Wm., 1864, 65, 67.
Williams, B. W., 1864, 68, 75s, 76s.
Mead, J. R., 1865, 69s, 70s.
Fletcher, James, 1865, 66, 68.
Manning, E. C., 1865s, 66s, 71s, 72s.
Kohler, Conrad, 1865, 66, 70, 85s, 87s.
Stotler, Jacob, 1865, 66, 70, 71s, 72s; speaker in 1865 and 1870.
Callen, A. W., 1865, 66, 79.
Leland, Cyrus, jr., 1865, 1903, 05.
Martindale, William, 1865, 66, 73s, 74s, 75s, 76s.
Harvey, J. M., 1865, 66, 67s, 68s.
Speer, John, 1865s, 66s, 83.
Moody, Joel, 1865, 81, 89s, 91s.
Parker, C. E., 1866, 67, 71, 74.
Bauserman, J. P., 1866, 75s, 76s.

Graham, George, 1866, 67s, 68s.
Drake, Charles, 1866, 69, 70, 72.
Moore, A. A., 1866, 67, 68s.
Brandley, Henry, 1867, 73s, 74s.
Price, J. M., 1867s, 68s, 71s, 72s, 79, 93s, 95s.
Evans, B. D., 1867, 77s, 79s.
Jenkins, E. J., 1867, 68, 69s, 70s.
Tucker, Edwin, 1867, 68, 69s, 70s, 89s, 91s.
Haas, H. C., 1867s, 68s, 71s, 72s.
Mobley, R. D., 1867, 68, 75.
Blakely, W. S., 1867s, 68s, 73.
Simpson, B. F., 1867s, 68s, 71, 77s; speaker in 1871.
Cooper, S. S., 1867s, 68s, 87.
Veale, G. W., 1867s, 68s, 71, 73, 77, 83, 87, 89, 95.
Thompson, G. W., 1867, 68, 69.
Stover, E. S., 1867, 71s, 72s.
Rockefeller, Philip, 1868, 71s, 72s.
Butler, T. H., 1868, 69, 70.
Williams, H. H., 1868, 69s, 70s.
Finney, D. W., 1868, 75s, 76s, 77s, 79s.
Matheny, W. M., 1868s, 73s, 74s.
Snoddy, J. D., 1868, 69, 70, 71s, 72s, 81, 83; speaker in 1883.
Guthrie, John, 1868, 69, 70.
Wright, J. K., 1868, 70, 76, 89s, 91s.
Kelley, Harrison, 1868, 81s, 83s.
Carpenter, J. C., 1869s, 70s, 77s, 93s, 95s, 1901s, 03s.
Logan, Joseph, 1869, 70, 72s.
West, R. P., 1869, 70, 76.
Murdock, M. M., 1869s, 70s, 71s, 72s, 73s, 74s.
Mowry, A. J., 1869, 70, 74, 76.
Wood, G. W., 1869, 71, 72.
Fitzpatrick, W. H., 1869s, 70s, 71s, 72s.
Simpson, Wm., 1869, 73s, 74s.
Prescott, J. H., 1869s, 70s, 72s.
Osborn, W. F., 1869, 70, 71, 81, 99.
Cobb, S. A., 1869s, 70s, 72; speaker in 1872.
Whitford, J. H., 1870, 72, 85s.
Webb, W. C., 1870, 71, 91.
Langdon, S. J., 1870, 72, 73.
Halderman, J. A., 1870, 75s, 76s.
Topping, E. H., 1870, 71s, 72s, 73s, 74s.
Pinkerton, J. H., 1870, 71, 72.
Butler, C. B., 1871, 72, 73s, 74s.
Hogeboom, G. W., 1871, 72s, 77.
Fenlen, T. P., 1871, 72, 74.
Griffin, S. P., 1871, 75s, 76s.
Wilson, J. C., 1871, 72, 73s.
Benedict, S. S., 1872, 75, 76, 77s, 79s, 81s, 95, 1905s; will hold over 1907s.
Robinson, Charles, 1872, 75s, 76s, 77s, 79s.
Hutchinson, C. C., 1872, 73, 74.
Edwards, J. H., 1872, 73, 74s.
Hackney, W. P., 1872, 74, 76, 81s, 83s, 1905.
Collins, I. F., 1872, 77, 81s, 83s.
Haskell, D. C., 1872, 75, 76; speaker in 1876.
Kellogg, C. M., 1872, 77s, 79s.
Nichols, R. H., 1872, 77s, 79s.
Rogers, J. W., 1872, 73s, 74s.
Allen, E. B., 1873, 75, 83.
Ely, A. F., 1873s, 74s, 75s, 77.
Sexton, J. Z., 1873, 81, 83s.
Morrill, E. N., 1873s, 74s, 77s, 79s.
Bishop, G. S., 1873, 77, 79.
Buchan, W. J., 1873, 75, 77s, 79s, 81s, 83s, 85s, 87s, 89s, 91s.
Funston, E. H., 1873, 74, 75, 81s, 83s; speaker in 1875.
Crichton, J. H., 1874s, 75s, 76s, 83.
Judd, Byron, 1873s, 74s, 75s, 76s.
Martin, C. S., 1873s, 74s, 75s, 76s.
Gillespie, G. W., 1873, 75s, 76s.
Simons, W. L., 1873s, 74s, 75s, 76s.
Pestana, H. L., 1874, 1901s, 03s.
Dow, H. P., 1874, 75s, 76s, 77s.
Maltby, W. W., 1874, 75s, 76s.
Haff, Sanford, 1874, 75, 76.
Horton, J. C., 1874, 75s, 76s.
Bissell, John, 1874, 79, 83.
Edmonds, Matt., 1875, 85s, 87s.
Smith, A. W., 1875, 77, 87; speaker in 1887.
Loy, J. W., 1875, 76, 79.
Brown, C. J., 1875, 77s, 79s.
Wright, R. M., 1875, 76, 77, 79, 81.
Taylor, T. T., 1875, 76, 87.
Jaquins, Edward, 1875, 97, 99.
Cooper, Horace, 1875s, 76s, 77.
Hallowell, J. R., 1876, 77s, 79s.
Kelly, John, 1876, 77s, 85s, 87s.
Johnston, W. A., 1876, 77s, 79s.
Kirk, L. K., 1876, 77s, 79s, 87s.
Stewart, J. J., 1876, 77, 79.
Biddle, W. R., 1876, 77, 79.
Congdon, W. M., 1877, 79, 85s, 87s.
Murdock, T. B., 1877s, 79s, 89s, 91s.
Williams, R. M., 1877s, 79s, 81s, 83s.
Smith, W. W., 1877, 85s, 87s.
Metsker, D. C., 1877s, 79s, 81s, 83s.
Mohler, J. G., 1877, 89s, 91s.
Donahue, Joseph, 1877, 79, 87.
Gabriel, G. W., 1877, 83, 99, 1901s, 03s.
Humphrey, L. U., 1877, 85s, 87s.
Kellogg, L. B., 1877, 85s, 87s.
Myers, L. A., 1877s, 79s, 83.
Hewins, Edwin, 1877, 79, 85s, 87s.
Breyfogle, L. W., 1879, 81s, 83s.
Clark, A. B., 1879, 81s, 83s.
Clogston, J. B., 1879, 81, 83, 85, 87.
Briggs, L. M., 1879, 81s, 83s.
Gable, F. M., 1879, 89, 91.
Sluss, H. C., 1879s, 81s, 83s.
Seaton, John, 1879, 81, 83, 91, 93, 95, 97, 99, 1901.
Bradbury, Leonard, 1879s, 81s, 83s.
Anderson, T. J., 1879, 81, 99s.
Finch, L. E., 1879s, 81s, 83s.
Gillespie, J. S., 1879, 85, 89.
Ware, E. F., 1879s, 81s, 83s.
Drought, E. S. W., 1881, 83, 85.
Bolinger, Wiley, 1881, 85, 87.
Blue, R. W., 1881s, 83s, 85s, 87s.
Hargraves, John, 1881, 83, 87.
Cloyes, F. E., 1881, 83, 85.
Thacher, S. O., 1881s, 83s, 93s, 95s.
Crane, R. M., 1881s, 83s, 85s, 87s.
Benson, A. W., 1881s, 83s, 1905.
Robbins, H. F., 1881, 93s, 95s.
Case, G. H., 1881s, 83s, 85s, 87s.
McTaggart, Daniel, 1883, 85, 87, 89s, 91s, 93s, 95s.
Street, W. D., 1883, 89, 95, 97; speaker in 1897.
Carroll, Edward, 1883, 85, 87.
Lingenfelter, W. J., 1883, 85s, 87s.
Stewart, S. J., 1883, 85, 1901s, 03s.
Schilling, John, 1883, 89s, 91s.
Simpson, J. M., 1883, 85, 87.
Burton, J. R, 1883, 85, 89.
Barker, G. J., 1885s, 87s, 97, 1901, 03; speaker in 1901.
Hogue, T. L., 1885, 99, 1901.
Kelley, M. C., 1885s, 87s, 89s, 91s.
Martin, J. W., 1885, 87, 89.
Rush, J. W., 1885s, 87s, 89s, 91s.
King, L. P., 1885, 87, 89s, 91s, 93s, 95s, 97s, 99s, 1901s, 03s.
Gillett, F. E., 1885, 87, 89s, 91s.
Weilep, E. C., 1885, 97, 1901.
Kimball, C. H., 1885s, 87s, 89s, 91s.
Harkness, F. P., 1885s, 87s, 89s, 91s.
Kelly, H. B., 1885s, 87s, 89s, 91s.
Young, I. D., 1885s, 87s, 1905s; will hold over 1907s.
Miller, J. D., 1887, 89, 1903.
Richter, H. E., 1889s, 91s, 93.
Kirkpatrick, S. S., 1889s, 91s, 1903.
Loomis, E., 1889, 97, 99.
Johnson, C. F., 1889s, 91s, 97s, 99s.
Atherton, O. L., 1889, 91, 93.
Stocks, F. A., 1889, 97s, 99s.
Douglass, G. L., 1889, 91, 93; speaker in 1893.
Williamson, J. D., 1889, 91, 93s, 95s.
Smith, H. J., 1889, 1905s; will hold over 1907s.
Campbell, W. M., 1899, 91, 93, 95.
White, H. B., 1889, 1901s, 03s.
Remington, J. B., 1891, 93, 95, 99, 1901.
Hopkins, W. R., 1891, 93, 95.
Helmick, Jason, 1891, 93s, 95s, 97s, 99s.

Lobdell, C. E., delegate in 1891; member 1893, 95, 97; speaker in 1895.
Smith, G. E., 1891, 93s, 95s.
Lupfer, A. H., 1891, 93, 95, 97s, 99s, 1905.
Newman, A. A., 1891, 93, 95.
Rodgers, Wm., 1891, 93s, 95s.
Cobun, M. W., 1891, 93, 1901.
Reid, H. M., 1891, 93s, 95s.
Pratt, Alfred, 1891, 93, 95.
McKinnie, G. H., 1891, 93, 95.
Dumbauld, Levi, 1891, 93s, 95s.
Armstrong, John, 1893s, 95s, 97s, 99s.
Cubbison, J. K., 1893, 1895, 97, 1901s, 03s.
Taylor, Edwin, 1893s, 95s, 97.
Jumper, H. G., 1893s, 95s, 97s, 99s.
Sterne, W. E., 1893s, 95s, 97s.
Pritchard, Levi, 1893, 97s, 99s.
Bucklin, J. A., 1893, 95, 1901, 03.
Ryan, W. H., 1893, 97s, 99s.
Benefiel, F. M., 1893, 95, 99.
Hackbusch, H. C. F., 1893, 95, 97.
Householder, M. A., 1893s, 95s, 97s, 99s, 1901s, 03s.
Cooke, A. S., 1893s, 95s, 97s, 99s.
Forney, A. G., 1893s, 95s, 97s, 99s.
Helm, W. B., 1893s, 95s, 97s, 99s.
Morrow, J. C., 1895, 97s, 99s, 1901s, 03s.
Simons, R. T., 1895, 1901s, 03s, 05s; will hold over 1907s.
Smith, F. H., 1895, 97, 1901, 03.
Schlyer, John, 1895, 1901, 03.
Seaver, L. H., 1897, 99, 1905.
Caldwell, J. N., 1897s, 99s, 1901s, 03s.
Henley, Albert, 1897, 99, 1901s, 03s.
Giessler, H. F., 1897, 99, 1901.
McKeever, E. D., 1897, 99, 1901.
Adams, J. W., 1899, 1903, 05.
Hayden, G. P., 1899, 1901, 03, 05s; will hold over 1907s.
Wright, L. R., 1899, 1901s, 03s.
Francis, John, 1899, 1901, 03.
Finley, W. S., 1899, 1901, 03.
Ward, R. B., 1899s, 1901s, 03s.
Godshalk, A. J., 1899, 1901, 03.
Adams, J. B., 1899, 1901, 03.
Conrad, H. W., 1899, 1901s, 03s.
Fitzpatrick, W. S., 1901s, 03s, 05s; will hold over 1907s.
Betts, J. B., 1901, 03, 05s; will hold over 1907s.
Schermerhorn, E. B., 1901, 03, 05.
Fulton, E. R., 1901s, 03s, 05s; will hold over 1907s.
Griffin, U. S., 1901, 03, 05s; will hold over 1907s.
Miller, H. B., 1901s, 03s, 05s; will hold over 1907s.
Porter, E. F., 1901s, 03s, 05s; will hold over 1907s.
Mead, A. G., 1901, 03, 05.
Pralle, F. H., 1901, 03, 05.
Noftzger, T. A., 1901s, 03s, 05s; will hold over 1907s.
Smith, F. D., 1901s, 03s, 05s; will hold over 1907s.
Buschow, Charles, 1901s, 03s, 05s; will hold over 1907s.
Waggener, B. P., 1903, 05s; will hold over 1907s.
Tucker, G. E., 1903, 05s; will hold over 1907s.
Peck, C. N., 1903, 05s; will hold over 1907s.
Dolley, J. N., 1903, 05s; will hold over 1907s.
Martin, J. L., 1903, 05s; will hold over 1907s.

Sol. Miller's fame as a writer had been acknowledged even beyond state boundaries, and his individuality was a matter of interest. Clad in gray-blue suit of factory cloth, he was of medium height, heavy build, slightly stooped, and had a smoothly shaven countenance, from which drowsy looking gray-blue eyes peered indifferently out upon the world from under a slouch hat. Such was his personality. His smile was even simple in expression. There was nothing about him to indicate the keen satire of his pen. The most striking figure among the newcomers was Reuben Riggs, from the buffalo range, a typical and honest frontiersman, Missouri bred, born, and branded. Huge, raw-boned, stoop-shouldered, shambling in gait, and taciturn in manner, he increased the Democratic minority, but was highly esteemed, and introduced one bill during the session.

In his message to the legislature Governor Crawford expressed gratitude for the final and successful issue of the war to preserve the Union, and commended to this state and the nation its defenders and the families of the fallen. He also recounted the fact that, notwithstanding the state had furnished more than its quota of troops for the field under all the calls for volunteers, the United States provost marshal general had, on December 19, 1864, ordered a draft on Kansas for more troops, and that when the governor assumed the office, in January, 1865, that draft order was still pending, and being enforced.[7] After preparing himself with statistics as to the

NOTE 7.—The following is a copy of an unsigned letter in the archives department of the Historical Society, evidently the first draft of a letter written by Gov. Samuel J. Crawford to General Fry:

"TOPEKA, February 10, 1865.

"*Brig.-gen. James B. Fry, Provost Marshal General, Washington, D. C.:*

"SIR—In addition to the data and arguments presented in my communication of the 31st ult., showing why Kansas should not be subjected to the operations of a draft under the call of December 19, 1864, for 300,000 troops, and why that call was unjust and oppressive, and should be withdrawn, I desire respectfully to submit the following considerations in justification of the correctness and conclusions there ascertained.

"The accompanying statement marked 'AA' shows the number of men called for by the

president of the United States during the entire progress of the rebellion, giving the date of each call, the number of each call, the length of service, and the aggregate of all services reduced to the three-year standard.

"This statement gives an aggregate of 2,163,998 three-year men demanded by the government. In this aggregate I have omitted the call of October 17, 1863, for 300,000 men, inasmuch as that call was afterwards incorporated in the call of February 1, 1864, for 500,000 men.

"I also omit the call for 100,000 ninety-day militia, distributed as follows, to wit: To Pennsylvania, 50,000; West Virginia, 10,000; Maryland, 10,000; and New York, 30,000, for two reasons: First, you do not reckon for time where the service rendered is less than six months; and second, if you did so reckon, Kansas would have a large exhibit on that account, far more than offsetting any charges against us, as our militia have been almost constantly on service during the progress of the rebellion protecting the eastern and southern borders of our state or defending the frontier settlement against the encroachments of plains Indians. I need but particularize a single instance. In October last the entire militia of our own state was out for a period of thirty days cooperating with the federal forces, under Generals Curtis and Rosecrans, in vanquishing a large army of the public enemy, under the command of General Price; and to their timely cooperation and valuable assistance defeat was averted and the victory of the Union arms rendered decisive and complete.

"While we claim no credit for this service of our militia, yet they should of course operate to prevent the assignment of quotas under similar calls in other states being made against Kansas. They should also operate to secure for Kansas a favorable hearing and the considerate judgment of your office.

"I desire now to make an inquiry, in order to ascertain what the sum of the quotas of Kansas should be upon any basis of apportionment which may be chosen. I will select the three most probable methods, the first and last of which are recognized both by laws of Congress and by the practice of your office. These are, first, congressional districts; second, the popular vote; third, population.

"*First.*—By section 4 of the conscription act, so called, it is provided: 'That for greater convenience in enrolling, calling out and organizing the national forces, and for the arrest of deserters and spies of the enemy, the United States shall be divided into districts, of which the District of Columbia shall constitute one, each territory of the United States shall constitute one or more, as the president shall direct, and each congressional district of the respective states, as fixed by a law of the state next preceding the enrolment, shall constitute one.'

"The number of districts in the loyal states of the Union, and upon which these national levies are made to apply, is 194, as more fully appears from the accompanying tabular statement marked 'BB.' In this I omit to enumerate any from Tennessee, Arkansas, or Louisiana, and all more rebellious states. Dividing the aggregate of calls, 2,163,998 three-year men, by this aggregate of congressional districts, 194, and it gives the entire allotment to Kansas of troops to be furnished since the beginning of the war up to December 19, 1864, at 11,154 three-year men.

"The settlement made with Kansas by Captain Maynadier under date of May 3, 1864, shows an aggregate of 14,403 three-year men credited to our state. By the official statement of Captain Clarke, acting assistant provost marshal general for Kansas, now on file in this office, and dated January 28, 1865, we have credits as follows, to wit:

From March 31, 1864, to July 18, 1864	834
From July 18, 1864, to December 31, 1864, 29 for one year = 10; 3 for two years = 2; 314 for three years = 314 ÷ 2 + 10	326
Credit May 3, 1864	14,403
Aggregate credits	15,563

"Thus 15,563 three-year men show the aggregate of Kansas credits as exhibited by your office up to December 19, 1864.

"Deducting the aforesaid 11,154, the proportionate allotment of this congressional district under all calls from this aggregate of 15,563 credits, and it leaves a balance of 4409 three-year men to be applied upon our quota of December 19, 1864.

"The total number of men furnished by the state of Kansas, as shown by the records of the adjutant-general's office of this state (see foregoing statement marked '——'), is 21,806. Deducting 1009 for the difference of three-months men reduced, and it leaves a balance of 20,797 three-year men (note if the whole number of three-months men were thrown out it would only lessen the foregoing figures 96). If from this aggregate of credits, as claimed by this office, we deduct the congressional allotment of 11,154, and it leaves Kansas an excess of 9643 three-year men to apply upon the quota of our state under the call for December 19, 1864, as shown by the records of this office.

"*Second.*—The vote polled at the recent presidential election in what are denominated the 'loyal states,' and subject to furnish men upon the requisitions of the president, was 4,034,789. Add to this only 65,211 per the territorial vote, equally liable to furnish their due proportion of men for the federal service, and it gives an aggregate of 4,100,000 votes. The vote of Kansas at the recent election was 17,494. Therefore, if the aggregate vote of all the loyal states — 4,100,000 — produced 2,163,998 three-year men for the federal service, the 17,494 votes from Kansas ought to have produced 9233 three-year men for that service. But instead of that, by the records of *your office*, before referred to, it is shown that Kansas has furnished 15,563 three-year men, or 6330 three-year men more than our proportion under the popular vote; or 6330 three-year men to apply upon our quota under the call of December 19, 1864. And by the records of *this office*, it is shown that Kansas has furnished 20,797 three-year men, or 11,564 three-year men more than our proportion under the popular vote, or 11,564 three-year men to apply upon our quota under the call of December 19, 1864.

"*Third.*— By the census of 1860, the population of what is now known as the 'loyal states' (excluding the territories, which ought to be counted), rejecting Tennessee, Louisiana, and Arkansas, amounted to 22,621,467. By the same census the population of Kansas was ascertained to be 107,110. Therefore, if the aggregate population of the loyal states — 22,621,467 — produced for the federal service 2,163,998 three-year men, the 107,110 population of Kansas should produce 10,246 three-year men; instead of which, as shown by the records of your office, Kansas has furnished 15,563 three-year men, or 5317 three-year men more than her proportion by population; or 5317 three-year men to apply upon the quota of our state under the call of December 19, 1864; and, as

shown by the records of the adjutant-general's office of this state, Kansas has furnished 20,797 three-year men, being 10,551 three-year men more than her proportion by population, or 10,551 three-year men to apply upon the quota of our state under the call of December 19, 1864.

"As an illustration of the correctness of the foregoing conclusions, I desire to call your attention to its application in the several states. Take two instances — one east and the other west — as presented in the recent messages of Governor Andrews, of Massachusetts, and of Governor Morton, of Indiana, to the legislatures of their respective states.

"In Massachusetts the number of congressional districts is ten; the number of troops furnished, 123,888. This would give 12,388 as the number furnished by each congressional district in that state, and consequently the number which should be furnished by the congressional district of Kansas. Instead of which the congressional district of Kansas has furnished 15,563 three-year men, as shown by the records of *your office*, or 20,797 three-year men, as shown by the records of *this office*.

"Again, the popular vote of Massachusetts at the recent election was 175,487; the vote of Kansas was 17,494. Therefore, if the vote of Massachusetts, 175,487, produced 123,888 men, the vote of Kansas, 17,494, ought to have produced 12,355 men. Instead of which, as shown by your office, we have furnished 15,563 men, or, as shown by this office, we have furnished 20,797 men.

"Again, the population of Massachusetts was, in 1860, 1,231,066; of Kansas, 107,110. Therefore, if 1,231,066 of population in Massachusetts produced 123,888 men for the service, then the 107,110 of population in Kansas ought to produce 10,778 men for the service. Instead of which, as shown by *your office*, we have furnished 15,563 men, or, as shown by this office, we have furnished 20,797 men.

"Again, the popular vote of Indiana at the recent election was 280,655; the vote of Kansas, 17,494. If, therefore, the vote of 280,655 in Indiana produced 165,314 men for the service, the vote of 17,494 in Kansas ought to have produced 10,300 men for the service. Instead of which, by your records, we have furnished 15,563, and by our records we have furnished 20,797.

"Again, the population of Indiana in 1860 was 1,350,941; the population of Kansas, 107,110. If, therefore, 1,350,941 of population in Indiana produced 165,314 men, then the 107,110 of population in Kansas ought to have produced 13,106. Instead of which, by the records of your office, we have furnished 15,563, and by the records of this office we have furnished 20,797.

"It will be seen from the foregoing illustration that the number of men which should have been furnished by Kansas, whether the estimates be made upon the *congressional district*, upon the *popular vote*, or upon the *population*, ranges from 9233 to 11,154. To indicate the correctness of this statement, the instances of Massachusetts and Indiana, already cited, are sufficient. In these states, upon the basis of *congressional districts*, *popular vote*, or *population*, the number of men that Kansas should have furnished upon all the calls of the president would amount to from 10,306 to 13,106, and makes the aggregate of those states, respectively, fifty per cent. less than the number of troops furnished by Kansas, by your records, and only about half the number furnished by Kansas as determined by our records, in proportion to the popular vote and population of the states considered.

"Please bear in mind that the instances that I have cited claim special consideration for the promptness with which they have responded to all calls; and that I have not, as I would be justified in doing, by reason of our situation upon the border, referred to the fact that Minnesota, with double the population and vote of Kansas, has furnished less than half as many troops; or that Iowa, with a population and vote eight times as great, and six congressmen, has furnished only three times the number of troops, and yet is exonerated from the demand under the call of December 19, 1864.

"How, then, does it happen that Kansas is brought in debt 1222 men, under the call of December 19, 1864, when by the records of your office we have a credit of 15,563 three-year men; and by the records of this office we claim a credit of 20,797 three-year men?

"I am well aware that the following deductions are not *data* such as your office is governed by in keeping its accounts with the several states; but they certainly present the case of Kansas in so wide a contrast, when compared with other states, as to awaken the most serious inquiry concerning the accuracy of your assignment to this state under the call of December 19, 1864.

"I have given you statements of the number of men Kansas should have furnished upon the basis of *congressional districts*, *popular vote* and *population* of the loyal states; and the correctness of the same when applied to individual states, as Massachusetts and Indiana. Permit me now to show by counter-proposition the aggregate number of troops the federal government would have received had each state done as well as Kansas has done in furnishing troops for the service.

"By the statistics of your office, before referred to, Kansas has a credit of 15,563 three-year men. If each loyal congressional district had done equally well, the federal service would have received, under all calls, the large number of 3,019,222 three-year men, or about fifty per cent. more than it has obtained. By the statistics of this office, and which we claim as our legitimate credit, Kansas has furnished 20,797 three-year men. Had each congressional district done as well, the aggregate would amount to 4,034,618 three-year men, or nearly double the amount that has been embraced in all calls up to December 19, 1864.

"Again, by the statistics of *your office*, Kansas has furnished 15,563 three-year men for the federal service. Upon the basis of the recent popular vote, if the loyal states had done as well as Kansas, they would have furnished 3,653,155 three-year men to the service during the progress of the rebellion; and, by the same showing, upon the statistics of this office, they would have furnished 4,874,111 three-year men to the service during that time.

"Again, by the statistics of your office, Kansas has furnished 15,563 three-year men for the service. Upon the basis of population, if all the loyal states — omitting the territories, Arkansas, Tennessee, and more disloyal states — had done as well as Kansas, they would have furnished an aggregate of 3,286,880 three-year men to the service; and, by the same reckoning, upon the statistics of this office, they would have furnished an aggregate of 4,382,294 three-year men for the service.

"Again, to apply this process of reckoning to the states already referred to in this communication, Massachusetts and Indiana, and we obtain the following results, to wit: Upon the popular vote, had Massachusetts furnished in proportion to Kansas, the 15,563 conceded by your office, and the 20,797 claimed by this office, in Kansas, would represent 156,116 and 214,336, respectively, in Massachusetts; and upon the population, the 15,563 and 20,797 in Kansas would represent 178,878 and 238,096, respectively, in Massachusetts. And so with Indiana: Upon the popular vote, had Indiana furnished in proportion to Kansas, the 15,563 conceded by your office,

amount of soldiers entering the service from Kansas, he went to Washington city, February 21, 1865, immediately upon adjournment of the legislature, and after experiencing considerable difficulty he obtained an order from Provost Marshal General Fry discharging the men who had been drafted and assembled at Fort Leavenworth, Kan.; but before the order was executed 120 of the men had been sent to the front and assigned to the Tenth Kansas infantry, at that time with Gen. Edward R. S. Canby in the Red River country, where they remained until the Confederate flag was furled.[8]

The period of time covering the close of 1865 and advent of 1866 was anything but propitious in conditions in Kansas. The population of the state May 1, 1866, was 140,179.[9] The energies of its people had been devoted to war, and not to industries. The indecision and lassitude following a prolonged tension of mind and physical endeavor in the effort of self-preservation was the pervading atmosphere. The government no longer furnished a market for hay, corn, pork, and flour. There were no railroads to tempt a surplus from the soil by furnishing transportation to market. Many of the men who had entered the army and survived its fortunes sought homes and opportunity in the South or turned their faces further West. The development of the state seemed at a standstill. Thaddeus H. Walker,[10] for instance, had 250,000 acres of land located in different sections of the state, and, for lack of purchasers, he was borrowing money to pay taxes thereon, and pay-

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and the 20,797 claimed by this office, in Kansas, would represent 243,953 and 333,072, respectively, in Indiana; and, upon the population, the 15,563 and 20,797 in Kansas would represent 196,290 and 262,305, respectively, in Indiana.

"While, as I before remarked, these views and deductions do not assume the magnitude and importance of positive data, yet they do have the effect to awaken inquiry in order to ascertain how this large deficiency of Kansas had been made to appear, and induce the conclusion that this assignment of 1222 under call of December 19, 1864, should not only not have been made against our state, but that Kansas has sufficient excess over all calls, including that of December 19, 1864, to fill our quota under still another call of from 300,000 to 500,000 men.

"I beg to insert here what should have been included in my communication of the 31st ult.: That a single reference to the number of regiments raised in Kansas must satisfy your office that the credits that you have allowed, 15,563, must fall far short of the actual numbers enlisted in Kansas, and must go far to establish the correctness of our claim of 21,806 of all services; or 20,797 of three-year men:

Number of regiments, three years' service	16
Number of regiments, three months' service	1
Number of regiments, 100 days' service	1
Number of batteries, three years' service	4

"Most of the foregoing regiments were cavalry, and composed of twelve companies each. To consider each of those regiments as embracing an average of only 1250 men — original enlistments and recruits — will reduce them to as low numerical standard as are to be found in the regiments in the army of the states. Sixteen regiments of three-year men, therefore, at 1250 to the regiment, will produce an aggregate of 20,000 three-year men. The regiment of three-months men, and the regiment of 100-day men, together with the four batteries, will certainly swell the aggregate to the amount we claim — 20,797 three-year men.

"Kansas has not been wanting in the past, nor will she in the future, in evidences of earnest devotion to the republic, and in contributing her best men and bravest soldiers in the suppression of the rebellion, and with it the cause that produced the rebellion. She has not in the past, nor will she in the present, permit any state to go beyond her in furnishing troops for the federal service. But in consideration of all her surroundings, as a border and frontier state, she asks your liberal recognition of her claims for the past services, and the cordial cooperation of the Department of War with our state authorities in obtaining troops for the future."

NOTE 8.—The Kansas Adjutant-general's Report for 1861–'65 gives the names of 120 drafted men and substitutes, on three different lists, in volume 1, pages 646, 989, and 993, the first being attached to the Seventh cavalry; the two last to companies C and D, Tenth regiment. These men enlisted during January, February, and March, 1865.

NOTE 9.— State census, in Senate Journal 1865, p. 104.

NOTE 10.— THADDEUS H. WALKER was born in Salem, Washington county, New York, about the year 1832. He was educated at the Troy Conference Academy, in Poultney, Vt. In 1853 he settled in Troy, N. Y., and opened a law office. In a couple of years he developed a taste for speculation and large enterprises, and returned to his native town, and, making it his headquarters, launched out in the business world, and by industry and judicious investments swelled his limited means to quite a fortune. He was one of the originators of the Republican party in New York, and was a member of the New York legislature in 1858. He came to Kansas in 1860

ing a high rate of interest therefor. His land was ruining him. Under these conditions the second session of the senate assembled. There had been some companies organized for the purpose of constructing railroads, but it was difficult to obtain capital for the purpose.

In the light of those conditions and the subsequent results, no single act of that session conduced so much to the general welfare of the state as the bill dividing the 500,000 acres of land donated to the state for internal improvements among four projected railroad enterprises which were dormant. It resulted in the construction of the road from St. Joseph west through what was known as the northern tier of counties; of the road from Junction City down the Neosho valley; of the Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston road, and the Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf.[11] Their construction, coincident with the construction of the Union Pacific railroad and the Central Branch from Atchison westward, both of which received aid from the federal government, gave zest and stability to agriculture and commerce at a critical period in the state's development.

At the time this act was passed, and frequently since then, much adverse criticism has appeared concerning the disposition of the land. Having been the author of the original bill dividing the land among these railroad companies, it may be well to recite some history on that subject. The United States Congress, by section 8 of an act approved September 4, 1841, entitled "An act to appropriate proceeds of sales of public lands and the granting of preemption rights," granted to each state then and thereafter to be admitted into the Union "500,000 acres of land for purposes of internal improvement." Up to the year 1864, the several states had disposed of their respective donations in various ways. Those of our citizens who claimed that the 500,000 acres of land belonged to the public-school fund based their assumption upon the words in section 7 of the ordinance which is the prelude to the Wyandotte constitution, under which Kansas became a state. That ordinance attempted to name the terms upon which Kansas would relinquish the right to tax government land after state sovereignty was established; and two of those conditions were set forth in sections 5 and 7—that "all mines, with the lands necessary for their full use, shall be granted to the state for works of public improvement," and "that the 500,000 acres of land to which the state is entitled under the act of Congress entitled 'An act to appropriate the proceeds of the sales of public lands and grant preemption rights,' approved September 4, 1841, shall be granted to the state for the support of common schools."[12]

To the conditions thus set forth in the ordinance Congress did not assent,

and invested in land so extensively that he was probably the largest landowner in the history of the state. He obtained this land by private entry in 1859 and 1860 on military bounty land-warrants. For years, because of the war, there was no use for land, and at the close of the war, when immigration began, it was made up mostly of discharged soldiers who sought government homestead land; so Mr. Walker struggled for years with the ubiquitous athlete, the tax-gatherer. He was a fine scholar, an elegant gentleman, and a good public speaker. In 1867, on his own responsibility, he made a thorough canvass of the state against woman suffrage. Susan B. Anthony and George Francis Train led the fight for the amendment. It was a picturesque campaign. At Skaneateles, N. Y., September 27, 1870, he was married to Miss Margaret E. Otis. In 1872 he was the Greeley Liberal Republican candidate for governor. He was defeated by a vote of, Thomas A. Osborn, 66,715; Thaddeus H. Walker, 34,608. He resided for years at the southwest corner of Tenth and Harrison streets, in Topeka. In 1876 he returned to New York, and made his home at Glens Falls. He died at Glens Falls, November 13, 1905, and was buried at Salem, Washington county, the place of his birth.

NOTE 11.—A history of the building of these roads, all of which were completed through Kansas by the close of 1871, is given in Cutler's History of Kansas, 1883, pp. 246-251.

NOTE 12.—General Statutes of Kansas, 1901, p. 34.

but in section 3 of the act of admission whereby Kansas became a state is found these words: "Nothing in this act shall be construed as an assent by Congress to all or any of the propositions or claims contained in the ordinance of said constitution of the people of Kansas, . . . but the following propositions are hereby offered to the said people of Kansas for their free acceptance or rejection, which, if accepted, shall be obligatory on the United States and upon the said state of Kansas, to wit," and here follow six different propositions and conditions, but none of them include the 500,000 acres of land given by the act of September 4, 1841, for internal improvements. And the fact that Kansas was organized as a state under this act of Congress forever barred the ordinance interpretation as to the disposal of the 500,000 acres of land, and by inference, therefore, the state must have accepted it for "internal improvements." The building of railroads is to such an extent public enterprise and "internal improvements" as to be under legislative control, and, therefore, worthy of state and municipal aid.

That this had been the accepted interpretation by others in Kansas prior to the introduction of the bill dividing it among certain railroads is evident from the fact that bills had been introduced in previous legislatures to dispose of the land for internal-improvement purposes, especially for the construction of highway bridges.

In fact, on the 11th day of January, 1866, at this same session, and on the third day thereof, Senator Legate, of Leavenworth, introduced senate bill No. 14,[13] authorizing the sale of the 500,000 acres, and devoting the proceeds to the construction of highway bridges over the Missouri river at Leavenworth and over the Kaw river at Wyandotte, De Soto, Lawrence, and Topeka.

Senate bill No. 49,[14] introduced by Senator Manning, "An act donating the 500,000 acres of land donated by Congress to the state to aid in the construction of certain railroads," was introduced on the 17th day of January, 1866, and experienced a stormy history. It had its origin among the members of the senate and house from northeastern Kansas.

The original Pacific railroad bill which finally passed Congress in July, 1862, provided for the extension of the Hannibal & St. Joe railroad from St. Joseph to Atchison, and for a continuation of the line in Kansas by the building of the Atchison & Pike's Peak railroad, now the Central Branch. This section of the bill was adverse to the sentiments of the Kansans of the northern tier, who had hoped to have a railroad built directly west from St. Joseph through the counties of Doniphan, Brown, Nemaha, Marshall, and Washington, to connect with the Kaw valley branch of the Union Pacific railroad, which was to have gone up the Republican river to a junction with the Platte Valley line near the 100th meridian. To still give the people of the northern tier a chance for their road, Senator John B. Henderson, of Missouri, made an amendment to the bill in the senate, which provided that if an actual survey should render it desirable, and the consent of the Kansas legislature could be obtained, the road should be continued directly west from St. Joseph.[15] This amendment failed to secure the much-courted railroad, and great indignation existed therefrom. These northern tier members

NOTE 13.—Senate Journal 1866, p. 39.

NOTE 14.—Id., p. 92.

NOTE 15.—United States Statutes at Large, vol. 12, p. 496; Cong. Globe, 37th Cong., 2d sess., pt. 3, p. 2839.

of the Kansas legislature made a combination with the senators and representatives from the counties along the Neosho river, from Junction City southward, and the border tier, from Kansas City southward, and passed the Manning bill through the senate, dividing the 500,000 acres among three railroad companies.[16]

The Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston railroad enterprise was a slumbering project, gasping for life, and its friends wanted a portion of the land. Lawrence at that time was the center of cultured civic conscience and constitutional construction, and a public meeting of leading citizens assembled and protested against the passage of the bill. The proceedings of the meeting, containing startling headlines and denouncing the unconstitutional raid upon the public-school lands, etc., were published in John Speer's *Tribune*,[17] and a large bundle of these papers was sent to Topeka to be distributed among the members. It happened, however, that the members of the legislature who were opposed to the measure had, on the same evening, assembled in caucus, and by getting the two members from Topeka to join them they obtained a majority of the house members, who agreed never to vote for this bill disposing of the 500,000 acres or for any such disposition of the same.

The members who lived along the line of the proposed L. L. & G. railroad were a part of this caucus. Before daylight the managers of the bill conceded to cut the lands into four parts and let the L. L. & G. railroad company in, all of which news did not get to Lawrence until Speer's *Tribune* had been under way to Topeka on the train. As soon as Speer learned of the turn taken he telegraphed to Topeka to have his extra *Tribunes* suppressed, extinguished or destroyed before they could be delivered to their intended destination, which was done. Speer hired a horse and came overland on horseback, arriving not long after the train did, to assist in adjusting the unconstitutional act to the constitutional scruples of the Lawrence objectors; the condition being that the Lawrence railroad was to get one-fourth of the land, which it did. Thus did that land breathe the breath of life into four railroad enterprises, and the constitutional objectors were the minority who lived off the lines of the railroads benefited.

If the contention is tenable that the 500,000 acres belong to the state for school purposes under the terms of the ordinance clause of the Wyandotte

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NOTE 16.—One of the innumerable stories illustrating the characteristics of James H. Lane is told in connection with this amendment of Henderson's. In support of his motion to amend in favor of Atchison, Pomeroy asserted that Atchison was directly west of St. Joseph. Kansas geography was then very vague, but the New England senators were inclined to doubt this statement. Senator Pomeroy called upon his colleague, who would confirm what had been said. Senator Lane arose and began an impassioned speech, in his usual frontier style. He never referred to the relative location of the two towns, but made much of the favors to the pro-slavery rebels of Missouri in the St. Joseph proposition, and the hard luck of the free-state men interested in Atchison. He waved the free-state flag before Charles Sumner, Henry Wilson and that class in the wildest sort of eloquence; he unbuttoned his vest, loosened his necktie, opened his collar and shirt front, and his arms were going like a windmill. James F. Legate and John Speer were in the gallery, and they mutually exclaimed: "Look at him; he thinks he is in Baldwin City." But Atchison won the Central Branch.

". . . To-day the senator from Massachusetts is endeavoring to aid a town in Missouri at the expense of a Kansas town, that has to be kept in subjection by an army of the troops of the United States; to discriminate against loyal Atchison in favor of disloyal St. Joseph. That is the position which the senator from Massachusetts occupies to-day, and I do deeply regret it, for I know that he has been as true to the interests of freedom and to Kansas as any senator upon this floor. I know, Mr. President, that the noble defense of that senator upon this floor of struggling Kansas well nigh cost him his life."—Speech of Senator James H. Lane on Pacific railroad bill, in United States senate, June 20, 1862, in Congressional Globe, pt. 3, 1861–'62, p. 2838.

NOTE 17.—The *Tribune* of January 25 and 26 contains stirring editorials on this subject.

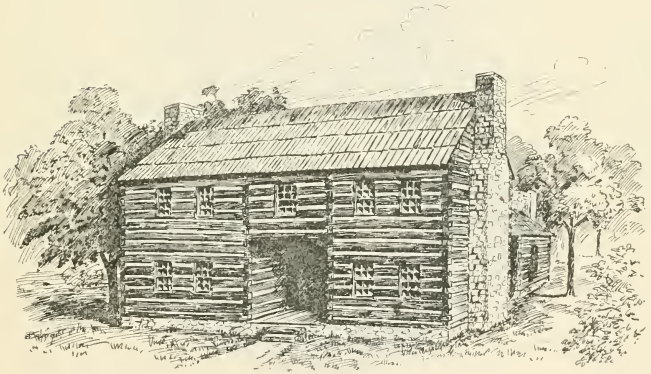
constitution, then the mines[18] in the state belong to the state for "internal-improvement" purposes.

The original senate bill dividing land among three railroad companies was defeated in the house, and subsequently, February 2, Senator Barber, from Lawrence, introduced a new bill, senate bill No. 105, dividing the land among four railroads, of which the L. L. & G. was one, and that bill became the law, and the roads were all built.[19]

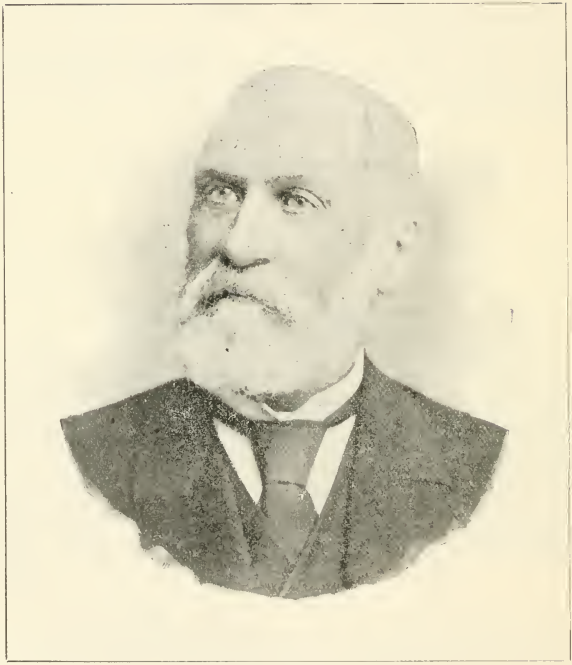
The second session also made provision for the erection of the east wing of the state capitol building, thus determining the permanent location of the seat of government and giving faith in investments in real estate and business in and about Topeka.

NOTE 18.—"Sec. 5. That all salt springs, not exceeding twelve in number, with six sections of land adjacent to each, together with all mines, with the lands necessary for their full use, shall be granted to the state for works of public improvement."—Ordinance, section 5; General Statutes of Kansas, 1901, p. 34.

NOTE 19.—Session Laws 1866, ch. 61, pp. 142–146.



The Shawnee Indian Mission, erected by Thomas Johnson, Methodist missionary, in 1830-'31. From a drawing made by C. P. Bolmar, from a description furnished by W. H. Chick, of Kansas City, Mo. Col. A. S. Johnson was born in this house, July 11, 1832. It was located about seven miles westerly of Kansas City, Mo., in what is now Wyandotte county, Kansas, near the town of Turner. W. H. Chick and J. S. Chick, of Kansas City, Mo., and Joseph Smith, of Gilliam, Mo., are probably the only white persons living who ever saw the building. (See page 160 *et seq.*)



CHARLES ROBINSON,
First Governor of Kansas.

GENEALOGY OF CHARLES ROBINSON.

The Carlovingian House. (Fisher's Outlines of History, p. 233.)

Pepin of Heristal, d. 714.

Charles Martel, d. 741.

Pepin the Short. (King 752-768.)

Charlemagne, 768-814. (Emperor 800.)

Louis the Pious, 814-840.

Louis the German, 843-876.

Carloman, d. 880.

Arnulf, King of Germany, 887-899. (Emperor 896.)

daughter m. ——.

Robert "the Strong," d. 866, A. D. (Invested with the County of Paris, in 861, by "Charles the Bold," grandson of Charlemagne.)

William, m. Margaret Smyth.

John, m. Joan Smyth, dau. of William Smyth, above.

Walter, son Thomas, Vicar General, 1535.

Katherine Cromwell, m. Morgan Williams.

Thomas.

John Williams.

Richard Williams.

John Williams.

William Williams, m. Jane Woodward.

Richard Williams, of Taunton, m. Frances Dighton.

Sir Richard Williams.*

Sir Henry Williams, *alias* Cromwell.

Robert Cromwell.

Oliver Cromwell.

* Sir Richard Williams changed his name to Cromwell in honor of his uncle, Thomas Cromwell, vicar general under Henry VIII, and wrote his name "William, *alias* Cromwell," as did his son Henry, grandson Robert, and great-grandson, Oliver Cromwell, in his youth. (1620.)

Samuel.

Seth.

David, m. Elizabeth.

Thomas.

Jonathan.

Phebe Williams, m. Jonathan Robinson.

Jonathan Robinson, m Hulda Woodward.

CHARLES ROBINSON.

GENEALOGY OF CHARLES ROBINSON.

The Carlovingian House. (Fisher's Outlines of History, p. 233.)

Pepin of Heristal, d. 714.

Charles Martel, d. 741.

Pepin the Short. (King 752-768.)

Charlemagne, 768-814. (Emperor 800.)

Louis the Pious, 814-840.

Louis the Germen, 843-876.

Carlomen, d. 880.

Arnulf, King of Germany, 887-899. (Emperor 896.)

daughter m. ——.

Henry I of Germany, 918-936.

Robert "the Strong," d. 866, A. D. (Invested with the County of Paris, in 861, by "Charles the Bold," grandson of Cherlemegne.)

Robert, Duke of Normandy. (King 922-923.)

Hugh the Great, d. 956, m. 3. . . . . married Hedwiga.

Hugh Capet, 987-996.

Robert I, 996-1031.

Henry 1, 1031-1060.

Philip I, 1060-1108, m. Bertha, dau. of Florence I, Count of Holland.

Louis VI, 1108-1137 (styled "Louis le Gros").

Peter, Lord of Courteney (fifth son of Louis VI).

Alice, m. Agnew Taillefer, Count of Angouleme.

John, King of England, m. ISABELLE OF ANGOULEME, m. Count de la Marche.

1. Henry III.
2. Edward I.
3. Edward II.
4. Edward III.
5. Duke of York.
6. Earl of Cembridge.
7. Duke of York.
8. Edward IV.
9. Elizabeth, m. Henry VII.
10. Margaret, m. James IV, King of Scots.
11. James V, King of Scots.
12. Mary, Queen of Scots.
13. James I.
14. Elizabeth, m. Frederick, Elector of Palatine.
15. Sophia, m. Ernest Augustus, Elector of Hanover.
16. George I.
17. George II.
18. Frederick, Prince of Wales.
19. George III.
20. Duke of Kent.
21. Victoria.
22. Edward VII.

Isabelle, Baroness.

Isabel.

Thomas, Lord Berkeley.

Margaret, Lady Bassett.

—— Bassett.

—— Bassett.

—— Bassett.

Sir Symond Bassett.

Robert Bassett.

Gyles Bassett.

Robert Bassett.

William Bassett.

Edward Bassett.

Jane Dighton.

Frances Dighton, m. Richard Williams.

Semuel. Thomas.

Seth. Jonathan.

David, m. Elizabeth.

Jonathan Robinson, m. Phebe Williams.

Jonathan Robinson, m. Hulda Woodwar

CHARLES ROBINSON.

Isabelle of Angouleme, m. { (1) King John of England. Son, Henry III. (2) Count de la Marche of France. Four sons (one of whom was Wm. de la Valence, Earl of Pembroke), and a daughter, ISABELLE, "uterine sister" of Henry III.

ISABELLE, m. Maurice de Creoun, a baron of note.

Isabelle, m. Maurice de Berkeley, d. April, 1281.

Thomas, Lord Berkeley, m. Jane, dau. of Wm. de Ferress, Earl of Derby.

Margaret Berkeley, m. Sir Anselm Bassett.

—— Bassett.

Sir Henry Furnealx. Walter Rawley [Raleigh] m. Jane, the Lord Boteler's dau.

—— Bassett. Sir Matthew Furnealx, ... m. . Maud Rawley.

—— Bassett. Sir John Bytton, m. Avis Furnealx.

Sir Symond Bassett, , ... m. . . . . Maud Bytton.

Robert Bassett, m. Margaret Harwell.

Gyles Bassett, m. Jane Davis.

Robert Bassett, m. Anne Spycar.

William Bassett, m. Jane, dau. of John of Ashe, of Yawley.

Edward Bassett, m. Elizabath, dau. of Henry Sygon, of Yewley.

Jane Bassett, m. Dr. John Dighton, of Gloucester, England, eminent surgeon, of St. Nicholas parish.

Frances Dighton, m. Richard Williams, both of Gloucester, England.

Alden de Cromwell, 1066.

Hugh.

Ralph.

Ralph.

Ralph.

Ralph.

Ralph.

Ralph.

Ralph.

Ulker.

Richard.

John.

Robert. Dau. Margaret, m. William Smyth, bro. of Margaret.

William, m. Margaret Smyth.

John, m. Joan Smyth, dau. of William Smyth, above.

Walter, son Thomas, Vicar General, 1535.

Katherine Cromwell, m. Morgan Williams.

Thomas. Sir Richard Williams.*

John Williams. Sir Henry Williams, *alias* Cromwell.

Richard Williams. Robert Cromwell.

John Williams. Oliver Cromwell.

William Williams, m. Jane Woodward.

Richard Williams, of Taunton, m. Frances Dighton.

Samuel. Thomas.

Seth. Jonathan.

David, m. Elizabeth.

Phabe Williams, m. Jonathan Robinson.

Jonathan Robinson, m Hulda Woodward.

CHARLES ROBINSON.

* Sir Richard Williams changed his name to Cromwell in honor of his uncle, Thomas Cromwell, vicar general under Henry VIII, and wrote his name "William, *alias* Cromwell," as did his son Henry, grandson Robert, and great-grandson, Oliver Cromwell, in his youth. (1620.)

THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF JOHN P. ST. JOHN.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by I. O. PICKERING,[1] Olathe, Kan.

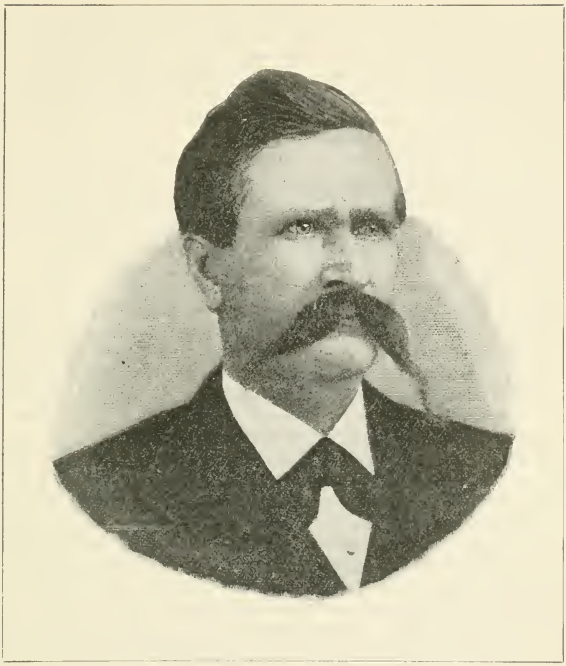
IT is true as it is fortunate, that the good accomplished in the world through the efforts and achievements of strong natures in the cause of humanity, and in the promotion of civic virtue, becomes the common heritage of the people. The measure of liberty, the perfection of organized government we enjoy, represents the sum total of the labors and achievements of mankind who have wrought for us with hand and brain to that end.

Kansas is and has been most fortunate in the high character and ability of the men chosen from time to time to be her chief executives and administrators of her laws. By their advanced standards, their recommendations, and their approval and firm execution of the laws enacted in the interest and for the benefit of the people, they have maintained the position of our beloved state in the forefront of the great sisterhood of states, and justified her inspiring motto: *"Ad astra per aspera."*

John Pierce St. John was the eighth governor of Kansas.[2] When first elected governor, in 1878, he was forty-five years of age, in the prime of life and vigor of manhood. Governor St. John was of Huguenot stock, and was born in the state of Indiana, near Brookville, February 25, 1833. His parents came to Indiana from their native state of New York.

NOTE 1.—ISAAC O. PICKERING was born at Freeport, Harrison county, Ohio, February 18, 1842, and was reared in Fulton county, Illinois, until, at the age of seventeen, he removed with his parents to Kansas, arriving in this state June 6, 1859. He first settled in Johnson county, and later removed to Woodson county, where he lived on a farm. He taught school near the town of Winterset, Iowa, in the winter of 1860–61. In the summer of 1861 he enlisted in the organization known as Gen. James H. Lane's brigade, in which he served until November, 1861, when he was regularly mustered in as a private volunteer soldier in company F, Ninth Kansas volunteer cavalry. He was promoted in 1864 to first lieutenant and commissary of subsistence of his regiment, but thereafter served almost wholly on detached and staff duty until the close of the war. His period of service covered nearly four years. July 10, 1866, Mr. Pickering was married, at Olathe, Kan., to Miss Celona H. Weaver, eldest daughter of Col. John T. Weaver, by whom he has six children. His wife and all his children are living. At the close of the war he engaged in the mercantile business at Leavenworth, and later in the livery and hotel business at Olathe. In 1869 he purchased a half-section of land, near the center of Labette county, and engaged in farming. For several years he had, in connection with his other pursuits, applied himself to the study of the law, a portion of the time in the office of Judge John T. Burris, at Olathe, and in February, 1872, he was duly admitted to practice in the district court of Labette county. He returned to Olathe, in 1873, where he has continued to reside to this date. He was elected assistant chief clerk of the house of representatives in 1875. He entered the law office of Hon. John P. St. John, June 7, 1875, and was associated with him in the practice of the law and in other business for nearly twenty-five years. He was city attorney and mayor of Olathe, commencing in 1878 and serving in one or the other of said offices for seven years continuously. Mr. Pickering was one of the Republican electors for Kansas in 1884, and made an active canvass of the state that year for the Republican ticket, and later, as president of the state electoral college, cast the vote of Kansas for Blaine and Logan for president and vice-president of the United States. He has always been actively identified with the temperance cause, and in 1892, and and again in 1894, was the nominee of the Prohibition party of the state for governor, and as such canvassed a large part of the state, making public speeches in most of the counties. He is a member of the Grand Army of the Republic, and is still actively engaged in the practice of his profession at Olathe.

NOTE 2.—JOHN P. ST. JOHN was elected to the state senate in 1872 by the following vote: John P. St. John, 1772; Lewis F. Greene, 1245. August 28, 1878, the Republican state convention nominated him as a candidate for governor. First ballot—John A. Martin, 119; George T. Anthony, 116; John P. St. John, 56. Seventeenth ballot, August 30—John P. St. John, 156; John A. Martin, 128. Election day, 1878, the vote was: John P. St. John, 74,020; John R. Goodin, 37,208; D. P. Mitchell, 27,057. September 1, 1880, he was nominated for a second term, as follows: John P. St. John, 220; John C. Carpenter, 39; T. C. Henry, 40. At the ballot-box the vote was: John P. St. John, 115,204; Edmund G. Ross, 63,556; H. P. Vrooman, 19,477. August 9, 1882, he was nominated for a third term, as follows: John P. St. John, 287; S. O. Thacher, 62; J. B. Johnson, 13. A minority protested against the third term. The vote was as follows: John P. St. John, 75,158; George W. Glick, 33,237; Charles Robinson, 20,933.



JOHN P. ST. JOHN,
Eighth Governor of Kansas.

A brief outline of the environments and career of Mr. St. John will serve to illustrate the active, strenuous life, not uncommon in the lives of men on the frontier, which had a potent influence in the development of those characteristics which, when called by the people as the executive head of a great state, made his administrations notably conspicuous among those both preceding and following.

Governor St. John was born on a farm, where he continued to live until he was fourteen years of age. Like most farmers' sons, he early assumed his full share of the work incident to farm life. In 1848 he removed, with his parents, to Olney, Ill., where both his parents subsequently died. In 1852, at the age of nineteen years, young St. John accepted the position of conductor of an ox team, which he successfully piloted across the plains to California, where he began the life of a miner for gold. At that time the facilities and methods used in the mining and separation of gold were of the most crude and primitive kind. His success in mining was indifferent, but this could not discourage a man of the energy and resourcefulness of St. John.

He was used to labor with his hands and was ready to engage in any honorable occupation, which presented itself to him at this time in the form of a contract which he entered into to chop and deliver 1000 cords of wood. This he faithfully accomplished, principally with his own hands. While engaged in mining and other work in California, St. John bought law-books from a lawyer in Sacramento, and at night, in his cabin, read them, and thus began the study of the law.

While on the Pacific coast he enlisted and fought against the hostile Modoc Indians of California and southern Oregon, being in several engagements, in which he was twice wounded. He still bears in his body the point of a flint arrow-head as a memento and reminder of the skill and ability of these wild savages to shoot from a vantage place, an ambush of rocks or trees.

In 1873 these untamed savages were removed by the United States government to a reservation in the Indian Territory, south of Kansas, because of the treacherous murder of Gen. Edward R. S. Canby and Dr. E. Thomas, in April, while engaged with other commissioners in arranging a peaceful solution of the difficulties between that tribe, the Klamaths, and the United States. The chief, Captain Jack, and three other leaders of the attack were tried by court martial and executed within the year.[3] The tribe was naturally industrious and soon became docile.

During his administration Governor St. John met and greeted the chief, Scar-faced Charley, in his semicivilized condition, *sans* war paint and feathers, his appearance illustrating the changes wrought in a quarter of a century by the resistless onward march of civilization.

After visiting and exploring several of the Hawaiian group of islands, Mr. St. John returned to California and from there to Charleston, Ill., where he concluded his legal studies and commenced the practice of the law.

He enlisted in company C, Sixty-eighth Illinois volunteer infantry, shortly after the beginning of the war, in 1862, and was elected captain of his company. He was afterwards promoted for meritorious and gallant service to the rank of lieutenant-colonel of the One Hundred and Forty-third regiment Illinois volunteer infantry.[4]

At the close of the war he removed with his family to Independence, Mo., and took up the practice of his profession. Here his intense loyalty, his fearless denunciation of unrepentant and still rebellious adherents of the Southern Confederacy and his outspoken advocacy of Republicanism drew upon him the deadly hatred of this element of the population, which predominated at that time at Independence and in Jackson county, Missouri.

Mr. St. John removed to Olathe, Kan., in 1869, where he resumed the practice of his profession, and from the first was recognized by all as among the foremost and most successful lawyers in his part of the state. He immediately became an important factor in public affairs, and in 1872 was elected to the state senate. He was offered (but declined) a renomination to this office. As state senator he was the originator of several laws of permanent value to the people, one of which, known as the stock-killing law, being chapter 94 of the Session Laws of 1874, is still in force. This law makes every railroad corporation and every assignee and lessee of such corporation

NOTE 3.—Report United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1873, pp. 13, 74-82.

NOTE 4.—Report Adjutant-general of Illinois, 1861-'66, vol. 2, pp. 191, 673.

liable to pay the owner of any stock killed or injured in the operation of such road the full value of such stock, irrespective of whether the company was or was not negligent in the operation of its road, together with costs and attorney's fees for the claimant in all cases where a recovery against the railroad company is obtained. These corporations could only defend themselves against such action by showing that the railroad was enclosed with a good and lawful fence to prevent the animals from coming on their tracks.

This law for the first time made it possible for the farmer and the owner of stock which had been killed or injured in the operation of railroads to contest with the companies in the courts for the recovery of the value of their stock on anything like equal terms. It is, perhaps, not claiming too much to say that the enactment of this law has saved and is saving to the farmers and stockmen of Kansas many thousands of dollars annually.

In all the state and national campaigns subsequent to his settlement in this state, Colonel St. John, as he was first known to Kansans, was a recognized power in the councils of his party. He was even then an orator and public speaker of unusual ability and force, and time and again spoke to delighted audiences of his fellow citizens in almost every city and village in this state. The simple announcement that Colonel St. John was to speak was sufficient to insure a packed house.

From the day of his arrival in Kansas he was known as an uncompromising foe of the liquor traffic, and was soon recognized as one of the most powerful champions of the temperance cause. In his place as state senator, on the platform before the people, and in private conversation, he never lost an opportunity to express his abhorrence of the liquor traffic with its train of crime-breeding evils.

The sophistical plea that an evil can be regulated and controlled by law, but the same evil cannot be prohibited or suppressed by law, never appealed to him. Neither was he impressed with the trite and hackneyed argument that no law can be enforced that is opposed to local public sentiment. The same public sentiment that secures the enactment of a law will inevitably, when intelligently invoked, secure its enforcement. Upon any question which is a proper subject of legislation, a law, when once enacted, is the crystallization of public sentiment. If a moral subject, the law is the public conscience in concrete form. It is none the less so because some who do not believe in the wisdom or utility of the law see fit to evade or openly violate it. But it is doubtful whether the active evasion or open violation of law is as demoralizing or hurtful to the state and society as that conscious or unconscious anarchism which, with ceaseless iteration, declares the impossibility of enforcing the law. The timid, ignorant and cowardly would-be violator of the law hesitates and, in most cases, would not dare to incur the risk of its penalties, but takes courage from the continually repeated assertion by men of better minds and more respectable station, that the law cannot be enforced. Who, then, is most guilty, the active violator of law, or the man of superior intellect and position who incites and encourages him by the assurance that the law cannot be enforced, and, consequently, that he incurs no risk of suffering the penalties provided for its violation?

In his first message to the legislature, at its session in January, 1879,[5]

NOTE 5.—House Journal 1879, pp. 64-81. A joint convention was held and Governor St. John read this message. George T. Anthony in 1877 read his message to a joint convention. Previously the message from the governor was received by each house and read by the clerk.

Governor St. John stated on the subject of temperance, in part, as follows:

"The subject of temperance, in its relation to the use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage, has occupied the attention of the people of Kansas to such an extent that I feel it my duty to call your attention to some of its evils, and suggest, if possible, a remedy therefor. Much has been said of late years about hard times, and extravagant and useless expenditures of money; and, in this connection, I desire to call your attention to the fact that here in Kansas, where our people are at least as sober and temperate as are found in any of the states of the West, the money spent annually for intoxicating liquors would defray the entire expenses of the state government, including the care and maintenance of all its charitable institutions, Agricultural College, Normal School, State University, and Penitentiary—and *all* for something that, instead of making mankind nobler, purer, and better, has not only left its dark trail of misery, poverty, and crime, but its direct effects, as shown by the official report, has supplied *our* state prison with 105 of its present inmates.

"Could we but dry up this one great evil that consumes annually so much wealth, and destroys the physical, moral and mental usefulness of its victims, we would hardly need prisons, poorhouses, or police."

This was before the people had adopted the amendment to the constitution[6] known as the prohibitory amendment. He recommended in the mes-

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NOTE 6.—At this time it might be interesting to note the different constitutional amendments which have been adopted at various times since the admission of the state:

1861. *Sec. 7, Art. 13.* Banks shall not issue circulating notes for less than one dollar. (Laws of 1861, p. 112. Vote for amendment, 3733; against, 3343. Report Secretary of State, 1861, p. 22.)

1864. *Sec. 3, Art. 5.* Voting of soldiers, sailors, students, paupers, etc., in relation to their residence. (Laws of 1864, p. 81. Vote for amendment, 10,756; against, 329. Report Secretary of State, 1864, p. 33.)

1864. *Sec. 12, Art. 2.* Bills may originate in either house but be amended or rejected by the other. (Laws of 1864, p. 82. Vote for amendment, 8708; against, 626. Report Secretary of State, 1864, p. 33.)

1867. *Sec. 2, Art. 5.* No insane, no felon, no soldier or sailor dishonorably discharged, no person giving, receiving or offering a bribe, etc., shall vote. (General Statutes 1868, p. 64. Vote for amendment, 16,860; against, 12,165. Report Secretary of State, 1867, p. 7.)

1868. *Sec. 4, Art. 15.* Office of state printer created. (House Journal 1868, p. 551. Vote for amendment, 13,471; against, 5415. Report Secretary of State, 1868, p. 27.)

1873. *Sec. 2, Art. 2.* Fixing the number of representatives and senators. (Laws of 1873, p. 249. Vote for amendment, 32,240; against, 29,189. Report Secretary of State, 1873, p. 11.)

1875. *Sec. 25, Art. 2.* Biennial legislature and place of meeting. (Laws of 1875, p. 207. Vote for amendment, 43,320; against, 15,478. Report Secretary of State, 1875, p. 51.)

1875. *Sec. 3, Art. 11.* Legislature empowered to raise revenue to defray current expenses of the state. (Laws of 1875, p. 207. Vote for amendment, 43,052; against, 15,293. Report Secretary of State, 1875, p. 51.)

1875. *Sec. 29, Art. 2.* Representatives elected for two years, senators for four years. (Laws of 1875, p. 207. Vote for amendment, 42,724; against, 15,509. Report Secretary of State, 1875, p. 51.)

1876. *Sec. 24, Art. 2.* No money to be drawn from the state treasury except upon specific appropriations, etc. (Laws of 1876, p. 299. Vote for amendment, 95,430; against, 1768. Report Secretary of State, 1876, p. 93.)

1876. *Sec. 3, Art. 9.* Term of office for county officials fixed. (Laws of 1876, p. 299. Vote for amendment, 93,138; against, 1985. Report Secretary of State, 1876, p. 93.)

1880. *Sec. 10, Art. 15.* Amendment relating to the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. (Laws of 1879, p. 293. Vote for amendment, 92,302; against, 84,304. Report Secretary of State, 1879-'80, p. 178. A majority for this amendment of 7998. There were 24,353 less votes cast for it than for president, and 22,230 less than for governor.)

1888. *Sec. 17, Bill of Rights.* Amendment concerning the purchase, enjoyment and descent of property. (Laws of 1887, p. 340. Vote for amendment, 220,419; against, 16,611. Report Secretary of State, 1887-'88, p. 118.)

1888. *Sec. 1, Art. 8.* To strike out the word "white"—militia service. (Laws of 1887, p. 339. Vote for amendment, 223,474; against, 22,251. Report Secretary of State, 1887-'88, p. 118.)

1900. *Sec. 2, Art. 3.* The judicial amendment to the constitution, increasing the justices from three to seven. (Laws of 1899, p. 518. Vote for amendment, 123,721; against, 35,474. Report Secretary of State, 1899-1900, p. 114.)

1902. *Sec. 2, Art. 4.* Biennial-election amendment to the constitution. (Laws of 1901, p. 765. Vote for amendment, 144,776; against, 78,190. Report Secretary of State, 1901-'02, p. 98.)

1904. *Sec. 14, Art. 2.* Veto amendment to the constitution. (Laws of 1903, p. 817. Vote for amendment, 162,057; against, 60,148. Report Secretary of State, 1903-'04, p. 141.)

1904. *Sec. 4, Art. 15.* An amendment relating to the state printer. (Laws of 1905, p. 909. Vote for amendment, 169,620; against, 52,363. Report Secretary of State, 1903-'04, p. 141.)

sage the amendment of the old dram-shop act by striking out the proviso which permitted the councils of cities of the first and second class to dispense by ordinance with the petition requiring the signatures of a majority of the citizens, both male and female, of the ward where such dram-shop was to be conducted, so that before any one could operate a dram-shop in any ward of any city in the state of Kansas, he must first secure such petition, which could not be done except in a few localities in some of the cities of the state.

The same legislature, with the active and sympathetic assistance of Governor St. John and other temperance workers, passed and submitted to the people of Kansas a joint resolution providing an amendment to the constitution, by adding to article 15 a tenth section, as follows:

"The manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors shall be forever prohibited in this state, except for medical, scientific and mechanical purposes."[7]

After the passage of this joint resolution by the legislature, Governor St. John was at once recognized as its especial and most able advocate and

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NOTE 6—*continued.*—The following amendments have been rejected:

1867. *Sec. 1, Art. 5.* Striking out the word "white." (House Journal 1867, p. 326. Vote for amendment 10,483; against, 19,421. Report Secretary of State, 1867, p. 7.)

1867. *Sec. 1, Art. 5.* Striking out the words "white male." (House Journal 1867, p. 326. Vote for amendment, 9070; against, 19,857. Report Secretary of State, 1867, p. 7.)

1880. *Sec. 1, Art 11.* Relating to property exempt from taxation. (Laws of 1879, p. 292. Vote for amendment, 38,442; against, 140,020. Report Secretary of State, 1879-'80, p. 180.)

1886. *Sec. 2, Art. 3.* Judicial amendment, increasing the number of justices from three to five. (Laws of 1885, p. 327. Vote for amendment, 81,788; against, 132,535. Report Secretary of State, 1885-'86, p. 116.)

1890. *Secs. 3, 25, Art. 2.* Changing time of meeting of legislature and increasing time of sitting. (Laws of 1889, p. 418. Vote for amendment, 52,463; against, 140,041. Report Secretary of State, 1889-'90, p. 102.)

1890. *Sec. 2, Art. 3.* Judicial amendment, increasing the number of justices from three to seven. (Laws of 1889, p. 419. Vote for amendment, 66,601; against, 121,636. Report Secretary of State, 1889-'90, p. 102.)

1894. *Sec. 1, Art. 5.* Equal-suffrage amendment. (Laws of 1893, p. 274. Vote for amendment, 95,302; against, 130,139. Report Secretary of State, 1893-'94, p. 65.)

1902. *Sec. 3, Art. 2.* "Amendment of the constitution relating to the compensation of the members of the legislature." (Laws of 1901, p. 764. Vote for amendment, 92,090; against, 140,768. Report Secretary of State, 1901-'02, p. 98.)

A proposition for a constitutional convention has twice been submitted to the people:

1880. Voted against constitutional convention. Vote, 22,870 for, and 146,279 against.

1892. Voted against constitutional convention. Vote, 118,491 for, and 118,957 against—466 majority against. On the proposition of a constitutional convention there were cast 13,570 more votes than for president, and 11,588 more than were cast for governor.

The following amendments are pending, and to be voted on at the general election of 1906:

Sec. 2, Art. 12. "Amendment to the constitution relating to the individual liability of stockholders." (Laws of 1905, p. 906.)

Sec. 17, Art. 2. "Amendment to the constitution relating to the laws and their construction by the courts." (Laws of 1905, p. 907.)

Sec. 3, Art. 3. "The probate judge amendment to the constitution." (Laws of 1905, p. 908.)

NOTE 7.—Dr. Charles M. Sheldon, in an address delivered in February, 1906, made the following statements of facts and conditions in Kansas, which he claims to be attributable to the presence of the prohibitory liquor law upon our statute-books:

"It may be well, also, to note some economical facts connected with the prohibitory law in Kansas during the last twenty-five years. Here are some facts which the government itself furnishes, and which no one can deny: Two years ago total amount of taxes paid to government in Kansas for liquor licenses, including druggist permits to sell on prescription, was $115,483. In Nebraska, which is a high-license state, and which has one-third less population than Kansas, the amount was $2,776,900. In Missouri, another high-license state, adjoining Kansas on the east, the entire amount of taxes paid to government was $5,576,945. Of fermented liquors, there were shipped into Kansas two years ago, 9022 barrels; into Nebraska, 255,972 barrels; into Missouri the same year, 2,699,778 barrels. There is only $1 paid to the national government for license tax in Kansas to more than $40 in Nebraska and $140 in Missouri. And in addition to this, it may be stated without fear of contradiction that the liquor laws of Nebraska and Missouri are violated more times than the prohibitory law in Kansas. As an economic statement of what prohibition has done for Kansas, this is one item out of scores of others. Of 105 counties in Kansas, only 21 have any paupers in them; 25 have no poorhouses; 35 have their jails absolutely empty; 37 have no criminal cases on their dockets."

champion before the people. At the ensuing Republican state convention, he was renominated for governor upon a platform pledging the party to the policy of prohibition of the liquor traffic,[8] and made the fight on that issue before the people.

Out of a total vote of 176,606 on the amendment, it was carried by a majority of 7998, and the governor was reelected by a much larger majority than in 1878.

Much against his personal wishes and judgment, but finally yielding to the insistence of his friends, Governor St. John accepted, at the hands of his party, in 1882, the unprecedented honor of a nomination for a third term as governor of Kansas. He was defeated only by a slender plurality of about 8000. His opponent and successor was the Hon. Geo. W. Glick, of Atchison, an excellent gentleman of much legislative experience, and justly esteemed on account of his ability and high personal character. Regard for the unwritten law which limits the tenure of the office of governor in Kansas to two terms, and the defection of about 25,000 Republican voters for that reason, and their unwillingness to accept prohibition as the permanent policy of the state, operated to produce that result.

In his second biennial message to the legislature, in 1881,[9] Governor St. John stated, among other things, the following:

"This [prohibitory] amendment being now a part of the constitution of our state, it devolves upon you to enact such laws as are necessary for its rigid enforcement.

"There are but few citizens to-day in Kansas who will not admit that 'dram-shops' are a curse to any people. More crime, poverty, misery and degradation flow from them than from all other sources combined. The real difference of opinion existing in relation to them is not so much as to whether they are an evil or a blessing, but rather as to what course should be pursued toward them. Some have contended that they should be licensed; but it seems to me that if they are an evil no government should give them the sanction of the law. They should be prohibited, as we prohibit all other acknowledged evils. It has been urged, as an argument in favor of licensing dram-shops, that under that system a large revenue is derived. Granting this to be true, I insist that we have no right to consider the question of revenue at a cost of the sacrifice of principles. All the revenue ever received from such a source will not compensate for a single tear of a heart-broken mother at the sight of her drunken son as he reels from the door of a licensed dram-shop. . . .

"The people of Kansas have spoken upon the whole question in language that cannot be misunderstood. By their verdict the license system, as it relates to the sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage, has been blotted from the statute-books of the state. . . . No step should be taken backward. Let it not be said that any evil exists in our midst the power of which is greater than the people."

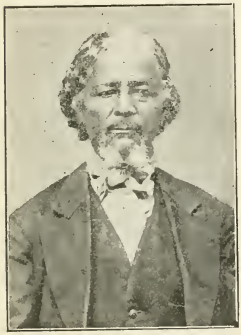
The four years from January, 1879, to January, 1883, covering the period of the administrations of Governor St. John, were crowded with problems affecting the welfare of the people and the administration of the law, requiring a high order of executive ability successfully to meet and adjust.

NOTE 8.—"Eleventh. That we hold it to be a solemn obligation of the electors of Kansas to be earnest in securing election to all positions of public trust men of honesty and conscience, who will faithfully administer the laws; to the legislature, men who will represent upon all questions the best sentiment of the people, and who will labor earnestly for the enactment of such laws as the best interest of society, temperance and good order shall demand."—From Republican platform, 1880, campaign broadside.

NOTE 9.—House Journal 1881, pp. 55-69: A resolution for a joint convention to hear this message was, on motion of James D. Snoddy, indefinitely postponed.

Events, some of which had their origin in past ages, before the territory or the state of Kansas had a place upon the map of the world, and many generations before the existence of the heroic men and women whose lives and deeds have enriched the pages of our history, transpired here and assumed tangible form during this period.

It is not at all strange that the reputation of a state which produced "Old John Brown of Osawatomie," the state on whose soil began the great conflict which resulted in freeing a race from more than two centuries of bondage, should have so fired the imagination of the former negro slaves of the South that their concerted movement to this state was there called "the negro exodus" and, by many in Kansas, "the negro invasion."[10]



"PAP" SINGLETON,
father of the exodus.

NOTE 10.—The exodus of negroes from the South to Kansas began in 1878, and attracted not only national but world-wide attention until the spring of 1882. Benjamin Singleton, of Morris county, was president of an "invitation committee in sunny Kansas," and it was his circulars that stirred the ex-slaves of the South. Singleton was from Tennessee, and began his agitation in 1869–70. All told, he moved about 8000 colored people out of Tennessee. His favorite argument was: "Hyar you is, a-pottering around in politics, and trying to get into offices that you aint fit for, and you can't see that these white tramps from the North is simply usin' you for to line their pockets, and when they git through they will drop you, and the rebels will come into power, and then where will you be?" Public meetings were held in St. Louis, Chicago, Boston, and New York, and contributions were made at all points to aid the colored people and to avoid suffering. Meetings were held at various points in the South to take steps to prevent the movement of labor from the South to Kansas. Philip D. Armour made a trip to Kansas City to investigate conditions, and immediately gave $1200 for their aid, and announced to his friends that he would receive and disburse funds for them. April 22, 1879, Senator Ingalls moved an appropriation of $100,000, to be expended by the secretary of war for their relief. This he did upon the suggestion of the mayor of Wyandotte (now Kansas City, Kan.), where large numbers were landed. Governor St. John wrote Laura S. Haviland, as follows, June 17, 1879:

"It seems as if the North is slow to wake up to the importance and magnitude of this movement of the colored people. No longer ago than last Saturday I had a call from a delegation of 100 leading colored men from the states of Mississippi and Alabama, who are here canvassing Kansas and other Northern states with a view of migrating this coming fall and spring. I had a talk with them for nearly an hour in the Senate chamber, in which I gave them a full and fair understanding of the condition of things in Kansas, and what they may and may not expect by coming here. They answered me that they had borne their troubles until they had become so oppressive on them that they could bear them no longer; that they had rather die in the attempt to reach the land where they can be free than to live in the South any longer."

A dispatch from Natchez, Miss., dated May 3, says: "I have just reached this point after a journey of several days by wagon in Tensas and Concordia parishes. The negroes in these parishes are very much disturbed and anxious to leave for Kansas, but cannot obtain transportation. I visited a camp of 150, two miles above Waterproof, in Tensas. I asked the negroes why they were so anxious to go? They answered, without exception, that Tensas was not a safe place for them to live in. They were not afraid of being interfered with at present, but they believed there would be more bloodshed at the presidential election, and they desired to be away before that time. They told me that thousands were working in the fields on day wages, contrary to their usual custom, and only waited for a boat to carry them in order to flock to the river and go off. They would throw down their hoes at a moment's warning if they could hear the whistle calling them. But the boats will not take them. The negroes have been waiting two weeks, and have been refused passage by nearly every captain on the river, either directly or indirectly. The captains shoot past the landings they occupy. One captain going down was asked when he would come back? 'In three months,' he replied. It is not a question of money. Those who have abundance of money cannot obtain passage."

The "Kansas Freedmen's Relief Association" was incorporated May 8, 1879, and the following directors appointed for the first year: John P. St. John, Albert H. Horton, P. I. Bonebrake, John Francis, Bradford Miller, N. C. McFarland, A. B. Jetmore, Willard Davis, J. C. Hebbard, L. U. Humphrey, James Smith, A. B. Lemmon, C. G. Foster, T. W. Henderson, and John M. Brown. The library of the State Historical Society contains annual reports, etc., of the Freedmen's Relief Association, and in its manuscript collections can be found the account-books, monthly statements of the treasurer, and other memoranda.

Laura S. Haviland and Elizabeth L. Comstock, philanthropists from the East, came to Kan-

These lately liberated negro slaves poured into our state by hundreds, coming mostly from the states of Louisiana and Mississippi,[11] until within the period of a few weeks or months several thousand of them were huddled together in temporary camps and rude shanties. They were for the most part ragged and poor, and destitute of the common necessities of life. Many good and influential citizens of Kansas became alarmed, and looked upon this negro invasion as a public calamity. It appeared to them that it was only the beginning of a general movement of practically the entire negro population of the Southern states to Kansas. Accordingly, great pressure was brought to bear upon Governor St. John to use all the power vested in him as governor to arrest this disastrous flood of negro paupers in its flow to Kansas. He was asked to issue a proclamation to that effect. He thereupon made a personal investigation of the matter, resulting in the conviction on his part that the negroes were peaceable and law-abiding, and that their

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sas and were active in looking after the wants of the helpless negroes. An interesting account of their work is found in their biographies, in the library of the State Historical Society.

The senate of the United States, in 1880, appointed a committee to investigate the causes of the emigration of negroes from the Southern to the Northern states, composed of Daniel W. Voorhees, Zebulon B. Vance, Geo. H. Pendleton, William Windom, and Henry W. Blair. The committee printed 1667 pages of testimony, to be found in senate reports Nos. 671 to 725 and 693, volumes 7 and 8, first and second sessions Forty-sixth Congress. Of course, there were two reports from this committee, occasioned by the suspicion that negroes were being imported into Indiana to carry that state in the presidential election. There were about fifty witnesses taken to Washington from Kansas. An attempt was made to prove that Governor St. John had invited the negroes, but a negro from Texas in his testimony quoted a letter from Governor St. John, as follows:

"Your letter is received, and in reply, if your people are desirous of coming, I advise you to come in your private conveyances and bring your household goods and plows. You in Texas can come easily overland; but I want to impress this one fact on your people who are coming to Kansas, that you must not expect anything, as we hold out no inducements to whites or blacks; but you will find here a good soil and free Kansas. If your people come here under destitute circumstances, they will be thrown on the charity of the people, and bring discredit on you, and the charge that you are coming here as paupers."

The majority of the senate committee thought it clear that Northern politicians were responsible, while the minority thought it absurd that 700 or 800 should be taken from North Carolina, of which the Republicans had some hope, to Indiana, and move 25,000 to Republican Kansas. Six months' time was occupied by the examination, 159 witnesses examined, and $30,000 expended.

There is no definite statement anywhere of the number of negroes included in the exodus, or what became of all of them. The Missouri river towns in Kansas, as well as Topeka, were greatly burdened with them, and each point had committees at work locating them in other towns or upon farms. However, in the June [1880] number of *Scribner's Magazine* is an article by Henry King, at that time postmaster at Topeka, but now editor of the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, in which appears this:

"There are, at this writing [April 1, 1880], from 15,000 to 20,000 colored people in Kansas who have settled there during the last twelve months — thirty per cent. of them from Mississippi, twenty per cent. from Texas, fifteen per cent. from Tennessee, ten per cent. from Louisiana, five per cent. each from Alabama and Georgia, and the remainder from the other Southern states. Of this number, about one-third are supplied with teams and farming tools, and may be expected to become self-sustaining in another year; one-third are in the towns, employed as house servants and day-laborers, and can take care of themselves so long as the market for their labor is not overcrowded; the other one-third are at work in a desultory fashion for white farmers and herders, and doing the best they can, but powerless to 'get ahead' and achieve homes and an assured support without considerable assistance. The poverty of these people cannot be too strongly dwelt upon, for that has been their stumbling-block from the start, and is to-day the one paramount consideration of the exodus. . . . The area of land bought and entered by the freedmen during their first year in Kansas is about 20,000 acres, of which they have plowed and fitted for grain-growing 3000 acres. They have built some 300 cabins and dugouts, counting those which yet lack roofs and floors; and in the way of personal property, their accumulations, outside of what has been given to them, will aggregate perhaps $30,000. It is within bounds to say that their total gains for the year, the surplus proceeds of their efforts, amount to $40,000, or about $2.25 per capita. This calculation includes those in the towns and all those at work for daily and monthly wages, as well as those who are settled on the public lands and trying to make farms. But it does not take into account the exceptional cases — one in twenty, at a guess — where families that started with next to nothing now own little homesteads and are really prosperous."

The Historical Society has a large scrap-book on the subject of the exodus, from Horatio G. Rust, who was active in the matter. Mr. Rust now lives at Pasadena, Cal. It also has 'Pap' Singleton's scrap-book, containing, in addition to much newspaper clipping, several of his handbills and circulars, printed both in Tennessee and in Kansas; also the account-books from John D. Knox, who was the treasurer of the Kansas association.

NOTE 11.—U. S. Senate Report No. 693, 46th Cong., 2d sess., p. xvii.

only offense, so far as he could learn, was their extreme poverty. The governor thereupon promptly refused to do any act which would discriminate between them and any other law-abiding citizens who might seek to better their condition by coming to Kansas. On the contrary, he made an appeal to the charitable people of the country generally for temporary aid for these negroes, which appeal met with such generous response that their most pressing needs were relieved, and actual suffering among them was averted or reduced to the minimum. Subsequent events fully justified the acts of the governor, as these negroes soon found employment and homes in the state, becoming a part of its industrial population, and, for the most part, they have proved to be peaceable, industrious, and self-supporting citizens.[12]

Thus the refusal of Governor St. John to yield to the demands of many citizens to use his office for the exclusion of these negro immigrants saved Kansas from the reproach of discriminating between them and other immigrants because of their color and dire poverty, which would have been inconsistent with all the traditions and former history of the state.

After the close of the war, in 1865, and particularly during the decade preceding the election of St. John as governor, there had been an unprecedented emigration to Kansas. Thousands of families came in search of cheap lands for homes, bringing no capital but strong arms and a will to endure the privations of frontier life until they could make for themselves comfortable homes. Many of these immigrants took up claims and obtained contracts for lands from the railroads in the western and northwestern part of the state. Unfortunately, there had been for several years in some of the newer counties an almost total failure of crops. The people were in distress, and word was sent to the governor, in the winter of 1880, that many of them were in a suffering condition, and that some were actually starving. An appeal like this resulted in immediate action on the part of the governor. He went in person to the nearest railroad points, procured conveyance, and, taking provisions for temporary relief with him, visited and inspected the condition of the people in their sod houses and dugouts. He found their condition most deplorable—even worse than it had been reported. Returning, he at once made a personal appeal to Jay Gould, who was at the time president of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, and others, in behalf of these suffering people who had settled along the line of the Union Pacific railroad. This appeal was immediately effective. Mr. Gould authorized the governor by telegraph to draw on him for $5000, which was done.[13] Provisions and clothing were purchased, taken and distributed to the destitute families under the personal supervision of the governor. Every dollar contributed was expended in the purchase of provisions, clothing and necessaries for these destitute people, all of which was delivered to them without diminution of the fund on account of costs of disbursement. In the expenditure of these funds, the governor, as was his habit in all such cases, exacted and received from every person who furnished provisions, merchandise or supplies of any kind a voucher or receipt for the money given in payment thereof, so that every dollar expended

NOTE 12.—The New York *Outlook*, of May 14, 1904, contains an article by Booker T. Washington, entitled "A Negro Potato King," the story of the enterprise and accomplishment of two negro emigrants from Kentucky, Junius G. Groves and his wife, of Edwardsville, Kan.

NOTE 13.—"January 19, 1880, Jay Gould gives $5000 for the needy settlers along the line of the Kansas Pacific road."—Wilder's Annals of Kansas, 2d ed., p. 836.

was accounted for by a proper voucher. This destitution on the frontier continued through 1880, and the Kansas legislature of 1881 appropriated $25,000 for general relief.[14]

That year the rains came, and the settlers who remained, with others who arrived, continued that transformation of the desert to productive garden and field which stands as a marvelous achievement in an age of almost miraculous development.

The frequent incursions of predatory bands of Indians across the western and southern borders of the state had made both the property and life of the citizens in the western frontier settlements of the state insecure. Up to and including the year 1878, hardly a year had passed since the first settlement of the territory of Kansas began that a greater or less number of settlers had not been murdered and their property stolen or destroyed by roving and marauding bands of Indians.[15]

In September and October, 1878, a band of about 200 Northern Cheyenne Indians left their reservation near Fort Reno, and, crossing the southern line of the state, continued their march northward, killing and murdering, and stealing and destroying the property of the settlers. Thus they marched through the entire state from south to north. About thirty-two settlers were killed, many women were brutally ravished and much property stolen and destroyed by them. At that time the protection of the settlers against these savages seemed to have been almost wholly entrusted to the troops of the regular army. Gen. John Pope was in command of all the United States forces in Kansas, with headquarters at Fort Leavenworth. Telegraphic dispatches were received by Gov. Geo. T. Anthony from citizens of Dodge City, Ellis, Wa Keeney and other places to the effect that the Indians were killing and murdering the citizens and burning and destroying property. The governor at once notified General Pope, requesting him to send troops at once to protect the settlers and capture the Indians. General Pope in turn advised the governor that he was thoroughly posted as to the movements of hostile Indians; that less than seventy-five Indians were off their reservation, and so the reports of citizens to the effect that so large a number as 200 or 300 was committing the outrages, as stated, were not credited by him. The result was that these savages were for eighteen days unopposed, and marched unmolested through the entire state, leaving death and destruction to mark their trail.[16]

NOTE 14.—See note on page 37 of this volume. I. N. Holloway, of Woodson county, was appointed relief commissioner, February 16, 1881, to administer this fund.

NOTE 15.—The adjutant-general turned over to the archives department of the Historical Society, in 1905, a large mass of correspondence from the settlers and officials relative to these Indian raids. These papers, now arranged by years and counties, are easily accessible.

NOTE 16.—

"GUTHRIE, OKLA., January 4, 1906.

"*Geo. W. Martin, Topeka, Kan.:*

"DEAR SIR—I have your favor of January 2. I have a very vivid recollection as to the raid of the Cheyenne Indians in 1878, but made no written memorandum of the points over which the raid took place. I doubt seriously if the body of the raiding Cheyennes touched even the southwest corner of Barber county, but they came very close to it. I do not think any resident of Barber county was killed, but just over in the edge of Comanche county there were a number killed, and in the territory south of the southwest part of Barber county there were at least two persons killed; one of them was named Colcord, and was a nephew of W. R. Colcord and a cousin of C. F. Colcord, now a prominent banker of Oklahoma City. At one of the camps of the Comanche county pool, two persons were wounded, but this ranch was certainly in Comanche county. A young child was shot across the breast; the ball buried itself in the flesh over each breast and came to the surface in the center of the breast. The other party was shot across the back of the head, but not deep enough to make the wound fatal or dangerous. From there the Indians pursued almost a due west course and shot and wounded and killed different ones. A call was made

St. John was first elected governor at the general election in November, 1878. The events just mentioned had spread fear and consternation throughout the state. Settlers in the western counties felt that they were unsafe, and liable at any time to lose their lives and property at the hands of these savage, blanketed Indians.

In his first message to the legislature which convened in January, 1879, Governor St. John stated the facts and recommended prompt and vigorous measures to prevent a repetition of the horrors of another such raid, as follows:

"I regret the existence of the fact that during the months of last September and October a band of Cheyenne Indians, variously estimated from 100 to 200 in number, raided the western border of our state, makes it my duty to call your attention to this matter; and, without stopping to discuss the causes, if any existed, that led to this raid, it is sufficient to be able to state, from a personal investigation of the facts, that no citizen of Kansas, nor any other person within our state, gave the slightest provocation for the brutal outrages committed by this roving band of murderers.

"It is a fact, no less humiliating than true, that about twenty-five days elapsed from the time these Indians crossed the southern boundary of our state until they reached the county of Decatur, on its northern limit; moving in their line of march northward along the western borders of the frontier settlements, making incursions into the sparsely settled districts, where the people were wholly unable to protect themselves, killing as they did about forty citizens, destroying and carrying away large amounts of property, and committing outrages upon defenseless women and children so brutal, heinous and revolting in their nature as to never be forgiven or forgotten. In declining to discuss the question touching the effort made by our state and national authorities to protect the settlers against the outrages committed by this lawless band of savages, I do not wish to be understood as casting any unjust reflection upon any one.

"The duty of the hour is not so much to deal with the past, but to look to the future with a determination that a repetition of these outrages shall

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for volunteers at Medicine Lodge and other points in Barber county, and I think at least thirty persons congregated at this camp, but a great many felt, as the Indians had got far beyond the boundary-lines of our county, their duty did not call them further. As I now remember it, there were about twelve persons joined in the pursuit of the Indians and followed them along the trail through Clark county and over into Meade county, where we overtook them and had an all-day skirmishing battle with them. This battle took place on a creek called Sand creek, almost south of Dodge City. There were about 140 soldiers and about 60 civilians called cowboys in the engagement. Whether any fatalities occurred that day or not is not known. None of our party were seriously hurt; one or two were touched with Indian bullets, and a horse was wounded, but not fatally. Up to that time we had counted seventeen killed, commencing on the Yellowstone creek, in the Indian territory, and along the trail through Comanche, Clark and Meade counties.

"Capt. Joseph Rendlebrock was in command of the United States troops. The Indians had fortified themselves at the head of a canyon which had eaten back in at the point of a horseshoe bend on Sand creek, making a deep canyon, with at least an acre of level ground in the head of the canyon. There were three strata of red rock along the sides of the canyon, and on each stratum the Indians had dug back in and thrown up breastworks of dirt. In this canyon they had driven a number of cattle and sheep and their own ponies. Around a bluff, both above and below the canyon, numerous holes had been dug and rocks eighteen to twenty-five inches high had been piled, making it a very strong location for a fight. Our boys were better armed than the Indians, and we fired from under cover from about nine o'clock in the morning until four in the afternoon, at which time we had driven all of the Indians into the main fort. At this hour Captain Rendlebrock ordered the soldiers to retire, and the cowboys were so disgusted that they no longer maintained the commanding points of advantage they had secured, and the Indians fled to the north, crossing the Arkansas river somewhere near where Cimarron City is located. The big massacre on Prairie Dog and Sappa creeks occurred later by this same band of Cheyenne Indians, but our party returned to Barber county, thoroughly disgusted with the management of this campaign. We were within fifty miles of Dodge City, and had the Indians where they could not have escaped without a total loss to them, and we could have sent for a cannon and shelled them out without loss to us.

"I think I can remember the names of all the Barber county citizens who followed up and were engaged in the Sand creek fight, and give you the same as I now remember them: Chas. Nelson, C. T. Rigg, D. Vanslyke, E. W. Iliff, Troy Stockstill, R. T. Lee, John Melrose, Ben Walker, Jim Lusk, Deaf McCartney, L. C. Ferris, and myself.

"Trusting this information may be of some value to you, I remain, Yours very truly,

J. W. McNeal."

never again occur in our state. . . . It becomes an imperative duty of our state to protect the lives and property of these citizens against every invasion by predatory bands of lawless savages who attempt or threaten to deprive them of either, and to administer to such bands, within our borders, prompt and merited punishment, and delay the settlement of all technical questions that may be interposed until after the safety of the citizen has been fully secured. . . . I, therefore, respectfully recommend that an appropriation be made as a military contingent fund sufficient in amount (should circumstances at any time require it) to uniform, mount, equip and pay a limited number of reliable, discreet men, under command of an efficient officer, whose duty it shall be, at such times and places as may be deemed advisable, to act as a patrol on the frontier, and promptly give warning of every approach of danger, and thus the citizen, having due notice, and promptly aided in his defense by the state, could be made secure in the enjoyment of his life and property.

"Such an appropriation should have thrown around it such stringent safeguards, as would require strict accountability from every officer or person having charge of the disbursement of any portion of such funds.

"And I further recommend that a committee be appointed to ascertain the extent of the damage sustained by citizens from the raid by said Indians, to the end that necessary steps be taken to secure the payment thereof."

The appropriation as recommended by Governor St. John was promptly voted by the legislature and made immediately available. The means adopted by the governor and its complete and perfect success in preventing a recurrence of the unspeakable horrors of the autumn of 1878 are best told in his own words, in his second biennial message to the legislature, in 1881, as follows.

"Under the act of March 12, 1879, $20,000 was appropriated to be used for the purpose of protecting settlers on the frontier against Indian depredation. In April, 1879, by virtue of this act, I organized and thoroughly equipped a patrol guard of about forty men, and kept them on the southwestern border, patrolling a line from Barber county west about 100 miles, thus rendering it impossible for any considerable number of hostile Indians to invade the state without notice thereof being promptly conveyed to not only the settlers exposed to such danger, but to both state and national authorities, so that a sufficient additional force might be quickly added to the patrol guard to successfully resist any such invasion, and furnish ample protection to the lives and property of the citizens. This guard was kept on the frontier until the 15th of November, when the men were relieved from duty and paid off.

"In order to establish permanent means of protection where it seemed to be needed, I caused independent companies of both cavalry and infantry to be organized all along the line of our western frontier settlements from the southern to the northern line of the state, and furnished them with necessary arms and ammunition. I also completed the organization of two regiments of infantry in the interior of the state, to be ready for active service promptly, should they be required. I have also, except during the winter months, employed special scouts, who, being furnished with government passports through the territory, have, by remaining a greater portion of the time in the territory, and being on the Indian reservations, and in their camps, been in a position to obtain reliable information in relation to the Indians, thus making a hostile movement on their part impossible without our full knowledge.

"It is gratifying to be able to state that during the past two years the people on our exposed borders have not in a single instance been molested by hostile Indians, but on the contrary have been permitted to remain quietly at their homes, feeling secure in their lives and property.

"With the existing means for the defense of the frontier, and a small appropriation, say $1000 a year for the next two years, to secure, if deemed necessary, the services of an efficient and reliable detective to remain in

the territory among the Indians to give warning of any indication of danger from that direction, we may feel secure from Indian raids in the future.[17]

"A full statement of the receipts and disbursements connected with this matter is given in the report of the adjutant-general, which is herewith transmitted."

There has not been a single instance of the loss of life or property at the hand of predatory bands of Indians since that of September and October, 1878. To the thoroughness and efficiency of the measures recommended and carried into effect by Governor St. John, credit may be given for the peace and security of the settlers in western Kansas, who have been permitted to go forward in the prosecution of their business and the development of their country, not as formerly, with fear and trembling, but with confidence and hope.

Many public improvements already commenced were completed, and many others were inaugurated and carried to completion, during the four years of St. John's administration. An enumeration of these would include the west wing of the state-house;[18] the rebuilding of the Normal School, at Emporia; of the State Hospital for the Insane at Osawatomie, the executive building having burned March 8, 1880; extensive additions to the State Hospital for the Insane at Topeka; important additions for the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, at Olathe; the Reform School, at Topeka; opening of the coal-mines at the Penitentiary, at Lansing; new buildings for the State University, at Lawrence, and other public improvements, involving the expenditure of great sums of public money. With all this there never was a suspicion of graft or a charge of dishonesty on the part of any member of the state government during St. John's administration. Even among his detractors and political enemies, none ever had the temerity to charge him with public or private peculations or dishonesty.

No person was appointed to office by him at any time as a result of a preconvention or preelection promise, bargain, or agreement, and every clerk appointed by him as a part of his executive force, including the adjutant-general and the governor's private secretary, held office through both terms and during his entire administration.

Rigid compliance with law was exacted from every accounting officer and from every person who in any manner had the handling of public funds.

The administration of Governor St. John was preeminently one of prog-

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NOTE 17.— During the years 1881 and 1882, Governor St. John employed C. M. Scott, an experienced scout, to spend his time on the plains watching the Indians. In his report for 1881 Mr. Scott says: "I will not at this time attempt to give any statement of the exposure of the whites in Kansas. There are in the Indian Territory more than 75,000 Indians. Of these, the Kiowas have 1120; Comanches, 1600; Apaches, 344; Cheyennes, 3298; Arapahoes, 2676; and Osages, 2361 (11,399 in all), who are known as the wild tribes, and liable to make disturbance at any time. The United States military posts, both in the territory and in Kansas, rarely have men enough to spare any in case of an emergency, and the militia of the state don't receive encouragement sufficient to keep the organization in good working order. Of these 11,399, fully one-third are fighting men. I need hardly specify men, for the squaws, properly armed, make about as much resistance as the men, and are frequently known to lead in a fight. Such a thing is probable that 3000 warriors could be enlisted or persuaded to take to the war-path, if the provocation is sufficient; and I don't see that they need lack for provocation, inasmuch as the last Congress gave ample reasons for a general outbreak when they endeavored to starve them, and, as General Pope says, 'endeavored to compel them to starve in peace.' But instead of 3000 say 300 warriors should attempt to go north to their old hunting-grounds. I don't know of any impediment to their march from the time they stole away from their camps until they reached the end of their journey."—Adjutant-general's Report, 1882, p. 23. For further material on this raid, see the report of Adjt.-gen. Peter S. Noble, 1876–'78; his second report, 1879–'80, pp. 52–55; Report of Commissioners on Losses from Indian Raid of 1878, published in 1879; and Message of Gov. George T. Anthony, 1879, pp. 36–44.

NOTE 18.— Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 7, p. 510; vol. 8, p. 350.

ress, development and absolute cleanness and freedom from the suspicion or taint of dishonesty or even irregularity in the discharge of public duties or in the disbursement of public moneys.[19]

I wish at this time to correct a widely spread error as to the severing by St. John of his political affiliations with the Republican party, and I do this from an intimate personal knowledge of the facts. It has been said that St. John renounced his political allegiance to and affiliation with the Republican party immediately or soon after his defeat for the office of governor for the third term, in 1882. This is positively untrue. He made public speeches in the second congressional district of Kansas in 1883 in support of Hon. E. H. Funston, who was nominated by the Republican party of this district to succeed the Hon. Dudley C. Haskell, deceased, for the unexpired term.

He had remained with the party of his youth and manhood. He had cast his first vote for the "pathfinder," John C. Fremont, and in succession for Lincoln, in 1860 and 1864; for Grant in 1868 and 1872; for Hayes in 1876, and for Garfield in 1880. He had received the unexampled personal compliment of the nomination for the third time for governor of his state, upon a platform of his party pledging it to the policy of prohibition of the liquor traffic. Kansas had previously adopted prohibition as a part of the fundamental law; the Republican states of Ohio, Iowa and North and South Dakota, had voted overwhelmingly for prohibition, and it appeared to him and many others that a tidal-wave of prohibition sentiment, irresistible in volume, was sweeping over the land, and that the party of Lincoln, which had been named "The God and Morality Party" by its Democratic opponents, was to be its champion.

Thus it was that, in the spring of 1884, the name of St. John as one of the foremost advocates of prohibition had passed beyond the boundaries of his state, and the eyes of the Prohibitionists of the nation were turned to him as their most available candidate for president of the United States, if he would only accept their nomination.

The national Prohibition party was to meet in May, and St. John was urged to sever his connection with the Republican party and become its candidate, but he refused.

The national Republican convention was to meet in Chicago June 4. He expressed his conviction that his party would declare itself unequivocally on the right side of the question of the suppression of the liquor traffic. So confident was he that this would be the result, that he prevailed upon the national committee of the Prohibition party to recall the date of the meeting of their convention, assuring them that the cause of prohibition was about to have as its champion and defender the greatest political party of any age or country. But he was doomed to disappointment. On June 4, 1884, sitting in his law office in Olathe, he received the dispatches from

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NOTE 19.—During the administration of J. P. St. John the executive officers were, in 1879: Lieutenant-governor, L. U. Humphrey; secretary of state, James Smith; auditor, P. I. Bonebrake; treasurer, John Francis; superintendent of public instruction, A. B. Lemmon; attorney-general, Willard Davis; state printer, Geo. W. Martin; superintendent of insurance, Orrin T. Welch; secretary State Board of Agriculture, Alfred Gray; secretary State Historical Society, Franklin G. Adams; state librarian, Rev. David Dickinson; adjutant-general, P. S. Noble. In 1881 there were the following changes: Lieutenant-governor, D. W. Finney; superintendent of public instruction, Henry C. Speer; attorney-general, William A. Johnston; state printer (July 1, 1881), T. D. Thacher; secretary State Board of Agriculture, J. K. Hudson; state librarian, Hamilton J. Dennis.

Chicago that the platform committee of his party had utterly refused to recognize the question, or to commit the party in any manner to the doctrine or policy of prohibition of the liquor traffic. A petition, signed by more than 200,000 names was presented to the committee on resolutions by Frances E. Willard and others asking for at least a resolution of sympathy for the cause, but they were hardly accorded courteous treatment and their appeal was rejected.

Then and there, on June 4, 1884, before the nomination of Blaine and Logan had been made, St. John severed his connection with the Republican party and declared that he would no longer act politically with any party which did not have the courage to act up to its moral convictions, and declared himself in favor of the policy and principles advocated by the national Prohibition party. At this convention the Republican party nominated its favorites, Blaine and Logan, both of whom were almost idolized by their party throughout the nation.

The Democrats nominated Cleveland and Hendricks. Following the Chicago Republican national convention, the national Prohibition convention met, at which Ex-Governor St. John was unanimously nominated for president of the United States.

St. John assumed the leadership of the Prohibition party of the nation and threw himself into the campaign with his usual vigor and effectiveness. The total vote of that party hitherto had not risen above a total of about 12,000 votes in the entire nation; St. John's vote was over 150,000, of which 25,000 votes were from the state of New York. The Democrats carried New York that year by less than 1200 plurality. New York was, in 1884, the pivotal and decisive state, and Blaine and Logan were defeated in the electoral college.

When the result of the national election was known, St. John was the subject of unmeasured abuse and denunciation by many superserviceable and overzealous Republicans. In their estimation he had committed political treason by daring to accept the nomination for president of the United States from the Prohibition party, but they failed in their political heat to reflect that it was by their own action, very largely, that he had been driven from the party that had claimed a lifetime allegiance, and to which he had always given the full measure of his talents and ability in support of its principles.

The student of history is continually reminded of the strange vicissitudes of prominent men in civil and military life and the manner in which events in their individual lives are affected by the actions of others—effects felt at the time but without any conception of the reason therefor. The perspective of time brings to view the relation of events that have been instrumental in producing the effects mentioned.

Gen. John A. Logan was a colossal figure in the nation. His greatest fame was won upon the battle-fields of the South, and the genius and bravery of his leading and command of armies is worthy of all praise, and will endure as long as the republic. Logan was a veritable Saul of Tarsus, a Democrat of Democrats, with all that the name implied, in ante-bellum days. Then the "abolitionist" was an abomination to Logan; he "smote them hip and thigh"; he was the reputed author of what was familiarly known as the "Logan black laws" of Illinois, being "An act to prevent the immigration

of free negroes into this state." (Session Laws, February 12, 1853, p. 57.) This law provided severe penalties for any one who brought to or harbored in the state of Illinois a free negro. But the first flash of the cannon at Fort Sumter, in April, 1861, awoke the nation to its peril and was a "great light" to Logan. The "black eagle of Illinois" soon became a leader of the Union armies in the field, and a terror to the armed rebels of the South. Thereafter, Logan used his wonderful powers of speech and sword in promulgating the gospel of "indestructible states in an indissoluble union," and of "liberty and union, one and inseparable."

In 1862, young Capt. John P. St. John, returning from the field to his home in Charleston, Ill., brought with him into the state a colored servant, and harbored and cared for him at his home while temporarily there. For this he was promptly indicted under the "Logan black laws," aforesaid, and was tried for a violation thereof, but was acquitted.

In 1881, during the administration of Governor St. John, the large territory in western Kansas known as Wallace county was divided by act of the legislature, and at the same time it conferred upon St. John the honor of naming the eastern half of what had been Wallace county St. John county.

In 1887, following the administration of Gov. Geo. W. Glick, the Republicans had again elected their state ticket, including a large majority of Republicans in both houses of the legislature. Notwithstanding nearly three years had elapsed since the defeat of Blaine and Logan, in 1884, certain statesmen determined to put upon St. John what they intended as a personal humiliation, by changing the name of St. John county, and so wiping it off the map of the state, thus punishing him for his so-called political treason in 1884. This change of name was accomplished amid the jubilation and self-congratulation of the leaders of this political movement, and the name of Logan was given to the county instead of St. John.[20] Beyond the personal gratification of those chiefly interested in procuring this change of name, this action of the legislature was singularly barren of results. The people of Kansas continued to recognize and honor their former heroic governor as a man of high personal character, great ability in the conduct of public affairs, devotion to principle and of unimpeachable integrity.

Such is a brief account of the administration of Gov. John P. St. John, of Kansas, to whom history will award the honor of a constructive executive, always true to his convictions of right, brave and honest, a "Chevalier Bayard, without fear and without reproach."

NOTE 20.—The county of St. John was created out of Wallace county.—Chapter 48, page 131, Session Laws of 1881. St. John county was changed to Logan county.—Chapter 173, page 255, Session Laws of 1887.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF GEORGE W. GLICK.[1]

Written by JAMES HUMPHREY,[2] of Junction City, for the Kansas State Historical Society.

I HAVE been asked to prepare a memoir of the leading political and administrative events connected with the administration of Gov. George W. Glick. The first unique fact to be accounted for was his election, in 1882, to the office of governor of Kansas. It is true that George W. Glick was at that time a well-recognized public character, with a wide acquaintance among the people of the state; that his ability, his knowledge of public affairs, his personal probity and devotion to public interests furnished admirable qualifications for that office, yet he was the nominee and candidate of a party which was then and always had comprised but a small minority of the people of the state.

His election did not signify the overthrow of the dominant party. He alone among the candidates on the Democratic ticket was elected by the people, and he was elected, notwithstanding he was known to be a Democrat of the straightest sect, because he represented two questions which were then uppermost in the public mind. Those questions were, first, opposition to the policy of prohibition in respect to the liquor traffic; and, second, the adoption by the state of a system of state regulation of railroads. These formed the chief topics for discussion during the political campaign of 1882.

In order to present a statement of the manner in which these matters were dealt with by the ensuing administration, it will be necessary to set forth the conditions which gave rise to their agitation, and which culminated in the election of a Democrat for the first time in the history of the state to the chief executive office. And first as to the all-absorbing subject of prohibition.

Prior to 1881, the policy of the state in respect to the regulation of the liquor traffic had been founded upon a law which delegated to each municipal body in the state the power to grant licenses to sell liquor, under certain restrictions and limitations, or to withhold such licenses, at its discretion. The law contained various provisions to regulate the manner in which the business should be conducted, with a view to preserve public order and minimize the evils which might follow from the traffic; and to enforce responsibility for such evils as arose out of the violation of the regulations, the law exacted a penal bond from the persons licensed. Under

NOTE 1.—Ninth governor of Kansas, serving for the years 1883 and 1884. Elected November, 1882, as follows: George W. Glick, 83,237; John P. St. John, 75,158; Charles Robinson, 20,983. Vote for lieutenant-governor, same election, viz.: D. W. Finney, Republican, 98,166; Frank Bacon, Democrat, 61,547; J. G. Bayne, 23,300. Mr. Glick was elected to the house of representatives, in 1862, by the following vote: Geo. W. Glick, 203; C. W. Edgar, 6; W. C. Smith, 25. In 1863, Geo. W. Glick, 189; Jacob Saqui, 6. In 1865, Geo. W. Glick, 185; E. K. Blair, 165. In 1867, Geo. W. Glick, 323; W. W. Guthrie, 163. In 1875, Geo. W. Glick, 568; Edward Fleischer, 466. In 1881, Geo. W. Glick, 657; H. C. Brune, 628. In the legislature of 1863 he was on the judiciary and public institutions committees; in 1864, chairman of the committee on county-seats and county lines; and in the sessions of 1865, 1866 and 1868 he was chairman of the judiciary. He served as president of the State Board of Agriculture, was a Centennial commissioner, a member of the board of managers of the Columbian Exposition, and president of the board of managers of the Omaha Exposition. He served as pension commissioner during both terms of President Cleveland. He settled in Atchison in 1859.

NOTE 2.—JAMES HUMPHREY settled in Manhattan in 1857. For sketch, see volume 7, page 382, Kansas Historical Collections.

GEORGE W. GLICK,
Ninth Governor of Kansas.

the license system as thus outlined, penalties were also provided for the punishment of those who engaged in the sale without a license, similar to those which prevail under the prohibitory law. This was termed local option, since each city and community had the right to determine for itself whether the liquor traffic should be carried on in its midst, and to what extent, and to whom should be entrusted the license, or whether the traffic should be wholly prohibited in such localities.[3]

The fundamental difference between the operation of the license system and the prohibitory law is that under the first local option is exercised under the sanction of the law, while under the latter it is exercised in violation of the law.

The legislature of 1879 submitted to the voters of Kansas a proposition to amend the constitution, or rather to add to it a clause, to be voted on at the next general election, the object of which was to abolish the system and

NOTE 3.—Dram-shop act (General Statutes of 1868, ch. 35, p. 399, and Dassler's Statutes, 1879, p. 386).

prohibit the traffic in liquors, except for medical, mechanical and scientific purposes.

Although the question thus submitted did not elicit a full vote, the majority of those voting upon it declared for its adoption. The policy of prohibition thus became engrafted upon the constitution of the state, and the legislature of 1881 enacted appropriate laws to give it effect.[4]

Notwithstanding these elaborate preparations to create a new order of things, the liquor traffic remained stubbornly unconscious that there had been any change in the constitution and laws of the realm. It was soon sought to awaken this consciousness by vigorous prosecutions instituted in different parts of the state, which were attended for the most part with nugatory results. When it came to be discovered that the people had not regenerated themselves by a popular vote, but had brought in a policy which tended to stir up strife, agitation, and bitter but futile lawsuits, rather than to sensibly diminish the liquor traffic and its evils, many who had unwittingly committed themselves to this policy desired to retract.

Governor St. John, who at this time occupied the gubernatorial chair, by his persistent advocacy of the prohibition policy, his zealous attitude towards the prosecution of offenders under it, and his buoyant confidence in the successful operation of the law, became the recognized champion of the cause.

This fact seemed to point to that gentleman as the most available candidate of the Republican party for reelection to the same office. While his renomination was distasteful to many Republicans, he commanded the situation, and opposition to him became feeble within the ranks of the party.

Now that the policy of prohibition was on trial and was encountering determined opposition, and it had been espoused by the Republican party and was clearly in the teeth of the tenets of the Democratic party, it became inevitable that the friends and the opponents of prohibition would measure their strength at the ensuing election.

The candidates of the two parties truly represented the opposite sides of that question, for George W. Glick was as avowedly opposed to prohibition as John P. St. John was its champion.

At the ensuing election Glick was elected by a majority of upwards of 8000 votes. The rest of the Republican ticket was elected, and the complexion of the legislature was largely Republican.

After his election, the first official act of note done was the presentation of his message to the legislature.

In this he dealt with the subject of prohibition, especially the constitutional feature of it, at considerable length, and with a temperate and sustained reasoning which it would be extremely difficult to refute. Our space will not permit more than meager quotations from the message[5] on this subject, but we will extract enough to show its spirit and purpose.

After pointing out that the operation of the law had been so far attended with numerous evils, with none of the predicted compensating good, the message proceeds:

"It was premature, and indeed unfortunate, to have engrafted into the fundamental law of the state a policy which from its nature was an experiment of doubtful utility and of uncertain success, and which has proved a

NOTE 4.—Session Laws of 1881, ch. 128, pp. 232-244; Laws of 1885, ch. 149, pp. 236-249; Laws of 1887, ch. 165, pp. 233-245.

NOTE 5.—Senate Journal 1883, pp. 15-53; House Journal, pp. 45-83.

failure wherever tried in other states. Whatever mutations attend the ordinary statute law, it is of the first importance that the body of constitutional laws should be permanent and inflexible in its character. It is the compass and rudder of the ship of state, and for this reason it is always a mistake—if not indeed a perversion of constitutional forms and instrumentalities—to insert therein matters which more strictly pertain to police regulations; regulations the character and effectiveness of which depend upon a variety of circumstances and social conditions, and which, to reach and subserve the best public good, must be adapted to each set of circumstances and social conditions as they exist at different times and localities.

"The exercise of that portion of the police power that relates to the maintenance of public decency and social order cannot be restricted within the limits of a uniform and inflexible rule without greatly impairing its efficiency, and in many instances rendering it nugatory. The policy of prohibition may be practicable and beneficial in some localities wherein the conditions conducing to success are favorable and sustained by a large preponderance of popular sentiment; but in others, wherein the public sentiment is inimical to the policy, and a strong public sentiment and interest oppose it, notwithstanding it may have received the strong sanction of adoption as part of the constitution, the laws creating the policy and those enacted to enforce it fall into disrepute and contempt. In such a condition of affairs it is difficult to estimate the magnitude of the evils that must ensue. The demoralization consequent upon habitual disobedience to constitutional and legal obligations existing, when the line of policy indicated is impracticable and disregarded, must necessarily exert an unfavorable influence throughout the state."

Whatever benefits might be derived from the prohibitory law were with as much facility obtainable under the local-option law, without inflicting upon the state the overbalance of evils which flow from impracticable and unenforced regulations. This idea is expressed in the message as follows:

"Whatever benefit may be claimed to accrue to such portions of the state wherein prohibition measures are more strictly enforced or more generally observed, it is obtained at the expense of those localities wherein they are inoperative, and the same benefits were attainable on the one hand through the appropriate exercise of the police power unvexed by constitutional restrictions, without entailing the great overbalance of evils on the other hand from futile attempts to impose uniform and unadaptive regulations. It is not a sufficient answer to this to say that the increased measure of evils suffered in localities where the prohibition laws are disregarded is simply a consequence of their disobedience; for while this may be true, and disregard of any law is a matter to be deprecated, it is no less true that a body of people do not change their habits, customs, sentiments, opinions and modes of life, which they do not admit or believe to be bad, at the behests of would-be reformers, or even constitutions or statutes."

It is further pointed out that disregard of one law, long continuing, "degrades the popular sense in respect to the binding force of legal obligations, and generally impairs the efficiency of that function of the law that is concerned in impressing the moral sense, and preserving the spirit of loyalty and obedience among the people."

These and other reasons urged in the message for a modification of these laws fell upon unheeding, or at least unwilling, ears, and successive legislatures since then have been exercising their ingenuity in devising methods to render the prohibition law more effectual.

The prohibitory liquor law has now been on the statute-book twenty-four years. During all of that time the constant cry has been "enforce the law," and it has become the fashion for religious bodies and temperance societies to pass resolutions calling upon the governor and other public

officials to enforce this law. There is no anxiety manifested respecting the enforcement of any other law. Prosecuting officers and other public officials witness the unmistakable evidences of its violation every day with utter indifference. Although in every considerable town in the state the open and habitual sale of various kinds of intoxicating liquors in violation of the laws of the state is as common as the selling of dry-goods and groceries, yet nobody seems to be alarmed. If every sale of beer and whisky made in violation of the prohibitory law must be accounted a crime, then Kansas is the most criminal state in the Union. Yet, when the people of Kansas are referred to as a people or community, they are regarded as being as upright, as moral, as orderly and law-abiding as the people of any of the American states. If the penal laws of other states where prohibitory liquor laws do not prevail were subjected to the strain of such frequent violations as is suffered by the prohibitory liquor law of Kansas, it would argue the overthrow of social order and the dissolution of society. Yet, in Kansas, notwithstanding that law is habitually violated, and for the most part with impunity, life and property are as safe, and those laws which have respect to the rights of individuals are as strictly enforced and as well observed, as in any of the American states.

This may suggest that, in circumscribing human conduct by prohibitory liquor laws, we have invented a crime rather than defined one.

This indeed has been the conclusion of nearly all the states which have, by actual experiment, demonstrated the failure of prohibitory liquor laws; for it can scarcely be imagined that they would have been repealed if they had been aimed at the suppression of crime, and not simply at a species of personal indulgence which is either harmless, or an individual and self-regarding vice if carried to excess.

Society has at different times interfered with the self-regarding conduct of its members in many ways under various pretexts, chiefly to promote individual welfare and the good of the state.

It has prescribed the religious opinions which it was legally permissible to entertain and profess; the mode of public worship to be adopted; it has proscribed nearly all public amusements as harmful, and interfered in other ways with personal liberty, and all with the sincere desire to promote individual and public welfare, and under the mistaken belief that this could be best accomplished through the agency of the law.

Prohibitory liquor laws belong to the same class. It is attempted through this means to coerce men into prudence and temperance.

Social, moral and political progress has been attained mainly by casting off these restraints and enlarging the sphere of individual freedom, thus casting upon the individual the responsibility for his own welfare. A return to this species of legislation signifies a retrograde movement, and must in the nature of things prove more impracticable than was the case with similar laws in a less enlightened and more tyrannical age.

John Stuart Mill, in his work on "Liberty," speaking on this subject, says: "If there be among those whom it is attempted to coerce into prudence and temperance any of the material of which vigorous and independent characters are made, they will infallibly rebel against the yoke."

Mr. P. C. Young, representative from Wilson county, and chairman of the committee on temperance of the last house, is reported recently in the Topeka *Capital* as having said, since the joints are closed in his locality:

"The glass-blowers and smelter men send in their beer by the case," and he believes that "there is more drunkenness than when the joints are open," but maintains that the law should be enforced and the joints closed.

While this legislation remains upon the statute-book the public authorities are justified in using whatever means the law has provided in an attempted enforcement of it; even to the disfranchisement of cities and the political disintegration of the state. If the people don't like the process, then repeal the law.

Experience has shown that during spurts of enthusiasm for the enforcement of the prohibitory law, which at times overtake the people in different localities, a number of saloonists are arrested and convicted and there is a temporary closing up, followed by a period of rest, during which the illicit business is resumed. In the meantime it usually happens that those streams of the liquor traffic which the prosecution has stanched break out into a large number of smaller streams which give more perplexity than the larger ones.

It is impossible to keep up the enthusiasm of a community at white heat all the time in the business of hauling loafers out of grog-shops.

Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, told the legislature of his state that he could enforce the prohibitory law if the constitution was abolished, and they would constitute him a despot; otherwise he would decline the quixotic undertaking. They were not ready to abolish the constitution; so they repealed the prohibitory law.

We suppose that the idea that underlies the prohibitory law is the reformation of the habits and customs of men in respect to the use of liquor. This law can have no other rational purpose. But you cannot dry up the streams of the liquor traffic, by which you seek to render it impossible for men to obtain it, by closing a few grog-shops. There is a door wide open 200 miles wide along our eastern border through which there is a never-failing supply. You cannot reasonably expect to accomplish this purpose under these conditions, and the law does little else than to establish an arena for the display of legal gymnastics.

Governor Glick's recommendations respecting railroad legislation fared better at the hands of the legislature. The message deals with this subject in very plain terms. While it points to the fact that the railroads have been very largely instrumental in building up and enhancing the prosperity of Kansas, it shows with what a liberal hand the public has dealt out help to encourage railroad building. Besides government-guaranteed bonds amounting to the sum of $27,806,000, large amounts of local municipal bonds and millions of acres of public domain were granted to aid in the construction of the railroads of the state. As a return for this generosity, the people had a right to expect at least fair treatment. On the other hand, it is claimed in the message that, taking advantage of a law authorizing the railroad companies to consolidate and lease their roads, they proceeded to put an end to fair and healthy competition among themselves by pooling common points, and, by parceling out the state into distinct territories, apportioning to each railroad system a certain field, they maintained their rates at a high figure. Says the message:

"Steadily have these corporations invaded the rights of the people. They have taken advantage of the necessities of business and commerce; they have, upon the flimsiest pretext, presumed to do high-handed and out-

rageous things; they have ignored the real interest of the state, and have simply used the state and its resources to the detriment and injury of its agricultural, commercial and manufacturing interests, so that, by a systematic and thoroughly organized method of 'pooling their earnings,' by unjust discriminations against localities and individuals, by excessive and exorbitant freight and passenger rates, by drawbacks secretly allowed, thus defrauding other patrons, as well as by an arrogant and intolerant policy, they have made it practically impossible for our merchants and manufacturers to compete with the same classes in adjoining states. The result of this has been to make it unprofitable to develop the manufacturing resources of our state."

A further evil from which the state was suffering, it is pointed out, consisted in constantly discriminating against the wholesale merchants of this state and in favor of the same class in other states. It is said:

"The dire effects of this system of discrimination are also seen in checking the growth and prosperity of all the towns, villages and cities of the state. These towns are thus injured, their business crippled, their industries embarrassed, their development rendered expensive and difficult, the prices of all commodities unduly enhanced; and all this is endured while towns and cities in adjoining states are being rapidly built up at our expense."

This is a pretty severe indictment to present against the one most powerful factor in the business interests of the state, and to be launched at high noon upon the legislative body. But the indictment is not yet complete. The message adds:

"In addition to these oppressive discriminations against localities and individuals, these corporations have for ten years persistently defied the law in refusing to comply with the enactment requiring them to establish and keep their general offices within the state, but have removed them beyond our limits, and even now deny and defy the jurisdiction of our courts, thus violating the will of the people in this regard. And perhaps one of the worst features of this vexed railway problem is the constant tendency on the part of railroad managers to manipulate the politics of the state—to seek not only to control conventions, to make platforms, to nominate and elect candidates, but also to improperly influence legislation by subsidizing and establishing newspapers, and by employing paid lobbyists to defeat proper legislation, so that corporate greed may still override and oppress the people."

But, governor, if the railroads had already parceled out the state amongst themselves, to each a distinct portion, was not the election and control of the legislature a part of its province?

But the indictment proceeds relentlessly to the bitter end, thus:

"The public is aware that in the states of Minnesota and Iowa a serious complication, growing out of an attempt to control and apportion territory to a particular railroad, has just been adjusted between the parties to such a compact. Two similar transactions have occurred in this state within the past ninety days. By this method of apportioning territory to a particular railroad, the building of new roads, even when they are needed in self-defense, either by competing lines or the public, is entirely prevented, or made exceedingly difficult, so that the remote towns and cities and agricultural districts are deprived of railroad facilities, obtainable but for such combinations made to render competition impossible, and the business of such unfortunate districts thereby made unprofitable."

The governor next calls to his aid some authentic figures from a Kansas railroad report, which furnished him with a powerful illustration of the justice of his criticism and the recommendation, or rather demands, he is

about to make upon the legislature on behalf of the people. The message proceeds:

"I call your attention to the recently published statement of the earnings of one the leading railroads of the state, which published statement has not been denied, so far as I am aware. The earnings of this road for the fiscal year ending November 1, 1882, are, as given in round numbers, $14,500,000, with a net earning of over $6,000,000. Allowing this railroad to represent one-third of the entire mileage of the state (which it does not), on the same basis of earnings, the entire mileage of the state (3967 miles) would be over $45,000,000; and, upon the same basis of profit earned by the road referred to, the total net profit of the entire mileage of the state would be over $18,000,000—a sum that in two years would amount to more than the assessed value of the entire railroad property of the state; or, in other words, taking this one road, representing less than one-third of the mileage of the state (whose published earnings we have just quoted), as a basis, the entire mileage of the state, after deducting all the running expenses, pays for itself once every two years, besides paying all operating expenses.

"It is shown by the report of the railroad assessors that the total assessed value of the railroad property in the state is $25,088,156.46, and the average assessed rate per mile is $6786.43. If the gross earnings of the roads are $45,000,000, the average earning per mile is over $14,000—a sum more than twice the assessed value. When we contemplate the magnitude of these figures, and that the burdens they indicate have been borne by the people, it shows a patient submission that enlists our sympathy, and a recuperative power and industry on their part that challenges the admiration of all."

It should be remarked that the figures given above, to wit, $45,000,000, as representing the total earnings of the railroads for the year 1882, is the result, as will be seen, from calculations drawn from the single report of one of the roads. It was slightly above the actual figures, but sufficiently close to preserve the integrity of the illustration. The $14,000 per mile cited above is a mistake, arising, doubtless, from a division of the total earnings of the railroads operating in the state, one-half of whose then mileage was beyond the limits of the state, among the mileage within the state.

But the railroads were still not satisfied with this fine showing as to earnings. The state having so far forborne to interfere with them or to place a limit to their exactions had emboldened them to commit still greater wrongs. The message proceeds:

"For example, when it was ascertained that our wheat and corn crops of 1882 were a certainty, the railroads of the state at once advanced the rate of freight above the rate of last year to such an extent as to place an additional burden upon the wheat and corn crops amounting to over $1,500,000; so that, as we increase the agricultural products of Kansas, the railroads adopt the unnatural policy of advancing their rates, thus preventing a good crop from returning any more money to the producer than a poor one."

Having set forth the grounds that called for appropriate legislation in the interest of the people of the state, the governor proceeds to outline what in his judgment should be done to afford relief. The passenger fares should be reduced from four to three cents per mile, and a fair and just maximum rate of freight for coal, wheat, corn, oats, broom-corn, cattle, sheep, hogs and lumber established; that the railroads be prohibited from pooling, and from charging more for a short than is charged for a longer haul; and finally that the roads be placed, together with the telegraph and express companies,

under the control of a state commission with adequate powers to protect the people from railroad aggression.

We shall now inquire how this clear and trenchant message was responded to by the legislature.

A bill was introduced into the legislature which reduced the passenger fares to three cents per mile from four. It provided for a Board of Railroad Commissioners to be appointed by the Executive Council of the state, armed with general supervisory powers, to hear complaints from shippers and others; and whenever complaints should be preferred by the mayor and council of a city, or the trustee of a township, that the rates on freight charged at the locality whence the complaints came were excessive, to inquire into the reasonableness of the rates thus complained of, and to determine what were reasonable and proper rates in place of those complained of, and that the rates so found by the board to be reasonable should be accepted by the railroads. There were also provisions against unjust discriminations and against pooling between different railroads.

It was popularly believed at the time that the bill was an extremely mild measure, and conferred the minimum of power upon the railroad board. This belief was shared by members of the legislature and by the railroad officials.

Soon after the organization of the board appointed by the Executive Council, complaints came to the board from several municipal bodies, charging that the rates were excessive and unreasonable at such points, which the board proceeded to investigate, and which it found to be unreasonable, as charged, and the board prescribed rates on a lower scale in place of those complained of.

In deciding the first case of this kind that came before it, the board gave a construction to another section of the statute, which imparted to its action in changing the rates at a given point a far-reaching effect and consequence. In the last clause of section 10 of the first railroad-commissioner law it is provided that "a railroad company shall not charge more for transporting freight from any point on its line than a fair and just proportion of the price it charges for the same kind of freight transported from any other point." It was held that when the rates at a given point are reduced by the action of the board for the reason that the same are excessive, but that they are in fair proportion to all other rates on the same line of railroad, all other rates along the road must be in like manner reduced in order to maintain that fair and just proportion in the rates upon the schedule designed for the whole road.

It was seen by the railroads at once that, if this was a correct rendering of the law, the board possessed the power under it to reduce every rate in the state. This interpretation of the statute was not impugned, but the action of the board was strongly opposed on the ground that the rates were not unreasonable. This led to a prolonged and bitter contest, which, however, resulted in a general reduction of all the freight rates in the state.

This was abundantly justified, for an examination showed that the freight rates were higher than upon any of the railroads in any of the adjoining states; enough higher, indeed, to justify the strong criticism contained in the governor's message.

It will be of interest to see what was the immediate fruit of the action

of the governor and the legislature in the legislation on this one subject at that session of the legislature.

At the behest of the governor the legislature reduced passenger fares from four to three cents a mile. What was the saving to the people on this reduction? There are no precise figures from which an exact statement is deducible, but there are enough data to enable us to form a close estimate.

In the first report of the railroads to the board, in 1883, the total number of miles of road operated by the companies whose roads in whole or in part were within the state was 9417 miles. Of this mileage, 4750 miles were within the state—a little more than one-half. On the basis of mileage and passenger earnings for that year, the absolute saving to the people of this state in reduced passenger fares was $1,727,955. The average reduction of freight rates by the board during Governor Glick's administration was thirteen per cent., which effected an additional saving to the people per annum of $1,843,310. This makes an annual saving to the people in reduced fares and freights upon Kansas railroads during this administration of $3,571,265. In addition, there was an instrumentality created through which, as occasion should arise, other reductions might be effected.

After this, railroad building in the state went on with accelerated speed, and within six years from the date of these events the mileage in Kansas had nearly doubled.

The two subjects reviewed were of prime importance, but other matters which deeply concerned the public interest occupied the thought and the energy of this practical man, which we will proceed briefly to present.

It may seem a singular oversight on the part of the public authorities that up to the beginning of Governor Glick's administration there had been no system proposed to protect the live-stock interests of Kansas from the inroads and spread of contagion and infectious diseases—diseases the origin of which was obscure, and the spread of which was most rapid and destructive.

Governor Glick called special attention to this very important subject in his message, in a brief but forcible manner. He said:

"I learn from the office of the secretary of our State Board of Agriculture that at the present time there are in our state 1,404,488 head of neat cattle, valued at $49,192,408; swine, 1,228,683 head, valued at $12,286,830; sheep, 980,767 head, valued at $2,942,301. This vast number of meat-producing animals is not a tithe of what our state is capable of producing. This interest is capable of being increased to such vast proportions, and of being the foundation of so much wealth and prosperity, that it is important that it should have whatever legislative encouragement and protection can be given to it, so that it shall be protected against contagious, epizootic or other infectious diseases."

The governor recommended that the legislature should provide by law for the appointment of a state veterinary surgeon, who should be charged with the duty of looking after and aiding the people in protecting the live stock against contagious diseases; of warning them of their approach, and adopting proper sanitary measures to stamp out and prevent the spread of all diseases dangerous to live stock.

It would seem that a measure so timely and wise would have met with prompt support from the lawmaking body in a state wherein was such a vast live-stock interest, which in a very few years would more than double, and continue to increase for many years to come. A bill framed to carry out

the governor's recommendations passed the house of representatives but encountered determined opposition in the senate, and especially from Senator Harrison Kelley, a leading farmer and stockman.

His argument appeared to be that the live stock of Kansas was in no danger from contagious and infectious diseases, which, on account of the purity of the Kansas atmosphere, could not become epidemic. He was wholly unconscious of the fact that the purity of the atmosphere had nothing to do with it. His opposition was not due solely to ignorance of the nature of diseases to which live stock were exposed, but rather to his intense prejudice towards any recommendation emanating from a Democrat. At that time he believed that a Democrat was as much out of place as governor of Kansas as the king of Timbuctoo would be in a kingdom of saints and flowers. He was subsequently pried out of this particular prejudice by the Populist insurrection, but his new attitude led him to regard his late Republican associates as incorrigible rogues who deserved to be hanged.

In this instance Senator Kelley was soon to meet his Nemesis. Within two weeks of the adjournment of the legislature in which he had defeated this wise and necessary measure for the protection of the very interests he was supposed to chiefly represent in that body, a virulent and fatal disease attacked the cattle in the vicinity of Neosho Rapids, within the senator's district, which spread rapidly from herd to herd in that community. The people saw their cattle stricken with the fatal disease and dying in large numbers, but knew neither the nature of the disease nor how to treat it, nor what measures to take to protect uninfected herds. The people in fear and panic called a public meeting, which they asked Governor Glick to attend. He went and inspected the infected herds and found them in a most horrible condition. They asked him what they should do. He advised them to consult Senator Kelley, who was present, and who in his superior wisdom had just defeated a bill in the legislature which provided for such assistance as that which they were now in sore need of.

The meeting now by resolution asked the governor to reconvene the legislature in special session [6] to pass the bill, or a similar one, to that Mr. Kelley had opposed. They also required Mr. Kelley to support it.

The legislature was convened, and a bill conforming to the governor's recommendation was speedily passed and became a law.

In the meantime, however, Governor Glick was exerting himself with the general government to have one of its veterinary surgeons detailed to the scene of the trouble to take measures to arrest its spread and to stamp it out. In this way he secured the services of Dr. A. A. Holcombe, who, on investigation, pronounced the disease the foot-and-mouth disease. Doctor Holcombe at once took measures to prevent the spread of the disease. The precautions taken were so effectual as to confine the disease to the then infected herds and to finally stop its ravages.

Doctor Holcombe was prevailed upon to resign his position in the army and take the position of veterinary surgeon for Kansas. A Board of Live-stock Sanitary Commissioners was provided for in the law, and the first commissioners appointed under it were W. A. Harris, J. W. Hamilton, and J. T. White, experienced stockmen.

NOTE 6.—Special session of the legislature, commencing March 18, 1884, and ending March 25, 1884. (Senate and House Journals of 1885, fore part of books.) Acts passed to be bound at end of Session Laws of 1885. Proclamation for special session, dated March 13, 1884.

It should be remembered that this disease did not originate in this state, and it became an interesting question how it was brought to Kansas. This was carefully investigated, and it was found that two men at Colony, Kan., who were breeders of fine cattle, had imported about a dozen head from England and landed them at Bangor, Me. There were some work cattle at that place affected with the foot-and-mouth disease that had been driven along the streets of that city, and the imported cattle had been driven over the same street. The disease developed first among cattle which had been bought in the vicinity where these imported cattle had been unloaded from the railroad and driven. Thus it became certain that the disease had been brought by the imported cattle from Bangor, where they were first landed, and that the germs of the disease which had been gathered from the dust of the streets of that city had rapidly infected other cattle in Kansas.

Kansas had already passed several laws to protect cattle against losses caused by Texas or splenic fever. It was a criminal offense to bring Southern or Texas cattle into the state, except during the winter months, but it was found difficult to secure convictions. It was hard to prove the offense against the owners of the cattle. They kept out of the state or changed their abode so often that proof of guilt was not obtainable. Often men in charge of cattle claimed they were only herdmen, citizens of Kansas, and knew nothing of where the cattle came from. The cattle were shipped by railroad and unloaded at small stations and quickly driven to their places of destination at night, and if prosecution was expected quick changes of location were made across county lines. In those days, with the open grazing country south of Kansas in Oklahoma, the stock interests of Kansas were subject to menace with practically no protection, and against that dreaded disease it had no security until the settlement of Oklahoma and the passage of the quarantine law. Constant complaint was made to the governor of the devastation made to native cattle. With no funds appropriated for the use of the first Board of Sanitary Commissioners, it was practically impossible to do anything for the protection of this vast cattle industry. The governor, as a final effort, called a meeting of the Board of Sanitary Commissioners and invited the managers of the railroads entering the territory south and west of Kansas, that were engaged in handling Southern cattle, to meet with them. The meeting was held and the proof of the loss to the cattle industry shown to the railroad managers, and the consequent loss of freight to their companies. The impossibility of successfully prosecuting parties under the law, as it then existed, was fully explained to them. After a full discussion of the matter, the railroad managers agreed that their roads would ship no more Southern cattle to points in Kansas, and only through to stock-yards. This was a long and most effective stride for the protection of the cattle interests of the state. This policy of the roads was carried out during Mr. Glick's term of office, and it secured practically the protection of the cattle interests against the ravages of the Texas fever. It was the inauguration of a policy that has become permanent in the West during the "closed season."[7]

Early in July, 1884, the governor received a message by wire from a town in western Kansas saying that Indians were seen near there, and the people were becoming alarmed. This message was followed quickly by many others

NOTE 7.—The closed season is "between the 1st day of February and the 1st day of December" of any year.—General Statutes of Kansas, 1901, § 7420.

urging and calling for protection, saying there was an Indian raid, as many Indians had been seen. These dispatches were supplemented by letters saying that the settlers were much alarmed and were going to the towns on the Union Pacific railroad. The govenor laid all the information he had befor Maj.-gen. John Pope, at Fort Leavenworth, who was then in command of the military department which included Kansas, and invoked his aid and assistance. Before the interview closed General Pope ordered two companies of cavalry from Fort Riley to the western part of the state, with full instructions to drive out all hostile Indians and protect the settlers, but with orders to give out no information concerning their trip or destination. These two companies scouted over the western part of Kansas, or the country in which the Indians were seen or were supposed to have been. No hostile Indians were found. The cavalry found a few small bands of friendly Indians who were camping along the streams, hunting and fishing. They informed the cavalry officers that there were no hostile Indians in the country and that they knew of no hostile feeling of any Indians against the whites. In ten days the cavalry were back at Fort Riley, with the regret that they failed to have a little brush with the redskins. It was a source of great satisfaction to the governor that the scare ended as peacefully as it did.

In the early summer of 1883, the people of Dodge City were divided into two hostile parties, the gamblers and tough element on one side and the law-abiding people on the other. A gambler by the name of Short was charged with some offense. The people were so incensed that they organized for the purpose of hanging him, while the roughs armed themselves, ready for a fight if Short was molested or hanged. The officers had to protect Short from the angry citizens who were threatening to hang him and the roughs who were endeavoring to release him. While this condition was prevailing telegrams and letters were coming to the governor every few minutes, describing a terrible condition of affairs and appealing for military aid, each side claiming that the other was the aggressor.

The governor at once sent Adjt.-gen. Thomas Moonlight, with instructions to prevent rioting and bloodshed and to keep him fully advised by wire and letter. General Moonlight was a very brave and discreet man and the governor had implicit confidence in his judgment and discretion, and hence could rely on his reports. The general found the excitement so intense that he asked that a company of militia be sent to his assistance. The governor did not like this idea of sending a company of soldiers to quell the disturbance, but to be on the safe side ordered a company at Great Bend to hold themselves ready for duty if required. The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad company had a locomotive and car ready to take the company to Dodge City in a few hours.

In the meantime, a committee of twelve citizens of Dodge City called on the governor and gave him their theory of the trouble. They said Short should be hanged, along with any others aiding in his relief. The governor told them what he had done in sending General Moonlight to Dodge City, and that he had a company of soldiers ready to go there at a moment's notice, but that there must be no hanging or violence, and that the law must take its course, even though it became necessary to order the soldiers to aid the officers in enforcing the law and preserving the peace. He advised them to go home as soon as possible, and aid General Moonlight in quieting the people, so that the necessity of sending soldiers to enforce order would be avoided.

When the committee returned home General Moonlight had secured promises from the peaceably disposed that Short, with others who were charged with crime, should be tried by the courts, and, if found guilty, should suffer the penalty of the law. The people rejoiced at the peaceable ending of the trouble.[8]

There had been general complaint, even prior to this administration, especially from members of the bar, that judges were too frequently candidates for Congress. The governor called attention to this vicious practice in his message, from which we extract:

"For the purpose of securing the advantages of a pure judicial system, as contemplated by the constitution, and securing the confidence and support of the people, it is important that this end should be secured by such legislation as will effectually keep the judiciary and the courts above reproach. To this end, I deem it a matter of the highest importance that you provide by law that all ballots cast for a person holding the office of judge be declared absolutely void (except for a judicial office); that such vote shall not be canvassed, and that no certificate of election shall be issued by any board of canvassers to any person holding a judicial office, except the one excepted by the constitution."

A few days after the organization of the legislature, Col. William P. Hackney, state senator, called on the governor and asked him to prepare a bill embodying this recommendation in relation to district judges. He said: "Down in my part of the state, as soon as we elect a judge he commences to run for Congress. Prepare the bill and I will see that it passes." The bill was prepared and was presented by Senator Hackney, passed both houses unanimously, and is now in force.[9] Since the passage of that law the number of candidates for Congress has been reduced and the character of the state judiciary is on a much higher plane.

Governor Glick sought to introduce a reform in the government of the state institutions, educational, charitable, and reformatory, by eliminating the element of party politics and spoils from the appointments for places in the administration of these institutions. He recommended that a law be passed which would place these institutions above the reach of the hungry and clamoring horde who hang upon the verge of the government for bread. The message on this subject says:

"Minorities have rights as well as majorities, and they have the same duties to perform to the public, and have the same interest in the economical and prudent administration of the affairs of our state institutions, and should share some of the responsibilities. These public institutions, educational, charitable, and reformatory, should be brought as near the whole body of the people as possible, in order that such generous support be given them as the duties of common humanity and the interest of the state demand. The inmates of these institutions are pensioners on all the taxpayers of the state, and not on any party or faction. Their care, control, and guidance, and the disbursements of the vast sums of public funds taken from the people annually for their support should be under the control of representative men, called not from one party, but from all parties, and thus be removed from mere party control, and not appointed or selected in the interests of any party or faction. The affairs of these institutions should not be party spoil, or subject to change by mere party success."

NOTE 8.— *Ford County Globe*, Dodge City, March 1, 1883; also, Dodge City *Times*, May 17 and 24, 1883.

NOTE 9.— Senate bill No. 143 was introduced by Senator Hackney, January 20, 1883, and is to be found in the Session Laws of 1883, ch. 108, p. 162.

He concludes his observations and recommendations for legislation on this point as follows:

"But whether you in your judgment so amend the law or not, the course indicated will govern the present executive in his actions and appointments, so that none of our state institutions shall be run in the interests of any party or faction, or turned into a political machine."

In appointing the members of the State Board of Charities, Governor Glick adopted another idea in the better interests of the unfortunate inmates. In those institutions there were Germans who could not understand our language, and some Catholics, and the governor wisely determined that there should be a German and a Catholic on the board of management. The inmates greatly appreciated this concession to them and took pleasure in talking in their language in confidence to the German or Catholic member. This policy soon had a good effect on the disposition of the patients. They seemed to feel much better and more cheerful after a friendly talk with the German or Catholic member. The superintendents and the board were equally pleased at the beneficial results. No Catholic priest had ever been permitted to enter the Penitentiary and preach to the Catholic inmates. Governor Glick called the attention of the directors and warden of the Penitentiary to this and secured a change of policy. He got an order allowing a Catholic priest to preach every fourth Sunday, and to attend confessionals when a dying prisoner requested it.

It is enough to add that Governor Glick steadfastly adhered to this line of policy throughout his term, and with the best results so far as the management of these institutions was concerned. But in making these recommendations and inaugurating this policy, so wise and just, he was clearly in advance of his time. His Republican successors soon turned the thing back into the old rut, where it has remained ever since.

There have been great strides made in recent years in the progress of reform applied to the civil service of the general government, with most beneficial results upon the purity and efficiency of the public service. This reform is based upon the idea that the public, which pays for the service and for whose benefit it is provided, has a right to be served by the average of ability and faithfulness existing in the community. This kind of service cannot be had by leaving the appointments to a set of politicians whose principal business it is to perpetuate themselves in place and power; men who come to regard themselves as the very pivot of patriotism, to conserve which it is necessary to create bosses, and political machines for the bosses to operate. The boss cannot exist without spoils—they are his stock in trade.

The civilized method of appointing men to fill the administrative offices in the state has not yet reached Kansas. These offices continue to be thrown in as job lots to the faction or party which wins the election, and, as a consequence, the people periodically amuse themselves by breaking up one machine to build up another. What grand politics!

Mr. Glick tried to reform this and bring the service of the state back to the people, but the people, it seems, were not ready to forego this fine amusement. Under this amusing system of spoils, it generally happens that the men most strenuously recommended for these subordinate offices are those whose low cunning renders them most perniciously active in local politics, and who are generally unfit for any useful or honorable pursuit.

Prior to Governor Glick's administration it had been the practice for the treasurers of educational institutions of the state to draw out of the state treasury the full amount of the appropriation made for its maintenance for the year, and the management and disbursement of the fund thus taken from the public treasury was confided to the local treasurer of the institution. Losses had been occasioned by this method,[10] to which the attention of the legislature was called and a cure for this evil suggested. As the governor's suggestion led to a reform of this abuse and to the adoption of a law which brought about a change in the policy of the state in this regard, we cannot do better than to quote the pertinent suggestions of the governor in his message to the legislature on this subject, which led to the change. Quoting from the message:

"All public funds should be under the control of the state, where it is easy to fix responsibility and to secure a more faithful administration of them than when scattered over the state and their management entrusted to so many hands. The concentration of financial management and control in the hands of trusted officials of the state lessens the temptation to abuse trusts and reduces the risk of loss. Where the funds are in the hands of business men, as must be the case when intrusted to local treasurers, there is a constant temptation to maintain large balances in cash of funds which ought to be invested and become productive. The lodgment in the hands of a local treasurer, who is engaged in business, of a large amount of interest-bearing bonds and securities, subjects them to the danger of being pledged, in case of financial straits, as collateral to private uses. The importance of placing funds where they will remain secure and protected from loss is a matter to which I ask your serious attention. The loss of the funds of other institutions should admonish you of the danger of placing the funds of any institution in any hands outside of the state treasury."

This was doubtless good advice, especially in view of the fact that the then state treasurer was Samuel T. Howe, and the governor had a right to expect that the people of Kansas would be sufficiently careful to select men of his stamp to succeed him, in which case the treasury would remain impregnable to all kinds of graft.

It would not comport with the purpose of this sketch, nor could we within the limits assigned to this paper, narrate the numerous incidents and occurrences connected with this administration of the executive office for the two years ending in January, 1885. It is designed in the main to confine it to a statement of those matters which have become truly historical—such matters suggested in his messages as have entered into the permanent policy of the state.

The brief review already made will serve to show that the administration of Governor Glick gave rise to more important measures, which had for their object the protection of the larger and more vital interests of the people of Kansas, than will be found in a single administration of any other governor of the state, with the exception of the first governor, who, besides having to superintend the change in the organization of the state government from the territorial régime, was met with war conditions—in the raising and organization of new military forces.

The following incident relating to state finance is worthy of record. It will serve to illustrate the vigilance and skill of the governor, state treasurer, and attorney-general.

NOTE 10.—In another part of the message the governor says: "It will also be recollected that already there has been a direct known loss to the school funds by the defalcations of county treasurers of $37,000, and to the funds of the Emporia Normal School of $10,000."

About the 15th of May, 1884, the governor received a dispatch from Donnell, Lawson & Simpson, a company of New York brokers, who were the fiscal agents of the state, that their firm had failed. An investigation of the state records showed that the agency held $132,000 of state funds, and also $42,000 of funds belonging to school districts. A consultation was at once held with the state treasurer, Samuel T. Howe, and Atty.-gen. William A. Johnston, and it was at once decided that the governor and the two state officers named should go to New York and see what could be done to save the state from this threatened loss. After reaching there the situation looked hopeless.

The men composing this brokerage firm went to New York in 1879 from St. Joseph, Mo., with, it is said, about half a million dollars, and in the short space of five years found their fortune gone and the firm hopelessly bankrupt. They had had friends in the Kansas legislature who thought to strengthen the credit of this firm in their new start in the East by constituting the firm the fiscal agents of Kansas in New York.

In the course of their investigation these state officers learned that this firm had had large dealings with the First National Bank of the City of New York, and that the bank held a large amount of the securities placed with it by Donnell, Lawson & Simpson to secure loans and advances made to them. The state officers suggested to Donnell, Lawson & Simpson that perhaps some of those bonds and securities might be saved for Kansas after the bank had saved itself from loss. This suggestion was approved by the firm. They then sought the president of the bank, Mr. Baker, who entered into the proposal, and, after ascertaining the market value of the securities and the amount of the bank's lien on them, informed the state officers that if Donnell, Lawson & Simpson would consent that the bank should manage the securities, he could pay the claim of the state of Kansas in full. To this Mr. Donnell gave his consent. Treasurer Howe took the receipt of the bank for $132,000 of state money and for $42,000 of school money, and the three state officers constituted the First National Bank the fiscal agent of the state, having authority so to do.

Governor Glick was required to act on a Price raid commission.[11] That

NOTE 11.—The first commission on the Price raid claims was appointed by act of legislature approved February 11, 1865 (Session Laws 1865, p. 124), and consisted of the secretary of state, adjutant-general, and attorney-general, who were R. A. Barker, T. J. Anderson, and J. D. Brumbaugh. This commission audited and allowed Price raid claims to the amount of $342,145.99. By act of 1867 (Session Laws 1867, p. 63) these claims were assumed by the state of Kansas, and scrip, to be known as "union military scrip," was directed to be issued to the claimants, dated June 1, 1867, and bearing interest at seven per cent. This act further provided that before any of these claims should be settled or adjusted they should again be referred to a special committee of three disinterested persons; therefore, under the act, a second commission was appointed, consisting of W. H. Hanley, W. H. Fitzpatrick, and D. E. Ballard; they reduced the amount of claims audited by the first commission to $240,258.77. A third commission was appointed under an act approved February 17, 1869 (Session Laws 1869, p. 159), to audit, settle and assume Price raid claims rejected by the two previous commissions. The members of this commission were Levi Woodard, David Whitaker, and T. J. Taylor; they allowed claims amounting to $61,221.87. The legislature of 1873 (Session Laws 1873, p. 207) created a fourth commission, composed of the treasurer and auditor of state, who were to audit and allow the claims of certain persons named therein, the field and staff officers of certain regiments, and such other persons as might come before the commission whose claims had not been already audited; this commission audited claims amounting to $1360.35. The legislature of 1879 (Session Laws 1879, p. 245) appointed a fifth commission, to consist of the governor, secretary, auditor and treasurer of state, and the attorney-general. This commission, changed by successive elections, continued its work until the appointment of a commissioner, J. C. Caldwell, in 1887 (Session Laws 1887, p. 264), who was to make a "full and complete statement in detail of all the Price raid claims which are unpaid and which have been audited and allowed by any commission heretofore appointed by the legislature of Kansas, and upon which union military scrip has been heretofore issued, and also all claims not heretofore audited which may be presented to him." In addition to this, he was directed to ascertain and report what claims would be likely to be assumed and paid by the United States government. (See Price Raid Claims, Report of Auditing Commissioner, 1887, pp. iii, iv.)

Under act of Congress approved February 2, 1871, the secretary of war detailed three army

commission, during his administration, passed upon a very large number of claims, and allowed and certified to claims amounting to $350,000. The governor went to Washington, and submitted the claims allowed to the secretary of war, Robert T. Lincoln, who made an examination of them and promised to submit them to Congress, with his recommendation advising payment. This is the nearest the Price raid claims ever came to being settled.

There was considerable building connected with the public institutions of the state going on during this administration, which required executive supervision—the foundation for the central part of the capitol building, additions to the Insane Asylum at Topeka, and the Blind Asylum, at Olathe, the water-works at the Penitentiary, and the macadam road to the city of Leavenworth.

During this same administration there arose a conflict between settlers on the public domain along the line of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad. Numerous complaints came to the governor from that region to the effect that the railroad contracts for the sale of lands covered very many tracts of land which were not included in the grant to that road. Many were being embarrassed in consequence in their preemption and homestead filings. These matters were brought to the attention of ex-Governor Crawford, the ever watchful and faithful state agent of Kansas in Washington, who promptly took up the matter, and secured, through the secretary of the interior, a readjustment of the railway company's land grant, with the result of restoring to the public domain 1,300,000 acres of land which the company was claiming and selling.[12]

The grant to the Union Pacific railroad was also sifted in the same manner, and 22,000 acres which had been claimed by that company as a part of their grant was also restored to the public domain.

During his administration Governor Glick made frequent visits to the different state institutions, and kept in close touch with every part of the executive government of the state.

His position was an unusual and singular one, in that the legislature and the members of the Executive Council, who were his associates in the executive government, were Republican. At first the legislature manifested marked unfriendliness and distrust.

In the making of executive appointments, which required confirmation by the senate, that body at first endeavored to control him.[13] They refused

officers, namely, Gen. J. A. Hardie, Col. J. D. Bingham, and Col. T. H. Stanton, to act as a commission to examine and audit the Price raid claims, and to report the amount due on the same. In this report the commission allowed no claims for damages, finding a balance due the state for "enrolling, equipping, arming, subsisting, transporting and paying" of $337,054.38, which sum was appropriated by Congress under act of June 8, 1872, and paid to the state, and was disbursed by the state treasurer, who, according to the commissioner's report, 1887, did not confine his payments to the list of claimants made by the Hardie commission, but paid $46,414.36 of claims not allowed, and left unpaid $19,352.44 of claims allowed.

The amount appropriated under the report of the Hardie commission is the only appropriation made by the general government for the payment of the Price raid claims proper. (See report of S. J. Crawford, state agent, for the years 1884, '88, '90, and '92.) Other civil war and Indian hostilities claims have been, for the most part, adjusted and settled by the general government, with the exception of losses in Quantrill raid.

The legislature of 1903 (Session Laws 1903, p. 83) provided for the appointment of a commission to examine and audit Price raid claims, and J. L. Allen was appointed, but no action was taken upon his report.—JOHN FRANCIS.

NOTE 12.—Report of Samuel J. Crawford, November 28, 1884, p. 12; 1886, p. 12.

NOTE 13.—The only difficulty the governor had with the senate, after it found that the offices filled by his predecessor had become vacant, was over the appointment of a member of the State Board of Charities. This became at the time a subject of good-natured gossip. Charles E. Faulkner, of Salina, who had been a member of that board, wished to be reappointed. This the governor declined to do. The names of four reputable German Republicans were sent to the

to confirm a number of his appointments, not because they were unfit, but because many of them thought that a Democrat had no right to assume to exercise the functions of governor, notwithstanding the people had conferred upon him the powers of that office. They intimated to him that they were willing to confirm persons whom they should name, but he declined to play the puppet. He told them that they would have to confirm such nominations as his judgment required him to send in or the offices would be vacant. He adhered to this decision with firmness and the senate finally conceded his right. With the Republican members of the Executive Council the governor's relations were harmonious and even cordial, and remained so to the end of his term.[14]

By profession Governor Glick was a lawyer, and pursued the practice of that profession for many years with honor and success; but he was also a farmer and stock-raiser, in Atchison county. His interests and sympathies were with the people, whom he sought earnestly to serve. He did not spend his time in coining fine phrases for the amusement of the multitude; he was direct, plain, and eminently practical, and devoted himself to those things which made for human well-being and contentment.

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senate in succession, and Mr. Faulkner secured their rejection. A committee of senators[3] whether self-appointed or not the governor did not know, called upon him and urged the appointment of Mr. Faulkner. At this interview the governor called their attention to the rejection of four leading German Republicans in the interest of a man who appeared to be running the senate and was trying to force his own reappointment. The governor told the committee that he was willing and anxious to please the senators and work in harmony with them at all times when the interests of the state were involved and the dignity of the executive office was not involved, but that neither the interest of the charitable institutions nor the self-respect of the governor would permit him to appoint Mr. Faulkner. After this interview the senate passed a resolution asking the appointment of Mr. Faulkner. The governor replied to this substantially as he did to the committee. Then another committee of three senators called to reargue the matter. The governor finally told them that he would not under any circumstances appoint Faulkner, and that he would send to the senate the name of some respectable German as fast as one was rejected until he had exhausted the names of the German population of the state. Several senators then called on the governor and said that they recognized the high character of the first appointee rejected, and asked that his name, August Bondi, be again sent to the senate. The governor replied that that would be disrespectful to the senate after it had rejected him. Frank Schmidt, an ex-state senator, with two other senators, called upon the governor and said that the rejection of four reputable German Republicans was making trouble, and was prejudicing Germans against the Republican party, and asked that the committee and the governor might suggest a German who would be satisfactory. The governor said he would do anything to please the senators, but that the appointee must be a German. Mr. Schmidt then asked if August Hohn, of Marysville, would suit. The governor said "Yes," and Mr. Hohn's name was sent to the senate, and he was unanimously confirmed. He was a very excellent member of the board.

Friendly relations were soon established between the legislative members and the governor. At the close of the session, had the body been composed of the governor's political friends, no more kindly feeling or profession of friendship could have been manifested. A futile attempt was also made to make trouble in the Executive Council, composed of the governor and other state officers. The most amicable relations, however, were maintained between the governor and the other members of the Executive Council. The governor afterwards declared that had all the members been Democratic he could not have been treated more kindly or with more consideration. This was evidenced by the fact that when the new Board of Railroad Commissioners was to be elected by the Executive Council the Republican members proposed that the governor be given the privilege of naming a Democrat, and he named Hon. James Humphrey as such member. The governor then proposed that he would not vote in the selection of the two Republican members until after some gentleman had received three votes, it taking four votes to elect. After several days' effort outside of the council, and without the vote of the governor, the Republican members agreed on the gentlemen to be elected, and on the final vote the governor voted with the Republicans, so that each man elected should receive the unanimous vote of the council.

NOTE 14.—During the administration of G. W. Glick the executive officers were: Lieutenant-governor, D. W. Finney; secretary of state, James Smith; auditor, E. P. McCabe; treasurer, S. T. Howe; superintendent of public instruction, H. C. Speer; attorney-general, W. A. Johnston; state printer, T. D. Thacher; secretary State Board of Agriculture, Wm. Sims; secretary State Historical Society, F. G. Adams; superintendent of insurance, O. T. Welch; state librarian, H. J. Dennis; adjutant-general, Thomas Moonlight.

THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF LYMAN U. HUMPHREY.[1]

Written by D. O. McCRAY,[2] for the Kansas State Historical Society.

DURING the past seventeen years the people of Kansas have witnessed many changes in the political and material life of the state. It is my pleasing privilege to write of conditions which prevailed during the years 1889, 1890, 1891, and 1892, in so far as they relate to the state government. I desire that this paper shall recite facts. The man of whom I write believes in the unwritten war-cry of the Republican party—"Do right and take the consequences." The world is the school in which Lyman U. Humphrey graduated. His tutors, his professors, have been the books, the periodicals, and the press. His young manhood was inspired by the heroic deeds of the men who led victorious armies in the civil war, and as a citizen he has been a student of the statesmen who have advanced great American policies. As a Kansan his name will be inscribed among those who have contributed much to the material welfare of the state. The private and official life of Governor Humphrey has been both useful and honorable.

In the preparation of this paper, I have endeavored to perform the task from the standpoint of the historian; so that, instead of writing in the spirit of eulogy, I have attempted simply to put on record, in permanent and connected form, a plain, thoughtful and impartial statement, covering the four years of Governor Humphrey's administrations, based on facts and data scattered here and there throughout the official records of the years above mentioned. This remark is due by way of premise, because it was my pleasure, during the time covered by this sketch, to hold a position of trust and confidence in the governor's official family, giving me peculiar opportunities to become familiar with the events of his official life; with his mul-

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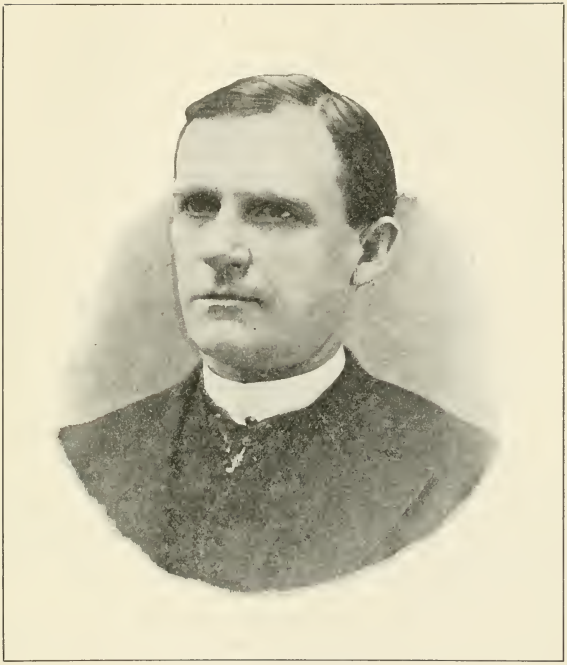
NOTE 1.—The eleventh governor of Kansas, serving two terms, from 1889 to 1893. He was elected governor in 1888, by a vote as follows: Lyman U. Humphrey, 180,841; John Martin, 107,480; P. P. Elder, 35,837; J. D. Botkin, 6439. In 1890 the vote for governor was as follows: L. U. Humphrey, 115,025; J. F. Willits, 106,962; Charles Robinson, 71,357; A. M. Richardson, 1230. In 1878 he was elected lieutenant-governor—Lyman U. Humphrey, 76,742; George Ummethun, 35,447; Alfred Taylor, 26,735. He was president of the senate in 1879. In 1871 he was defeated for the legislature, securing 475 votes to 523 for B. F. Devore, his defeat being occasioned by his opposition to an issue of $200,000 of railroad bonds. In 1876 he was elected to the legislature by the people of Montgomery county by a vote of, Lyman U. Humphrey, 625; W. A. McCulley, 373; L. B. Hosford, 97. In 1884 he received 2919 votes for state senator to 2317 for W. A. McCulley and 323 for Gilbert Domini. In 1892 Mr. Humphrey was a candidate for Congress in the third district, and was defeated, receiving a vote of 21,594, to 23,998 for T. J. Hudson. At the same election Wm. J. Bryan received the electoral vote of the state by a plurality of about 5800. Governor Humphrey was born in Stark county, Ohio, July 25, 1844. He had just entered the high school at Massillon, when the war interrupted his studies. October 7, 1861, he was mustered as a private in company I, Seventy-sixth Ohio infantry, and, after service in companies D and E of the same regiment, was mustered out July 15, 1865, as first lieutenant of company I. Upon his return from the army he entered Mount Union College, and, shortly after, the law department of the University of Michigan. In 1868 he was admitted to practice in the courts of Ohio. He lived for a short time in Shelby county, Missouri, and assisted in editing a Republican paper. On arriving in Kansas he opened a law office at Independence, and became interested in the Independence *Tribune*. December 25, 1872, he married Miss Amanda Leonard.

NOTE 2.—DAVID OWEN MCCRAY was born in Caldwell county, Missouri, March 10, 1855. He was educated in the common and high schools of his native place. He served an apprenticeship to the printing business, and in 1877 settled in Lyon county, Kansas, and began the publication of the Hartford *Enterprise*. In a few months he moved to Parkerville, Morris county, and published the *Enterprise*. July 1, 1878, he established the *McPherson County Freeman*. In 1887-'89 he was managing editor of the Topeka *Capital*. From 1889 to 1893 he was executive clerk to Governor Humphrey. Since 1893 he has represented various Eastern newspapers as Kansas correspondent. For five years past he has been a member of the State Text-book Commission. He was married at Hamilton, Caldwell county, Missouri, to Miss Carrie L. Stevens. Their home is in Topeka.



LYMAN U. HUMPHREY,
Eleventh Governor of Kansas.

tiplied difficulties and experiences, care and responsibility, in the performance of perplexing duties that fall to the lot of the chief executive of a great state, as he contends to-day with the selfishness, arrogance and ambitions of politicians in the exercise of appointing power, and to-morrow with the unreasonable importunities of interested friends in connection with the pardoning power, and the general run of state affairs that bring their daily round of trying and perplexing tasks to the governor's office.

To one who has had my opportunity to observe these experiences at close range behind the scenes, the number of one-term governors is not surprising. Neither is there anything strange in the fact that most of them, at the end of their official career, lay down the burden gladly, but with a feeling of disappointment and wonder that they should have ever striven for the honor of the place at such a cost of toil and trouble. The governor's office is anything but a bed of roses.

It may be observed by way of introduction, because not generally known, that, though elected governor in his forty-fourth year, Governor Humphrey

brought to the discharge of the duties of his office a long and honorable experience in public affairs—including four years, from seventeen years of age to twenty-one years of age, in the army with Grant and Sherman, attaining the rank of first lieutenant, commanding a company; two years' service as member of the house of representatives; four years in the state senate; four years as lieutenant-governor; which, with his four years as governor, makes a total of eighteen years of public duty faithfully performed. As history and biography are inseparable, it may be proper here to mention that, though he never boasted of his military service, probably no man in Kansas has a more brilliant army record, considering the fact that his four years of army service were completed with the close of the war and before he had attained the age of majority. With his splendid regiment, the Seventy-sixth Ohio volunteer infantry, first brigade, first division, fifteenth army corps, he participated in twenty-seven battles, sieges, and minor engagements, including Fort Donelson, Shiloh, Corinth, Chickasaw Bluffs, Arkansas Post, Jackson, Champion Hills, Black River Bridge, the siege of Vicksburg, the forced march from Memphis to Chattanooga, Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge, and Ringgold (where he was wounded), Resaca, New Hope Church, Kenesaw Mountain, the battle of Atlanta (July 22, 1864), Ezra Chapel, Jonesboro, Lovejoy Station, the march to the sea, Savannah, the campaign through the Carolinas, ending with the battle of Bentonville, the surrender of Johnston's army, and the close of the war. Entering the service as a seventeen-year-old boy, without influence, sending his monthly wages home to support his widowed mother, by faithful service he was rapidly promoted to first sergeant of his company, and, on the special recommendation of his colonel, later promoted to second and first lieutenant, commanding a company, as evidenced by the two commissions from Gov. John Brough, of Ohio, hanging on the walls of his library at Independence, the first one dated during his nineteenth year.

I have here recorded this most creditable statement of facts because not generally known, especially to the younger people and politicians of the state, and never exploited by the governor himself, either publicly or otherwise, whose modesty and retiring disposition are peculiar traits of his character well known to his intimate friends. As a boy soldier he faced the perils of battle on many fields, and, later, equally trying duties in civil life as an editor, lawyer, legislator, and governor, without flinching or faltering. Governor Humphrey never boasted, seldom alluded to his long and honorable service, never exploited his record, never broke into the newspapers, employed no press agents, shrinking from that publicity so fondly courted by others; in fact, has avoided public functions so completely that he has not visited Topeka since quitting office, in 1893. His voluntary and complete retirement from public affairs and public notice has subjected him to unjust and disparaging criticisms on the part of flippant newspaper paragraphers, without retort or reply, feeling that in time the record of his life in war and peace would do him justice.

Governor Humphrey was nominated as the Republican candidate for governor on July 25, 1888,[3] his forty-fourth birthday and (the coincidence is worth mentioning) was elected November 6, of the same year, being his mother's birthday. His associates on the state ticket were: William A.

NOTE 3.—Nominated on the third ballot, by a vote of 226 to 192 for several others. The first ballot stood 111 for Humphrey and 80½ for A. W. Smith.

Johnston, associate justice; Andrew J. Felt, lieutenant-governor; William Higgins, secretary of state; James W. Hamilton, treasurer of state; Tim. McCarthy, auditor of state; L. B. Kellogg, attorney-general; George W. Winans, superintendent of public instruction. The opposing candidates for governor were: John Martin, Democrat; P. P. Elder, Union Labor; J. D. Botkin, Prohibition. It being a national campaign, Benjamin Harrison was the Republican candidate for president against Grover Cleveland, Democrat. After a most thorough and vigorous canvass of the state, in which the tariff question was the leading issue, aside from state questions, Governor Humphrey was elected by the largest plurality ever given to a candidate in Kansas before or since, carrying every county in the state except two, Leavenworth and Ellis. His exact plurality was 73,361, and his majority over Martin, Elder, and Botkin, was 31,080. Thirty-nine of the forty state senators elected in 1888 were Republicans, and only two counties—Leavenworth and Ellis—returned Democratic members of the house. Governor Humphrey was duly inaugurated, with the usual ceremonies, January 15, 1889.

The legislature had convened a week prior to the induction into office of the new governor, something that had never before occurred in the state's history, resulting from the peculiar provision of the constitution on that subject, as interestingly explained in the opening paragraph of Governor Humphrey's first message, as follows:

"To the Legislature: The provisions of the constitution fix the second Monday in January as the commencement of the executive term, and the second Tuesday in January as the day on which the legislature shall convene in regular session; contemplating that the two events shall always occur on consecutive days. By reason of an exceptional and unforeseen condition of things, the order of the dates thus fixed has this year been reversed, and you have been in session six days. The duty also enjoined by the constitution upon the executve at the commencement of each session, to communicate information and recommend such measures as he may deem expedient, has been performed by my immediate predecessor, whose term expired but yesterday.

"Such an event has not occurred before under like conditions in the state's history. The incident of dates occurred in 1867, but the governor then elect was his own successor, and in 1895 a condition similar to the present will exist unless the then governor shall succeed himself.[4] This unanticipated state of affairs is suggestive of the need of constitutional revision, and prompts the inquiry, whether it would not be well to provide by law that the outgoing governor shall, in all cases, prepare and leave with his successor, to be delivered to the legislature, a message reviewing the condition of state affairs since the last preceding regular session of that body, with such suggestions and recommendations as he may deem expedient. His experience necessarily gives him a familiarity with the various interests of the commonwealth, and accurate knowledge of the condition and business requirements of its institutions, and thoroughness of information in all matters of public concern. This information should be communicated to the legislature as early as possible after its organization, and it would seem appropriate to devolve that duty upon the retiring governor. For this practice we have a precedent in the valuable retiring message of my distinguished predeces-

NOTE 4.—This coincidence must happen occasionally, according to the calendar. In 1867, Gov. Samuel J. Crawford was his own successor. In 1901 it happened, and William E. Stanley was his own successor. In 1895 the legislature met on the 8th of January, and on the 9th Gov. L. D. Lewelling delivered his message (pages 22 to 47, House Journal). Monday, the 14th of January, Gov. E. N. Morrill was inaugurated, and on the 15th delivered a message. (House Journal, pp. 89-116.) January 16, 1879, Gov. John P. St. John sent a message to the legislature (pages 64-81, House Journal) and on the 6th of February he submitted a message from Gov. George T. Anthony, the retiring executive. (House Journal, pp. 306-326.)

sor, Gov. George T. Anthony, transmitted to the legislature on the 7th day of February, 1879, by his successor—a precedent that should have the sanction of law."[5]

On January 16 the governor sent his first message to the legislature. Governor Martin, whose term, as above explained, overlapped the legislative session by one week, had delivered a message of his own, so that, with two messages before them, one from the retiring and the other from the incoming executive, the legislature was abundantly supplied with recommendations and suggestions touching the work before them. Governor Humphrey's long service in the Kansas legislature and as lieutenant-governor had made him familiar with the duties of the office and the general affairs of state. The message was completed at Independence, in his own hand, before coming to Topeka, except some slight amendments and alterations made at the capitol before sending it to the printer. The original copy is still preserved as an answer to the cheap and antiquated jest of certain cynics about governors' messages being written by others. Governor Humphrey needed no one to do this work for him. With his legislative service, his editorial experience, and twenty years' practice as a lawyer, few men excelled him in ability to write good, strong, clear English, as his messages and state papers abundantly prove.

This message was a thorough and comprehensive review of state affairs, with many recommendations in the way of new legislation, showing a strong grasp of the duties of his office, derived from his long public service and consequent familiarity with everything pertaining to his position, which became apparent from the first day that he assumed office, with all of its trying tasks and responsibilities. Among other topics more or less important, the message recommended legislation in behalf of labor; in further restraint of trusts and monopoly; a reduction of interest rates and the prevention of usury; in the interest of soldiers and sailors of Kansas; in further support of prohibition as the settled policy of the state; a more rigid supervision of state charitable institutions, with power in the governor of summary suspension and removal of officers connected with such institutions in case of gross neglect or proved misconduct; calling attention to the fact that taxation for the support of municipal government was the only burden of which the people have just cause to complain, the state tax being merely nominal and scarcely appreciable. The governor, in most vigorous terms, urged the legislature to restrict the power of municipalities to vote bonds in aid of railroads and other like purposes, and to minimize, so far as possible, the growing evil of excessive local taxation. This was a question of so great importance to the people, because of the wild and reckless voting of bonds in aid of railroads and other corporations, that I quote from Governor Humphrey's message, as follows:

"All this criticism of municipal government and taxation must not go without important qualification, complimentary to the generosity, enterprise, and intelligence, if not to the prudence and foresight, of the people, who have absolute control in all these matters of local concern. The 10,000 free schools and magnificent schoolhouses account for a very considerable share of this local taxation, of which no Kansan ever complains, nor offers a word in extenuation. The 9000 miles of railroad in operation in the state tell of millions and millions of bonds voted in aid of their construction. These rail-

NOTE 5.—Gov. John A. Martin's message (pages 36 to 63, House Journal 1889); Governor Humphrey's message (pages 126 to 154, House Journal 1889).

roads the Kansan regards as an educational force, operating on parallel lines with the schoolhouse, the press, and the telegraph, stimulating intercourse and activity in the multiplied fields of human endeavor among a people widely dispersed over a territory an empire in extent. But our just pride in this direction is tempered by a glance at our receipts for local taxes, a semiannual reminder of that inflexible law of compensation that runs throughout all the relations of life, politics included."

The governor, in this message, calls attention for the first time to the laxness of our law relating to the organization of corporations and the resulting abuses, and advises corrective measures on the subject, including a corporation franchise tax, except corporations for religious, charitable or educational purposes. It remained, however, for a Populist legislature, several years later, to carry this wise recommendation into effect. The governor's message was also the origin of our state banking law, a most important and valuable act of legislation to the business interests of the state. The legislature, at its next session, followed the governor's message urging the passage of a state banking law, providing for a thorough and effective supervision of state banks, with the appointment of a state bank commissioner, to which position the governor appointed Charles F. Johnson, of Oskaloosa.

The message urged the legislature to strengthen the hands of the railroad commissioners by conferring on that board additional powers; also, to reduce the cost of state printing; further safeguarding the lives and health of miners; to revise the law relating to capital punishment; for the relief of the supreme court, through a constitutional amendment increasing the number of judges, which has since been wisely done.

A glance at the Session Laws of 1889 will show that the legislature of that year was an able and industrious body. In addition to the election of a state printer and United States senator, by returning P. B. Plumb, and aside from the usual and apparently inevitable grist of purely local or special measures, it enacted many valuable and important laws of a general character. It gave careful heed to the message of the governor, passing laws covering many of his recommendations, and others, of course, not recommended.

As a body, the legislature of 1889 ranks well in ability and fidelity to duty with the best in the state's legislative history, and a glance at the personnel of its members will disclose many who have since attained to higher positions—legislative, judicial, state, and federal.

It is worthy of special mention that, from the beginning of his administration to the end, the relation between the governor's office and the legislature, as well as the supreme court, constituting the coordinate branches of the state government, were most cordial, on the basis of mutual respect and confidence that should ever exist between them. Not a single appointment of Governor Humphrey's failed of confirmation by the senate during his two terms. The same cordial relations likewise existed between the governor and his associate officers, and their deliberations as members of the Executive Council were always pleasant and free from personal or factional divisions and strife. There were no "boss busters" then; there was no "machine"; the only "faction" in Kansas was the Republican party, and it was aggressive and progressive.

Appointments.—As with every new administration, Governor Hum-

phrey began early to consider and dispose of appointments to the numerous positions in connection with the state government as fast as vacancies occurred. With the apparently inevitable aftermath of disappointments, criticism and faultfinding among the unsuccessful applicants and their friends, with a few cases of ingratitude or indifference on the part of favored ones, the exercise of appointing power is ever a fruitful source of care and perplexity to every chief executive, no matter how carefully or conscientiously he may perform the unwelcome task. It is the rock on which more than one otherwise promising administration has been wrecked.

The legislature of 1889 created six new judicial districts, to accommodate the large population which had recently settled in the western portion of the state. This called for the appointment of six district judges at once for the newly created districts. With from two or three to half a dozen candidates for each of these appointments, and all of them present in Topeka, each with his active supporters also on the ground, zealously urging the claims of their favorites, one can readily imagine the trouble and trials that fell to the lot of the governor until the six new judges had been appointed. One or two vacancies on the district bench occurred by resignation or death in other parts of the state, and new courts had been created by the legislature in several of the larger cities, like Topeka, Wichita, and Kansas City, Kan., calling for as many more judicial appointments by the governor, to which must be further added the appointment of three supreme court commissioners, making, in all, nearly a dozen important judicial appointments in the very beginning of his administration. As a lawyer himself, the governor exercised great care in these appointments, and it is sufficient proof of the excellence of his judgment in these matters to state that of these numerous appointees to the district bench or the courts specially created, as above stated, the appointees selected in every instance were in due time nominated and elected by the people in their several districts, with the single exception of John H. Ritter, of the eleventh judicial district, who, though nominated by the Republicans, was beaten by J. D. McCue, supported by a fusion of the entire opposition to the Republican party, then, and for some years later, in a hopeless minority in that district. Most of the judges so appointed held their places for a long time, some of them being still on the bench, while others have been promoted to higher honors in the service of the state or the United States. Theo. Botkin, after he had been appointed and later elected, and after an unsuccessful attempt to impeach him before the senate, sitting as a court of impeachment, resigned voluntarily after his acquittal, and William E. Hutchison was appointed in his place, which he still holds. During Governor Humphrey's first term, J. W. Hamilton, state treasurer, resigned, and William Sims was appointed to the vacancy. D. W. Wilder completed his term of office as superintendent of insurance during Governor Humphrey's term, and W. H. McBride was appointed to succeed him.

Though out of its order in point of time, it may here be stated that the unfortunate death of Senator Plumb during the governor's second term devolved upon him the most trying duty of appointing a successor, which was done in the choice of Bishop W. Perkins. It was out of the question for the governor to consider the choice of a successor until the remains of the deceased senator had been brought to Emporia from Washington for interment, which occupied fully a week of time. Meanwhile, however, half a dozen or more candidates had actively entered the field, opening headquar-

ters at Topeka, which soon took on all the features of an animated contest, to the sore regret and embarrassment of the governor, heightened by the fact that the list of applicants included several of his most intimate personal and political friends of distinguished ability and merit, so that the selection of either meant the chagrin and bitter disappointment of others. Though he was not an applicant, and was earnestly urging the appointment of Maj. J. K. Hudson, who was not appointed, the governor inclined strongly to the selection of George R. Peck, on the score of his eminent ability and the long and close friendship between them from the early days of Independence, where they had located in 1871 as young lawyers, starting together in search of fortune and whatever of honor and fame might come to them. In fact, the governor tendered the place to Mr. Peck, who declined it on the ground of his professional engagements as a lawyer, which he could not afford to abandon even for the senatorship, however tempting it had been in his earlier ambitions. The governor realized that the appointment of either Hudson, Ady, Morrill or any other of the applicants would have been well justified in point of ability and character; but only one could be chosen, and after the most careful and conscientious consideration of the situation, he finally appointed Judge Bishop W. Perkins,[6] not from personal choice nor from consideration of political advantage to himself, but in view of his long experience on the bench and in Congress, eminently qualifying him to serve the people of Kansas in the senate. If ever a governor yielded to the wishes of the majority, as was evidenced in the support of Judge Perkins, Governor Humphrey did, for I personally know that if he had followed his own desires in the matter, another would have been named for United States senator.

In due time all the appointments incident to the inauguration of a new state administration were made. Despite the inevitable criticism and disappointments in such cases, a glance at the personnel of some of the list of the Humphrey administration will disclose that, as a rule, the men were wisely chosen, with a view to their character and fitness for the duties they were to discharge; in which regard, as in others, comparison may be freely invited with any state administration before or since. With ex-Governor Anthony, Judge James Humphrey, and A. R. Greene, railroad commissioners; Gen. J. C. Caldwell at the head of the Board of Pardons; D. W. Wilder and, later, W. H. McBride, superintendent of insurance; J. N. Roberts, a veteran of the civil war and a splendid business man, adjutant-general; William Martindale, D. E. Cornell, W. H. McBride, J. S. Gilmore, H. V. Rice, directors, and George H. Case, warden, in charge of the Penitentiary; L. K. Kirk, W. W. Miller, T. F. Rhodes, R. F. Bond, H. B. Kelly, and W. T. Yoe, managing the state charitable institutions; M. C. Kelley, oil inspector; Charles F. Johnson, bank commissioner; T. A. McNeal, J. S. McDowell, and others, in charge of the State Reformatory; John Stewart, mine inspector; Charles S. Gleed, Charles F. Scott, D. A.

NOTE 6.— BISHOP W. PERKINS was born at Rochester, Lorain county, Ohio, October 18, 1842. He attended Knox College, at Galesburg, Ill., for two years. In 1860 he went to Colorado and engaged in mining at California Gulch. He made a tour through New Mexico, was engaged as a laborer, and in the grocery business at Fair Play diggings. In January, 1862, he returned to Illinois, and, in July, enlisted in company D, Eighty-third Illinois infantry, and served until May, 1866. He studied law, and was admitted to the bar in July, 1867. In April, 1869, he moved to Kansas and settled at Oswego. In November, 1867, he was elected probate judge, and reelected in 1872. February, 1873, Governor Osborn appointed him judge of the eleventh judicial district, in which position he served ten years. In 1882 he was elected to the forty-eighth Congress, serving through the forty-ninth, fiftieth, and fifty-first. He served as United States senator two years. He died June 20, 1894.

Valentine, C. R. Mitchell, and others, regents of the State University; A. P. Forsythe, Jno. E. Hessin, Joshua Wheeler, and others, regents of the State Agricultural College; S. H. Dodge, C. W. Hull, H. D. Dickson, and others, regents of the State Normal School. These are a few of the appointees to various positions under the Humphrey administrations. It may be said that all those connected with the state government were men of the highest standing for integrity and ability, which was an assurance of a clean and faithful administration of affairs. The gratifying result was that during Governor Humphrey's entire four years the institutions of the state were conducted in a dignified and business-like manner, without the slightest friction, and absolutely free from scandal and abuses.

PROHIBITION.— Regarding Governor Humphrey's attitude on the subject of temperance in general and prohibition in particular, it may be said that, while he never indulged in loud professions, he stood rigidly for the enforcement of the prohibitory liquor law as well as all others on the statute-books. As a member of the legislature, he supported all measures looking to practical temperance reform without hypocritical cant or ostentation. In both of the campaigns for governor, the platform declared openly for prohibition. In his campaign speeches, while not making it the leading feature, he always referred to it with emphatic approval, without dodging or flinching, and in his legislative messages he declared "prohibition is the settled policy of the state," adding that "resubmission as an issue in Kansas is as dead as slavery, and the saloon as a factor in our state politics has been outlawed and made a fugitive and vagabond on the face of the earth, so far as Kansas is concerned."

POLICE COMMISSIONERS.—As a member of the state senate from 1884 to 1888, Governor Humphrey had supported the act to place the police affairs of all cities of the first class in the hands of police commissioners appointed by the governor, and removable at his pleasure.[7] The first act of the kind left it optional with the governor whether to appoint such boards or not. Governor Humphrey, on assuming office, found that his predecessor had exercised this power in Leavenworth and Wichita only. He had supported the measure in the senate on general principles, believing it to be the best way of governing such cities. It was and is in force in the cities of many other states, and was not, as some erroneously supposed, invented here for the special purpose of enforcing prohibition in Kansas. Accordingly, early in his first term he declared his purpose to apply the law without discrimination to all cities of the first class, on the broad ground that if good for one it should be for the others, and proceeded to appoint police commissioners for Kansas City, Kan., Topeka, Atchison, and Fort Scott, in addition to Wichita and Leavenworth, thereby incurring, as he expected, the hostility of the so-called liberal element in such cities, knowing also full well that it meant the loss of the so-called whisky vote in such cities, which, in fact, occurred in the election of 1890. In Topeka the board consisted of P. I. Bonebrake, Dr. F. S. McCabe, and Charles F. Spencer, who governed the police affairs of this city four years so efficiently and smoothly as to attract favorable comment throughout the country. Many visitors from other states to Topeka during Governor Humphrey's term told me this was the cleanest

NOTE 7.— The metropolitan police system was established by the legislature of 1887 (Session Laws of 1887, ch. 100, p. 142). It was abolished by the special session of 1898 (Session Laws of 1898, ch. 5, p. 22).

and best policed city of its size in the world. The same was in a measur true of Fort Scott, Kansas City, Kan., and Atchison, but in Leavenworth and Wichita local sentiment was so generally hostile to prohibition, and the police boards encountered such vigorous opposition in their efforts to suppress liquor-selling, gambling and kindred offenses that the plan of governing these cities by the police-board system was in the main unsuccessful, although the governor's appointees on such boards were men of the highest integrity and standing in the communities, and well-known friends of law enforcement. These included the names of ex-Governor Stanley and Doctor Lewis, of Wichita; J. L. Abernathy, George A. Eddy, William Fairchilds, and Col. D. R. Anthony, of Leavenworth.

The police affairs of all these cities of the first class were by this plan brought into the governor's office, and the constant friction and wrangling resulting from the attempt to enforce prohibition there was a source of more trouble and vexation of spirit to the governor than from any other cause, making him the target of much unjust complaint from the enemies of prohibition, and many times from its friends, who took no heed of the almost insuperable difficulties of his task nor of the vigorous effort he was making to do his whole duty. Much sentiment grew up in these larger cities demanding the repeal of the police-commission law, and the governor could by joining in this demand have secured such repeal and saved himself a world of trouble, but he constantly opposed such action, recommending legislation to strengthen the act, and persistenly clung to his purpose to enforce the law. In pursuing this straighforward course Governor Humphrey realized the loss of votes it meant to him in the ensuing campaign. In this, as in all other matters, his duty to the people and his conscientious regard for his oath of office were obligations which outweighed any personal interest or desire.

Governor Humphrey's efforts to enforce the prohibitory liquor law, like other laws, were not confined to the cities, but extended throughout the state, and with gratifying success for the first two years of his administration. During these years he had the valuable assistance of Attorney-general Kellogg, an able lawyer and earnest friend of prohibition, and during these two years the reports of Attorney-general Kellogg show that in nearly every county the jails were full of convicted violators of liquor and gambling laws, as well enforced as during any period before or since. The unfortunate defeat of Kellogg, in 1890, by the combined vote of Populists and Democrats, though the rest of the Republican ticket was elected, tended greatly to hamper the governor in his efforts to enforce prohibition during his second term, because Attorney-general Ives, elected to succeed Kellogg, was known to be hostile to the prohibition policy, having been chosen with that understanding. In fact, while Populists had been generally friends of prohibition, their leading politicians discouraged it as an issue and disparaged all effort to give it its former prominence. As a result, the last two years of Governor Humphrey's administration witnessed a marked falling-off in popular support of prohibition, its efficient enforcement, of course, depending, as it must, upon public sentiment behind it.

ORIGINAL-PACKAGE INVASION.—The opposition in Kansas to prohibition at this time was greatly encouraged when, in April, 1890, the United States supreme court announced a decision which at first seemed a severe blow at prohibitory legislation. It in substance held that the state could not prohibit

the importation and sale of liquors in original packages. This, in effect, nullified the prohibitory laws of Kansas, and thoroughly aroused the friends of prohibition throughout the state. On the other hand, the liquor-dealers of Missouri proceeded at once to come into Kansas and set up "original-package saloons" in every town. The governor urged state and county officers to resist the new invasion from Missouri. Numerous arrests of these original-package vendors were made, but they were promptly released on *habeas corpus* proceedings in the federal courts. The federal courts for Kansas, at the instance of the liquor-dealers, finally enjoined the county attorney for Shawnee county from further prosecution of cases pending against these original-package dealers, and the governor as promptly ordered the attorney-general to appear for the state in such cases in place of the county attorney, and for a time there was threatened a serious conflict of state and federal jurisdiction. On call of the governor and others, 3000 accredited delegates met in Topeka in June to register the popular protest against the "Missouri whisky invasion," which was done in an address to the people and most vigorous resolutions on the subject.

Finally, in August, 1890, the so-called Wilson bill passed Congress, which in turn nullified the original-package decision. At first the effect was to close the original-package saloons over the state, but the business was soon resumed on the strength of a decision rendered in October by Judges C. G. Foster and John F. Philips, sitting as the United States court at Topeka, holding that the original-package decision by the United States supreme court, in April, nullified and invalidated the prohibitory legislation of Kansas unless the same should be reenacted by the Kansas legislature. From this decision of Judges Foster and Philips the state appealed to the supreme court of the United States, which soon thereafter decided the question, reversing the decision of Judges Foster and Philips, and holding in substance that the Kansas prohibition law was valid, and needed no reenactment.[8] In all this contest, which thoroughly aroused the law-abiding people of Kansas, involving, as it did, the very existence of our prohibitory legislation, the governor energetically conducted himself for the state, ably seconded by Attorney-general Kellogg, who, with his usual fidelity, performed much extra labor in the courts. He was ably assisted by R. B. Welch, county attorney for Shawnee county, and others.

Campaign of 1890.—Although the state government inaugurated in January, 1889, had run smoothly, and the actual practical business of the state was never more efficiently or satisfactorily managed, the campaign of 1890 was perhaps the most angry and stormy in the history of Kansas politics. Notwithstanding the fact that Governor Humphrey had, as no governor has done since, adhered to the police-commission system of governing cities of the first class, and had done all in his power to observe his official oath to enforce prohibition with the other criminal laws; and the further fact that he had in so doing incurred the hostility of the self-styled liberal, or whisky, element in the larger cities, and that, as a consequence, the resubmission element had openly rebelled and entered politics as a political organization—despite all these considerations, the Prohibitionists, in the fall of 1890, convened in state convention and nominated a ticket, headed by A. M. Richardson, for governor. So ill-advised was this action considered by many

Note 8.—*In re* Rahrer, 140 U. S. 545, and cases therein cited.

leading members of the Prohibition party, that they openly repudiated the action of their state convention and supported Governor Humphrey. The resubmissionists, by reason of the governor's energetic enforcement of the prohibitory law, had begun in 1889 to organize clubs over the state, which eventuated in a state political organization in 1890. In the early months of that year they held a convention in Topeka, to demand that the governor should call a special session of the legislature to resubmit the prohibitory question to the people, which the governor, after respectful consideration, refused to do. Later in the year they held a convention at Wichita, and resolved to support the Democratic state ticket, on a platform which included all they asked for, resubmission being the chief issue, in their opinion. The Democratic state convention, meeting at the same time and place, nominated ex-Gov. Charles Robinson, on a platform chiefly devoted to anti-prohibition. The Republican state convention met at Topeka, September 3, 1890, and renominated Governor Humphrey by acclamation, on a platform orthodox Republican, including an emphatic indorsement of prohibition and a general commendation of his administration.

The Farmers' Alliance and Populist Party.—On August 13, 1890, the People's party met in convention at Topeka and nominated its first state ticket, headed by John F. Willits, on a platform containing a number of most radical demands on Congress for legislation, including free silver, more paper money, the abolition of national banks, government ownership and control of railroads, etc. Their platform contained no serious complaint involving the state administration, and, as will be seen, all its proposed reforms and grievances contemplated legislation by Congress. The Populist party in Kansas, so far from being a Kansas party and an organized protest or revolt against the conduct of state affairs, was, in fact, part of a general movement over the country, especially in the South and West. In the election of 1890 this new party elected its state ticket and numerous other officers in half a dozen states, sent thirty or forty members to Congress, including several United States senators; a result too wide and general to be attributed in any degree to discontent with the state administration in Kansas, as some ignorant, careless or unfriendly alleged political-history writers in this state have asserted. Some of these have seemingly pursued this course of misrepresentation with the only purpose in view of creating the impression that the defeat of the Republican party in 1892, as far as Kansas was concerned, was a rebuke to the state administration, and not a general movement over the country, in which national questions overshadowed everything else, as has been shown. The Republican party was never stronger or more harmoniously united than in the campaign of 1892. It was in this campaign that A. W. Smith, of McPherson, polled more votes for governor than was ever given a Republican candidate before. The aggressive, united and harmonious conditions among the rank and file of the party during that campaign fully refute the foolish assertions of a few critics and cheap space-fillers above referred to.

The Populist party was in truth the outgrowth of the Farmers' Alliance, which, originating in the South, soon spread throughout the country, absorbing and assimilating the state Granges and similar organizations. The Farmers' Alliance, intended only to promote in a general way and by the usual force of organization and agitation the interest of agriculture, grew

rapidly in all the states, so that, having been in existence here less than two years, it began the year 1890 with 100,000 members. With this strength developed into the Populist party in the 1890 campaign, it is little wonder that it made so strong a showing in Kansas politics for several years, drawing largely from the Republican and almost absorbing the Democratic party bodily.

It is true that when Polk and Livingston, national organizers, came from the South to this state in 1890 to promote the Farmers' Alliance organization, as they had been doing in other Western and Southern states, they found Kansas a fruitful field by reason of the fact that the reaction had just set in from the great boom period in Kansas from 1884 to 1888, a period during which twenty-four new counties had been organized in western Kansas, where a quarter-million new citizens had made homes. Nearly 5000 miles of new railroad had been added in that short time, towns and cities grew like magic, and a general spirit of speculation in all kinds of real estate seized the people, stimulated by the abundance of cheap Eastern money seeking investment here, especially in farm loans and city property. Of course, the end came to this riotous condition after four years. Pay-day arrived and began to pinch improvident borrowers, the inevitable reaction set in early after the election of 1888, foreclosures multiplied on court dockets, imaginary fortunes in city property and farm lands were swept away, and a season of depression and hard times succeeded the long period of speculation and false expectations, so that when, in 1890, the Farmers' Alliance, with 100,000 members, launched out as a political party, it was formidable from the start. It appealed to the debtor as a possible means of assisting to tide him over his difficulties, through the remedies proposed by the new party, however visionary and impracticable.

In addition to this new and formidable party and the opposition of the active organization of resubmissionists, Congress had enacted the McKinley tariff act, to take effect October 1, 1890; an act at first so roundly abused and misunderstood as to seriously worry the Republican party in that campaign. Under these discouraging and adverse conditions the Republican campaign was vigorously prosecuted and finally won. The Populists directed their fire especially at Senator Ingalls, who was, in January following, succeeded by William A. Peffer, proving further that their only serious complaints concerned national and not state affairs. The campaign in Kansas was unique in character. Its history, with Mary E. Lease, Jerry Simpson, W. A. Peffer, B. H. Clover and others as leaders, has been so frequently written that I will not attempt here to repeat what has become an old story in Kansas. It may be said in truth, however, that no governor of Kansas was ever confronted with such conditions as was Governor Humphrey during the campaigns of 1890 and 1892. In the face of this Populist storm Governor Humphrey never flinched, but stood squarely for sound Republican doctrine and for prohibition. He had faith in the people, and in his public speeches he appealed to them to stand for the honor, the integrity and good name of Kansas.

Second Term.—Governor Humphrey was sworn in for his second term on January 11, 1891, his associate state officers being as in the first term, except that Charles M. Hovey succeeded T. McCarthy as auditor; S. G. Stover succeeded William Sims as treasurer, Sims having been appointed

for the unexpired term of J. W. Hamilton, resigned; John N. Ives succeeded L. B. Kellogg as attorney-general.

The supreme court, under this second term, consisted of Albert H. Horton, W. A. Johnston, and D. M. Valentine. Albert H. Horton was chief justice. George S. Green, J. C. Strang and B. F. Simpson were supreme court commissioners by appointment of the governor. Green and Strang succeeded J. B. Clogston and Joel Holt. Few changes were made in appointive officers.

The new legislature assembled January 13, 1891, and organized with Lieut.-gov. A. J. Felt, president of the senate, and P. P. Elder, speaker of the house. The Republicans held the senate, but the great majority of Populists in the house enabled that party to control the legislature on joint ballot. One of the most important results was the election of Peffer to succeed Ingalls in the United States senate, already alluded to. It is only fair to here record the statement that the Populist members, though unskilled by lack of experience in legislation, were generally good, honest, well-meaning members, and, as regards character and sincerity of purpose, this legislature personally and as a body ranks well up to the average, as will be seen by the work appearing on a glance at the Session Laws of 1891.

Governor Humphrey's message to this legislature, like the first, was a careful, comprehensive document, and received, as it deserved, the most respectful consideration.[9] It graphically described the boom of 1885 to 1888, its collapse, and the consequent depression in 1889 and 1890, resulting in the Populist upheaval of the latter year; calling attention, however, to the fact that, aside from the speculative and inflated features of the boom, there was in truth during the period mentioned a very remarkable and substantial growth in the material resources of the state. It reviewed the state's finances, which were in a healthy condition; called attention to the continued increase in municipal indebtedness, despite the warning in former messages, and to the fact that the great burden of taxation is for local purposes, and self-imposed for various objects of local government too complicated and expensive. The message advises liberal appropriations for state institutions of higher education, and congratulates the legislature on the very satisfactory condition of all the state institutions—educational, charitable, and penal—whose management during his entire official term was economical, efficient, and without trace of friction or scandal of any kind; also calling attention to the successful organization and location of the Industrial School for Girls, provided for during his administration. The message urges still further legislation to extend the powers and increase the efficiency of the Board of Railroad Commissioners; to make prohibition still more effective; advises a general revision of the laws; recommends that the penalty against bribery should include the bribe-taker as well as the bribe-giver. Other and various recommendations of new legislation included relief of the supreme court by a constitutional amendment increasing the number of judges, which has since been done.

Governor Humphrey urged the passage of a law making the first Monday of September, Labor day, a legal holiday, which was promptly done, and it is pleasing to know that most of the states of the Union have followed Kansas in this matter. Governor Humphrey was the first chief executive of the

NOTE 9.—Senate Journal 1891, pp. 18–59.

United States to thus speak in behalf of labor, and he holds letters from President Gompers recognizing this action.

The message renewed the governor's former recommendation of a state banking law, which was passed at this (1891) session. The recommendation in this and the governor's former message of some wholesome restriction, including a franchise tax, on the organization of corporations for commercial and business purposes, was likewise enacted by a subsequent legislature.

In addition to the usual special and local legislation, a great deal of general legislation was enacted that has proven to be wise and timely. Among some of the general acts may be mentioned one restricting the right of non-resident aliens to acquire and hold real estate in Kansas; others relating to assessment and taxation; several affecting cities of the first class; several relating to the code of civil procedure; creating special courts for Wichita, Topeka, and Kansas City, Kan.; the taxation of corporations; furnishing seed grain to needy farmers; relating to oil and gas leases; relating to home for disabled soldiers and sailors; the inspection and grading of grain; and many other laws of value to the state and people. The legislature of 1891 was an industrious body, and will be remembered as one of the best and most useful in the history of the state.

The inspection of grain thus established was the first in the history of the state. Prior to this all grain inspection was done by Missouri officials, who came three and four miles into Kansas territory to do the work. Governor Humphrey appointed W. W. Haskell, of Wyandotte county, one of the most capable and reputable business men of the two Kansas Citys, state grain inspector under the law. Mr. Haskell proved very successful in organization, and he placed Kansas inspection on a high plane, so that a Kansas certificate passed in all the grain markets of this country and Liverpool without question as to the quality of grain represented. He ignored local influences and sought the most expert men in such work to be found, thus bringing the great bulk of the grain business west of the state line, because of more reliable inspection. But the Populist wave came, and the business efficiency started by Governor Humphrey gave way to local favorites for inspectors, regardless of qualification, from rural points in the state.

Some state administrations are best remembered for the events out of the ordinary, such as squabbles between the executive and the legislature, or quarrels between the governor and associate state officers constituting the Executive Council, or strikes and other like violent demonstrations that challenge the public imagination. Governor Humphrey endeavored to avoid notoriety of this character, preferring to make a record that should in time be best remembered for its total exemption from such troubles. Be it said to his credit that he did not run his administration with a brass band and fireworks. He did not consider that the people elected governors for grandstand purposes, but honestly, faithfully and modestly to conduct the business of the state. Governor Humphrey's ambition was to make a record that should be meritorious rather than notorious, useful rather than spectacular; that should be remembered as a quiet and faithful endeavor to perform each day's duties aright, rather than a noisy display of the brief authority vested in the chief executive of the state.

During the last two years of Governor Humphrey's administration, as during the first two years, the affairs of state moved along peacefully and

prosperously. He hated sham and pretense, and tried without pomp or parade to do his duty quietly and efficiently. During his four years as governor he was absent from the state only twice—once for a short trip in Colorado, and once to attend a reunion of his old regiment in Ohio. He collected at one time $61,000[10] from the general government, the refunding of the direct tax paid in 1861, instead of doing it through the state agent, thus saving the state $6000 commission, and the fact never even found its way into the newspapers. He was so sparing of the contingent fund that he did not travel a mile during his entire two terms at the state's expense, and annually turned the bulk of the fund back into the treasury. When it became necessary to change the fiscal agency, though he had never been in New York, he remained in his office, sending the auditor and treasurer to New York to make the transfer. Though he had the utmost confidence in the boards in control, he personally and frequently visited the several state institutions to satisfy himself as to their conduct and management, and this he did quietly and without ostentation. As a result, these institutions were conducted during his entire four years without the brawls, abuses and scandals that have too often attracted the attention of the entire state. Save and except some county-seat troubles in Seward, Gray, and Garfield, which were promptly suppressed by the national guard under the discreet direction of Adjutant-general Roberts, there were, during Governor Humphrey's administration, no strikes, riots or violent outbreaks of any kind to disturb the general peace of the commonwealth. Strict and regular monthly examinations of the treasury were made. During his first term the governor accepted the resignation of J. W. Hamilton, state treasurer, and appointed William Sims as his successor. A rather serious irregularity was developed in the office of the superintendent of insurance, due entirely to the misconduct of the deputy, which was, like the Hamilton matter, very promptly adjusted without any fuss or notoriety.

The governor exercised the pardoning power freely, but discreetly. As a lawyer, he instructed the Board of Pardons to assume in every case that the party had had a fair trial and been justly convicted; that the governor was not a tribunal of last resort to review cases and overrule the courts; that the pardoning power must proceed solely on considerations of mercy and clemency, where the facts and circumstances freely warranted such action.

In his appointments he freely recognized those Republicans who had opposed his nomination in 1888, as well as those who had been for him, thus avoiding the existence of cliques, rings, machines, boss busters, feuds and factions within the party, which unfortunately in latter times have disturbed the harmony and solidarity of the party, and imperiled its success in subsequent campaigns. While ever ready to listen to the advice of his friends, and grateful to those who had been exceptionally serviceable in his behalf, he resented the slightest attempt at dictation or bossism so emphatically that early in his first term a few disappointed politicians declared that the governor had already "gone back on his friends." Having assumed his office without any lofty pretensions or high-sounding promises of reform, he proceeded to perform the duties of the place efficiently, honestly, and modestly,

NOTE 10.—Report of Kansas State Treasurer, 1891–'92, p. 5.

under all of the many trying and perplexing circumstances of his four years' tenure.

On the back of an old muster-roll of the company commanded by Governor Humphrey, then a boy in his teens, after the long and arduous Atlanta campaign and march to the sea, I have observed this report of the inspecting officer: "Discipline, good; instruction, good; military appearance, good; arms and accouterments, good; clothing, very bad." This is a silent yet eloquent tribute to the character of the young man commanding a company in the performance of the stern duties of a soldier.

Among the treasured letters in Governor Humphrey's possession is one written by Gen. William T. Sherman soon after the governor's first election, from which I quote this paragraph:

"NEW YORK, December 26, 1888.

. . . . . .

"I can hardly return to Columbus, Indianapolis, Chicago, Springfield or St. Louis without being torn to pieces for relics of 'Uncle Billy.' I am sure I could not survive 'Topeka,' with your 73,000 plurality, and you the governor, with a million of loyal people at your back. Indeed, am I proud that Ben. Harrison is to be our president; that Foraker, Hovey, Fifer and Humphrey are governors of the great states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Kansas—all '*my boys*.' You yourself raised in a school of patriotism and discipline under Gens. Chas. R. and Wm. B. Woods; so that I may lay down in absolute security that the Union we fought for is safe for four more years, and, as we believe, forever."

The same quiet but determined courage and devotion to duty, however hazardous, that sustained this youthful soldier in war is equally manifest throughout his career in all the varied relations of life, both public and private. As with Grant and Sherman he bravely stood on the blazing battle-line at Donelson, Shiloh, and Vicksburg, or joined in the assaulting columns that swept on to victory up the rocky steeps above the clouds at Lookout Mountain and the bloody slopes of Missionary Ridge, so with like fidelity to duty did he serve the state of Kansas as chief executive—and in these days of thrifty politicians, prostituting public place for private gain, it is refreshing to reflect that Governor Humphrey closed his fourteen years of public service in Kansas poorer in purse than when he began, richer only in a record unsmirched by even the breath of scandal or suspicion, and unchallenged as to honesty and integrity, even by his political antagonists.[11]

NOTE 11.—The various department and other official reports and publications of the state covering this administration have been consulted to verify the facts set forth in this paper.

VI.

THE SOLDIERS OF KANSAS.

COMPANY A, ELEVENTH KANSAS REGIMENT, IN THE PRICE RAID.

Written by H. E. PALMER[1] for the Kansas State Historical Society.

IN all accounts of personal connection with war events, the commanding officer who writes of his own command must necessarily use, to an immodest extent, possibly, the personal pronoun "I"—"I did this"; "I did that." I beg to disclaim that I did more than any other company commander should or possibly would have done under like circumstances. I was not a "Samson with a jaw-bone" during the war. I fail to remember that I ever did anything that entitled me to a medal from Congress. Participating, during my four and one-half years' service in twenty-four general engagements with the enemy, in only two of these battles am I credited with the death of a foeman. In more than twenty battles I never fired a shot; always had enough to do to see that my men were doing their duty. I ask that all credit implied and indicated in this article by the pronoun "I" be credited to company A, Eleventh Kansas volunteer cavalry, and not to myself, and tagged excusable as necessary for the completion of the story.

October, 1864, was a strenuous month for Missouri and Kansas. Sterling Price,[2] major-general in the Confederate army, ex-governor of Missouri,

NOTE 1.— HENRY E. PALMER was born in Lake county, Ohio, July 31, 1841. When he was twelve years old his parents moved to Wisconsin. He was educated in the common schools of that state. At the age of nineteen he moved further west, and when the war broke out he was in Colorado. He arrived at Fort Leavenworth July 30, 1861. The next day he was mustered in, and October 7 following he was made a second lieutenant of artillery, for gallantry in the battle of Drywood. He went to Wisconsin to get recruits for Lane's brigade, but the governor of that state refused to permit the men to leave, and assigned them to the First Wisconsin cavalry, in which Palmer was made a first lieutenant. This he resigned to become a captain on the staff of James H. Lane, and, by a consolidation of the Third and Fourth Kansas regiments, he found himself, in April, 1862, again a civilian. Securing another recruiting commission, he raised company A, Eleventh Kansas infantry. He was made second lieutenant, and as such commanded the company in the battles of Marysville, Cane Hill, Boston Mountains, Prairie Grove, and Van Buren. December 31, 1862, he was advanced to first lieutenant, and March 24, 1863, was made captain of the company. The Eleventh regiment was mounted, and for over a year Captain Palmer fought Quantrill and the notorious guerrillas of Missouri. In August, 1864, he was sent out on the plains, and on the Little Blue, in Nebraska, he had a "brush" with Cheyenne Indians. After his experience in the Price raid he was ordered to Fort Riley, and in February, 1865, from thence to Fort Kearney, Nebraska. He was active in Indian affairs in the Powder River country until muster-out, September 26, 1865. He declined a commission in the regular army. He was a pioneer and miner in Montana. In 1868 he settled at Plattsmouth, Neb., and in 1889 removed to Omaha. He is one of the leading insurance men of the West, and has led a very strenuous life in Masonry, politics, and Grand Army affairs. He was department commander in Nebraska of the G. A. R. for 1884 and 1885, commander of the Loyal Legion in 1895 and 1896, grand high priest of Royal Arch Masons in that state for 1884 and 1885. Captain Palmer is at present postmaster of the city of Omaha.

NOTE 2.— For a history of General Price's earlier effort to save Missouri to the Confederacy up to and including the battle of Wilson Creek, read Thos. L. Snead's "The Fight for Missouri," Scribner, 1886. The author, though one of Price's men, treats General Lyon's work for the Union in that state and his success with kindness and impartiality.

and ex-brigadier-general of the Mexican war, started north from Arkansas about the 1st of September to free Missouri from federal rule and punish Kansas, the hotbed of abolition sentiment, the home of Lane, Montgomery, Anthony, and Jennison. Price had a splendid veteran army—the trans-Mississippi division of the Confederacy—made up of Texans, Arkansans, and Missourians. The Missouri contingent were the best sons of that state, who had followed the rebel governor, Claib. Jackson, to the southland in 1861. Generals Marmaduke, Cockrell, Cabell, Rains, Fagan, and the famous Joe Shelby (the Phil Sheridan of the South), with his brigade of daredevil riders, led the advance. It was the finest army for an invasion or raid that could be gathered for that purpose.[3] The 20,000 Missourians in this division were going home, many of them for the first visit in over three years.[4] They knew every road, by-path, and trail; no commander was better equipped for such a raid, and Price should have accomplished all he was expected to do, namely: Capture St. Louis, destroy the many million dollars' worth of stores there and at Camp Jackson, burn the steamboats at the wharf, destroy East St. Louis and the railroad shops in both cities, capture Jefferson City, the capital of the state, and take every town *en route* to Kansas City; capture Leavenworth City and Fort Leavenworth, with more than five million dollars' worth of stores, burn the fort and city, destroy all that Quantrill had left of Lawrence, burn Topeka, and all the towns in southern Kansas, including Emporia and Fort Scott, and then safely return to the south side of the Arkansas river within the rebel lines; and he should have gathered at least 10,000 good recruits and equipped all with captured arms. He crossed the Arkansas line with over 20,000 men; he should have returned 200 miles west with at least 40,000 men. St. Louis was practically unprotected. There were not 10,000 Union soldiers in the state of Missouri that could meet him in battle-line. In all Kansas there were less than 7000 soldiers. The army of the Tennessee was so far away that this flank movement of the trans-Mississippi army against our right wing, if vigorously and actively pushed, would have resulted in a disastrous defeat for the Union forces in Missouri and Kansas.

If Joe Shelby, Marmaduke, Cockrell, Cabell or Fagan had been in command, rather than "Old Pap Price," the raid would have been a success instead of a failure, and Kansas would have been devastated and set back at least ten years. Price made a mistake soon after crossing the line. He stopped, September 26 and 27, to fight Ewing, at Pilot Knob. He could have flanked Ewing; should have left him undisturbed, and pushed on rapidly with his cavalry and light batteries straight for St. Louis. Nothing could

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NOTE 3.—Claiborne Fox Jackson, merchant, banker, politician, and governor. John Sappington Marmaduke, son of Gov. Meredith M. Marmaduke, of Missouri; graduate of Yale, Harvard, and West Point; second lieutenant in Seventh United States infantry in Utah expedition of 1857; resigned his commission in 1861, and organized the Missouri state guard; general in the Confederate service; railroad commissioner and governor of Missouri. Francis Marion Cockrell, lawyer, soldier, and United States Senator. Edward Carrington Cabell, lawyer; graduate of Washington College and University of Virginia; congressman for Florida, 1846–'53; removed to St. Louis in 1860; in staffs of Generals Price and Kirby Smith in civil war. Gen. James F. Rains. Joseph Orville Shelby, soldier, brigadier-general in Confederate army; after close of war he marched his 1000 men to Mexico to enlist in service of Maximilian, but was forced to disband them by Maximilian, who was suspicious; was then a freight contractor in Mexico until 1867, when he returned to Missouri; appointed United States marshal of the western district of Missouri in 1893. James F. Fagan, major-general of Arkansas troops.

NOTE 4.—General Price, in his report of this expedition, dated Washington, Ark., December 28, 1864, says: "On the 19th of September . . . I entered Missouri with nearly 12,000 men, of whom 8000 were armed, and fourteen pieces of artillery."—Official Record of the War of the Rebellion, serial No. 83, p. 623.

have prevented his taking that city. His infantry need not have approached within fifty miles of St. Louis, but should have obliqued to the left and first touched the Missouri river at Jefferson City; then a rapid march to Lexington, Kansas City, and into Kansas. By the 10th of October he could have been at Kansas City. He loitered by the wayside; gave his 20,000 Missourians two weeks' leave of absence to scatter all over the state, visiting their homes. In the meantime, with some cavalry, he kept up a semblance of an army—enough to let the Union forces understand that Price was in Missouri.

Gen. W. S. Rosecrans was in command of St. Louis. Our right wing was dangerously threatened. Kansas was sure of destruction. Price's halting gave us a chance. Troops were gathered from every available source. Gen. A. J. Smith and Gen. Joseph A. Mower, with 10,000 infantry and three or four batteries of artillery, and Gen. Alfred Pleasanton, with 12,000 cavalry from the army in Kentucky and Tennessee, were sent to St. Louis as fast as steam-trains and steamboats could haul them. Every man in Kansas capable of bearing arms was enrolled to help defend their homes. October 10, 1864, Rosecrans telegraphed Maj.-gen. S. R. Curtis, at Leavenworth, Kan., as follows:

"Price's movements are not known, but he has avowed his intention to go to Leavenworth. If he will try this it will enable our columns under Mower and Smith and our cavalry to get between them and the Osage, and they will suffer. They spread and stretch out for subsistence; therefore, your cavalry can boldly strike the head of their columns, and hurt and retard their march. The telegraph lines are so interrupted it will be difficult to communicate with you. W. S. ROSECRANS, *Major-general.*"

For sixteen months prior to this date I had been kept busy chasing bushwhackers, scouting the country—over every road and by-path in Jackson, Lafayette, Johnson, Cass and Bates counties, and down the Kansas border as far as Fort Scott. My company, A, Eleventh Kansas volunteer cavalry, had been kept recruited to its maximum, or nearly so, and all were well-trained veterans, good hunters and trailers for the most formidable foe that ever harassed an army—the Missouri bushwhackers or guerrillas, commanded by Quantrill, and ably assisted by such desperadoes as Bill Anderson, Arch Clements, Bill Todd, Jesse and Frank James, Cy Porter, Coon Thornton, Thrailkill, Upton Hayes, Cole Younger, Si Gordon, and Dick Yeager. Before the war these guerrillas were, many of them, plainsmen, Indian fighters, border toughs—others wayward sons of good families in Missouri—reckless daredevils all. The service and drill necessary to successfully meet such a foe had made my company A fairly known along the border, especially to military commanders.

October 10, 1864, found me in camp at Aubrey, Johnson county, Kansas, with fully ninety-five good and true men, soldiers of company A, ready for duty. During the afternoon of that day I received an order, direct from Maj.-gen S. R. Curtis's headquarters at Leavenworth, instructing me to take twenty of my best men, disguise them as bushwhackers, make a long march to Warrensburg, Mo., and beyond, if possible, and do my best to locate Price's army. If I should find it, I was to do my best to learn how large a force of infantry, cavalry and artillery he had; how many wagons were in his train; then I was to stay on the enemy's front until further orders, and to keep him, General Curtis, posted, by message over wire when I could

reach a telegraph line or by special courier. At this time the Missouri Pacific's western terminus was near Tipton. The telegraph line was through to Kansas City. I had two civilian telegraph operators with my command, both brave boys. I was advised by this dispatch that Major ——— would follow me closely as supporting column, with seventy-five men of my company, and with companies B, F and D of the Eleventh Kansas cavalry—in all nearly 300 men.

Nothing interesting occured until we were within about six miles of Warrensburg, when we met a country carryall about ten P. M., in which were two apparently very intelligent ladies, an old darky driving. They said they were just from Warrensburg; that a portion of Price's army had reached the town and were foraging for food. Major ——— being only half a mile in my rear, I detained the ladies, and waited with my twenty men until he came up that he might question them and understand fully the situation. This was a mistake on my part, for when Major ——— learned that a portion of the rebel army was only six miles away, he said he would go no farther, but would retreat in good order. No amount of persuasion would induce him to advance and feel of the enemy, not even when I told him that I must and would go on to Warrensburg alone if he failed to support me, as Major-general Curtis had ordered. Major ——— "about-faced" and marched back toward the Kansas line and I stubbornly continued on toward Warrensburg.

When I reached a point within one-half mile of a tributary of the Blackwater, where I knew there was a covered bridge about one-half mile from town, I halted and told my trusty Sergeant Baker that I would go ahead on foot to reconnoiter; that he should wait about five minutes, and then move on at a slow walk until the sentry, that I knew must be posted on the bridge, should halt him; then to obey his orders, and wait my modest whistle for the action he knew was necessary. I left my horse to be led by a trooper, and skipped along lightly on foot over the country road ahead of the command, and when I could see the dark line of the timber—it was a dark night, no moon—I left the road, climbed the fence, and skulked through a pasture to a point only a few yards from the mouth of the bridge; then over the fence and up the bank as quietly as a cat. Only a few feet from me stood a sentinel, with gun and fixed bayonet in hand. Just at this moment he heard the tramp of horses' feet and had sung out the challenge, "Who goes there?" The noise of his own voice caused him to be oblivious to my footsteps just behind him. With my left hand grasping his shirt collar, and my right over his mouth, I said in a low but firm voice: "Drop that gun if you wish to live. Say nothing. You are my prisoner." The gun fell from his hands, and the poor fellow dropped to his knees badly scared. I picked up his gun and whistled, one soft whistle, and Baker and the squad rode up. We found that there were no rebels in Warrensburg—only Union militia, who were trying to protect themselves, and preparing to march out of the country. They knew nothing of the enemy. I pushed on about five miles, and camped for rest and breakfast. Some time after breakfast we marched on to Knobnoster, about ten miles east of Warrensburg, and by sundown of the 11th we reached Sedalia, and the next day continued the march towards Tipton. On the 13th I met the advance-guard of Joe Shelby's army moving towards Sedalia. My men were all drilled by signs and signals—a code of my own—so that I could communicate with them even in the presence of the

enemy, or wherever we might be, when it was best to give orders by signs, rather than by word of command.

Crossing a stream and riding through the bordering stretch of timber to the prairie edge, I saw ahead of us, coming over the hill on the same road, a column of rebel cavalry. A signal from me caused my men to quickly check their horses. Riding back some distance, we turned our horses over to four men to hold them. The balance of my command advanced about 100 yards under cover of the brush and "waited a time with patience" for the enemy to appear. They came on unconscious of danger. After receiving the contents of eighteen carbines, they hastily retreated. Again they advanced more cautiously, and again received our fire. Their charge on the third attack found us on the opposite side of the creek, and again they got the worst of it. We delayed the march at least an hour and made them throw a few shells to get us out of the timber.

From that time, October 14 to October 18, we were constantly on Joe Shelby's front or flank, constantly annoying him night and day, and he was keeping at least 500 men quite busy trying to catch us. During all that time, night and day, we had to keep awake. We managed to tap a telegraph line quite often to wire General Curtis of the enemy's movements. We had to ride around on the right and left flanks at intervals, and once quite in the rear, to ascertain the number of troops and strength of the artillery. Shelby was moving towards Lexington, but very slowly, in order, apparently, for Price to get his furloughed men together, and line them up against Curtis and Blunt, as he did on October 19 at Lexington.

When I reached Lexington, and reported to General Blunt on the evening of October 18, I was so sleepy and tired that I felt utterly unable to do anything; but Blunt told me where my company was camped, and said to me: "Take your company, together with your twenty-two scouts, and company F of your regiment, J. F. Lindsey, commanding; Capt. Wm. Green, with company E of the Second Colorado cavalry, and sixty-five men of a Missouri cavalry regiment—in all, about 250 men—and go out on the road to Dover, say three miles, and hold that position as long as you can. Don't mind the fight anywhere else. You are to hold the Dover town road until ordered to retreat. I shall depend upon you, Palmer."[5]

The command was in light marching order, every man loaded down with ammunition, two days' rations—crackers and raw bacon in our saddle-bags —all other storage room, even in the inside of our ponchos and the one blanket fastened to the saddle—full of cartridges. The three-mile march was completed by one A. M., October 19. We then waited paitently by the roadside until daybreak, and then had our breakfast of hardtack and bacon, with coffee made in individual tin cups. After this bountiful repast I put the men at work leveling fences over about 600 acres of territory, so that we could have a clear field to fight in. About ten A. M. we heard firing to our right, near the fair-grounds, and soon after the boom of artillery, and about this time the enemy appeared in our front. We met their column with a charge that developed the fact that the force opposed to us was stronger numerically

NOTE 5.—Reprint, page 216, Military History of Kansas Regiments, Adjutant-general's Report, 1861-'65, states: "Captain Palmer, company A, Eleventh Kansas cavalry, commanded the picket on the Dover road, composed of his own company and company F, of the Eleventh. I am particular in mentioning these facts, because much credit is due these companies for maintaining their position and holding the rebel advance in check as long as they did." See, also, Official Records, War of the Rebellion, serial No. 83, p. 594. (Moonlight, when he made the above report, did not know that I had four companies, as above stated.—H. E. P.)

than we, yet we were able to drive them back to the timber three times before five P. M. Until then we had been constantly skirmishing or fighting. During our first impetuous charge we captured seventeen prisoners, and learned from them that we had before us a regiment of about 500 cavalry who were ordered to keep us engaged and drive us back, if possible.

At about three P. M. the din of battle grew so loud on our right, only about two miles away, that we could easily understand that the contending forces were closely engaged. I sent a messenger to General Blunt advising that I was holding the road, but could see no use in staying where I was. Could I not do better service elsewhere? No answer was received by me in reply to this message, and two other messengers sent by me failed to return. At about four P. M. I could hear the firing from the rebel side more than double its volume. The rattle of the musketry was, as the Arkansas woman said, after listening to the Pea Ridge fight, "like pouring beans into a tin pan." About five P. M. the cannonading had ceased; the battle was over. From the desultory firing I knew that our force had been driven back, and quite rapidly, too. The sound of the retreating shots came from miles away. I was left in the rear. I knew, too, that men from the army of Price and Shelby were certainly between us and the federal command, and had by this time entered the city of Lexington. On my left was the Missouri river, only a short distance away, impassable; in front was the rebel cavalry that I had been fighting all day; and to my right was Price's army, only a portion of which had participated in the battle. I was surrounded. It was time to about-face and march toward Blunt's retreating army, without orders even.

I called the seventeen prisoners into line, made them swear that they would not serve against us until exchanged, then paroled them, and moved toward Lexington in column by fours, marching at a walk. The rebel force that we had been fighting all day drew out of the timber, which had helped to protect them against our repeated charges, and followed us in column fours, and also at a walk. I afterward learned that the commander of this force thought that we were going to Lexington, which city we both knew was in the hands of the rebels, to surrender. I thought I would feel the enemy before surrendering. To surrender meant a long, weary walk—a terrible task for a cavalryman—to Texas as a prisoner of war, and mighty little grub, and that of the poorest quality, to sustain life on the march. For my part, death was preferable, and I knew from the serious faces of my men (glancing at them as I was riding to the rear and back to the front of my column) that more than half of them felt as I did. I said to the boys as I rode along beside the line: "Load your revolvers and carbines, if they are not loaded, and shoot only when you hear me fire the first shot at the head of the column." Captain Green, of the Second Colorado, rode out from the head of his company to chat with me. He was much worried as to what I was going to do. He said: "You must know that full half of Price's army are between us and Blunt's command." He admitted that we could not go east, as the command following us was certainly only the advance-guard of a strong infantry force; that we could not go south, as Price's main army was within a mile of our column; that the Missouri river north of us cut off our retreat in that direction, and that Lexington, only a short distance away, must certainly be full of rebels. "Must we surrender?" said Captain Green. He was a brave officer, and had seen much

service; was perfectly cool and self-possessed. I answered: "No, captain, not until we are invited to hand over our shooting-irons. If you hear us fire in front (the first twenty men in front were my bushwhackers, all in half-butternut federal dress), tell your men to shoot to the right and to the left, and keep 'closed up.'" Lieutenant Lindsey, company F, Eleventh Kansas volunteer cavalry, rode up to me and asked what we were going to do. I said: "Lindsey, I cannot tell you just now, until I see what is before us. *We will do something.* Keep cool, old boy, and don't do anything to excite the men. We may fight and we may not. We will see." Lindsey turned and galloped back to his company, about the center of the column, and shouted out to his men as he rode down the line: "Keep cool boys; for God's sake, keep cool." He was so excited that all of his men noticed his condition and were smiling at his actions. He really quieted the men, reflecting, as they did, on his showing of fear.

When we reached the outskirts of the city of Lexington, some women saw our guidons and recognized the federal colors. They shouted: "That's right, you old Lincolnites, come in and surrender; we welcome you." When I reached the head of Main street, I saw a row of stacked infantry arms along the whole street. It was no place for cavalry to ride, over that fence of guns with bayonets attached. So I turned through an alley to Market street, and saw that the street was clear except for hundreds of rebels crossing and recrossing the street. I comprehended at a glance that the rebel division or brigade (it was Fagan's division) had entered the city after the last federal had retreated, and that, as it was late in the day, the men had stacked their arms and had been dismissed, to enable them to get something to eat. The men were foraging for grub, and there was no organized force to stop me from going through the city by breaking through their lines. I ordered Edward A. Slane, my bugler, who was riding by my side, to first sound the trot; this kicked up a dust that fairly covered my column and hid our flags from view. We commenced passing men, who naturally took us to be a rear cavalry force going forward to help drive the fleeing federals. They shouted to us: "Give them hell, boys." I believe I could have trotted through the town. My twenty men in front, dressed in half rebel attire, were about the only men who could be seen. I was riding on the left of the front file. The man on the right of this leading file was private Geo. W. Edwards, of my company. A rebel major, mounted on a horse, rode up, calling on us to halt. He was a staff officer, and probably General Fagan had instructed him to ascertain what command this was. He shouted "Halt!" waved his hand to me, and attempted to ride across our front to my side of the column. Edwards ran into him. He could have swept the major from his saddle, but the temptation to kill a rebel officer became so strong that Edwards forgot his orders and good discipline, and, poking his revolver into the major's side, shot him dead. *This was the signal.* I could not stop the rain of bullets that came from my column to the right and left. I shouted to Bugler Slane: "Sound the charge," and our horses, fairly fresh and in good condition, sprang into a run. We were going through the heart of the city, over a stone macadam. Rebel soldiers and officers were dodging in every direction, tumbling over stone fences, behind buildings, getting out of the way, the only sensible thing for them to do, and we were out of the city galloping on the river road to the Sni bridge, about three or four miles away.

We had passed through General Fagan's division of 7000 men without the

loss of a single man and no one wounded. I halted the column, and, slowing down into a walk, ordered the men to again load their revolvers and carbines. They were all feeling tip-top, full of jokes and kind greetings to me. I jollied the boys to keep them in good humor. It was after sundown, growing dark. The Sni bridge, two and a half miles away, was our only gateway of escape. It was a covered bridge. The Sni at this point was impassable on account of mud and quicksand. We must get across it on the bridge. I could hear the artillery and musketry firing very hot in the direction of the bridge. I rightfully guessed that Blunt's army had crossed over on their retreat, and were now trying to prevent the rebels from crossing. How could we get through this rebel line; and if we could, how would we let our friends, Blunt's army, know who we were, and thus prevent their batteries and riflemen strung along the river-bank above and below the bridge from mowing us down? That was the question. After dark, when we could see the flashes of rifles and artillery only one-half mile away, I halted my command and rode along the company's front and said to the men: "Boys, we are going through that crowd ahead, going to Blunt's army, and will take breakfast with our boys. When the head of this column reaches the rebel lines, we will yell like hell, and don't you forget to follow suit. Shoot and shout; don't stop to catch your breath, even. The boys will hear us; the rebel fire will slacken when we are going through their lines. We will be doing the shooting and they the dodging. Our artillerymen and the boys across the creek will hear the racket; they will recognize the Kansas yell, and they will open the gates; so don't fret."

We then resumed our march, first a trot, then a gallop, and, as we came upon the rebels, we rode much faster; and oh, how we yelled and shot; it was confusion upon confusion with the rebels. In less than three minutes we were on the bridge and passed the two Parrott guns in the opposite end of the bridge. Our cannoneers had to hustle to get out of the way. "What command is this?" was shouted from all sides. "Palmer's command," said one of my riders, and the word was shouted ahead by the thousand men or more who were holding the rear of Blunt's army. A few moments later the bridge was on fire, and our force fell back, keeping enough riflemen in the timber to prevent the enemy putting out the fire. I had to ride to the left of the shouting column of Blunt's men, who were ringing out their welcome to the 250 boys, "my rough riders," who had been reported captured more than four hours previously.

General Blunt headed me off, shouting my name; I responded. He rode up and shook my hand warmly, and could not believe I had lost no men. He was very complimentary, and ordered me to take the head of the column, which meant an all-night ride to the Little Blue before I could halt for rest and food for my men and beasts. There we got a ration of shelled corn for our horses from a train, some hardtack and ammunition for the men, and a short sleep.[6]

NOTE 6.— Page 336, Military History of Kansas Regiments, Moonlight's report, says: "Companies A, B and F occupied advanced positions on the line of rebel approach to the city, and held them until surrounded, and then fought their way out and rejoined the command after they had been given up as entirely lost."

(*Memo. by the author.*— Moonlight was my bitter enemy during the entire term of our service in the same regiment. He was anxious to be colonel instead of lieutenant-colonel. The majority of the officers, upon the organization of the regiment, favored Thomas Ewing, then chief justice of the state of Kansas. I had served with Moonlight in the artillery service a year previous, enlisting with him in July, 1861, and had learned to dislike him; and, as second lieutenant, company A, dating from August 20, 1862, regularly mustered August 27, 1862, I was the

October 20 was spent by our command in abattis work, felling trees to block the road, by this means hoping to delay the enemy as long as possible at the Little Blue.

About nine A. M., October 21, the enemy appeared. I had been awake but a few minutes and was trying to sew up a big rent in my pants, made in riding through the brush. I had to jump for my horse and see that my men were promptly in line of battle, and, having no time to put on my pants, threw them across my saddle and went into the fight. It was a sorry fight. They kept us busy for an hour or two, trying to prevent their crossing the Little Blue river. Under a sharp fire we ran a wagon-load of hay into the bridge and set it on fire. But it was all to no particular effect, so far as stopping the enemy, for the stream was not a bad one to cross, there being fords near the bridge, above and below, and we soon felt the sting of the enemy's bullets on our right and left flanks. We had to hustle to the rear, which we did in good order.

About two and a half miles from where the first attack was made, we saw the Second Colorado battery of six fine Parrott guns crossing a field on our right as we were retreating. The guns were too heavy for the plowed land and the teams stalled. The rebel advance was within 400 or 500 yards of the battery. Quick work must be done to save the guns, worth a thousand men to us. Colonel Moonlight, commanding our brigade, came galloping down the line to my company. We were the rear-guard. He ordered me to countermarch and charge the enemy with my eighty-eight men in a column of eight front[7]. We charged down the road, passing the Little Blue church, straight for the enemy. I saw ahead of me a brick house, just where the road turned from a northerly course straight east, a stone fence dead ahead of us, and a brick house and stone fence to the right. The rebel cavalry fell back, but a line of infantry occupied the house and were down behind the fence. About 150 yards south of the house, between us and the enemy, was a hollow that for a moment or two kept us out of sight and range of their guns.

As we reached the brow of the hill, a thought flashed through my mind that the first line, in which I was riding, with seven soldiers to my left, would be shot as soon as we came in sight. I clutched the pommel of my saddle and threw myself almost flat on the horse. The volley of bullets came, as I expected. I felt my horse going down, swung my feet clear of the stirrups, and fell on my horse's neck, unhurt. Geo. W. Edwards, who fired the first shot when we were charging through Lexington the day before, fell on my back, dead. My men saw me fall and thought I was killed. They retreated back into the hollow. I jumped up and ran after them, a perfect hail-storm of bullets buzzing past me. I ordered the men to dismount. Every man left his horse in the road. We then jumped the fence into an

first officer in the regiment and in command of the camp. During this time I circulated a petition asking Governor Robinson to appoint Ewing colonel. I took this petition to Governor Robinson, at Lawrence, Kan., making a night ride, delivering it to him before breakfast. He promptly issued the commission to Ewing, and I had the pleasure of handing it to him. This act on my part was never forgotten or forgiven by Moonlight, and because of this, undoubtedly, he never mentioned my company or myself for any service rendered unless forced to do so. As acting assistant adjutant-general of the district of the plains, in 1865, it became my duty, by command of Gen. P. E. Connor, to issue an order directing Moonlight to turn over his command at Fort Laramie and report to Fort Kearney for muster out of the service, July 17, 1865.)

NOTE 7.— Page 207 (reprint), Military History of Kansas Regiments, Adjutant-general's Report: "Company A made a brilliant charge unmounted, down a narrow lane, early in action, clearing it of rebels." (Note mistake; we charged mounted, and dismounted ourselves, as stated in my article.)

orchard and charged the brick house, and took it, driving the enemy out; then charged the stone fence and took that. Of course, there was no hope of saving my men without aid from our army. At this moment I heard the yells of 400 or 500 men. Maj. J. Nelson Smith,[8] with the first and third battalions of the Second Colorado cavalry, was charging the enemy to save us, and right before us this gallant officer fell dead at the head of his command. I had a chance now to fall back, and found my horses in the hollow where I had left them. The animals showed "horse sense" enough to remain where they were safe from the bullets. This little diversion, costly to my company, saved the Colorado battery. The Second Colorado cavalry fell back in good order, and our army continued their retreat on a walk, passed through Independence, eight miles west of Little Blue, and camped on the Big Blue for the night.

When my horse was shot, on the charge just described, one of my men, riding in the rear file, turned his horse and rode rapidly to the rear, and did not stop until he reached Westport, nearly twenty miles away. He went to my house in Westport and told my wife I was killed—he saw me fall. Lieut.-col. William Rosenthall and Lieut.-col. Andrew S. Hughes,[9] both personal friends of mine, serving on the staff of Governor Carney, of Kansas, who was making his headquarters at my house, were ordered by the governor to ride to the front, full fifteen miles, to learn the facts, and, if I was killed, to recover the body. They met me just east of Independence, at the head of my company. Learning from them that my wife was nearly prostrated, and wild with grief, I secured permission from Colonel Plumb, commanding my regiment, to ride on to Westport, on the promise that I would report for duty before daylight next day.

During the afternoon of October 22 our command was employed cutting timber and constructing abbatis work, blocking the roads and trails and all the crossings of the Big Blue from its mouth to Byram's ford, and south of that point a mile or more. In the afternoon the enemy appeared at several points and made a determined attack, and forced a crossing at Byram's ford, killing many of our men, and capturing a few home-guard troops from Topeka. This flanking movement forced us to abandon the fortifications we had hastily made between Kansas City and Independence and fall back to Westport and to Shawnee Mission, on the Kansas line.

My company held the rear of Moonlight's brigade, and reached Westport about two P. M., the rebel cavalry following us closely, we firing and falling back. I rode up to the gate of my home, a large two story brick house which belonged to my father-in-law. In the yard and on the porch were at least twenty women and children. My wife, her mother and two sisters were in the party, some screaming with fright. I sprang from my horse, caught up my wife in my arms, ordered all into the spacious cellar under the house, and took my wife to the empty ice-house, down the ladder, and set her down on a pile of sawdust, some ten feet below the surface of the ground. She was so badly frightened and excited that she could scarcely speak. I kissed her good-by, climbed the ladder and pulled it up, so that she could not come out until after the battle was over, when she could make herself heard.

NOTE 8.—Williams's History of the Second Colorado, p. 97.

NOTE 9.—"Lieut-col. 'Andy' S. Hughes was the son of Gen. Bela M. Hughes, general counsel of Ben Holladay's Overland Mail Line. Colonel Hughes lives at Denver, Colo., and is the general traffic manager of the Denver & Rio Grande railroad."—H. E. P.

I found my men had made a stand in front of my home, holding the enemy in check until I could resume my duties. We retreated through the town. The rebels did not shell Westport, as I had feared they would.

Near Shawnee Mission, on the prairie south and east, we made a grand final stand, and there 3000 cavalry charged the rebels. It was a grand charge and I had the pleasure of participating in command of my company. The result was only the delay we caused the enemy in concentrating their forces to drive us back. They were trying to flank us on our right; to pocket us at the mouth of the Kansas and then capture our entire force. We could not have escaped, as there was no bridge at Kansas City across the Kaw or Kansas river—only a ferry; no bridge across the Missouri.

We bivouacked near Shawnee Mission, and, after the command was asleep, I stole out of the camp through the brush, past our double line of pickets, into Westport, which town was occupied by the enemy, visited my wife, sitting in the parlor in the dark. About two A. M. a squad of rebels attacked the front door, and a party started around to the rear of the house. I jumped out of a back window and lay down behind some currant bushes. Two rebels passed within three feet of me. They searched the house, while I was crawling and creeping back to camp to get a little sleep and dream of the morrow. We were resting and waiting for the battle that was sure to come the next day, October 23, and which all knew would be decisive. I felt that there was no hope; and without relief there *was no hope;* and I knew of no promised relief. The battle of October 23, 1864, ought to be a memorial day for Kansas City. If it had not been for the gallant and desperate fighting of all our 7000 men, who had harassed the enemy and held them in check to that extent that in five days they had marched less than fifty miles—7000 men against 35,000—Kansas City would have been destroyed October 23, 1864. The day opened bright and clear. From sunrise until afternoon our entire line was engaged at one point about half a mile south of Westport, in what was known as "bloody lane."

About four P. M. our brigade, the last to fall back. was passing through an orchard into a lane. Colonel Moonlight rode up and ordered me to place my company in line of battle and hold the enemy in check until he could draw off his brigade. While performing this duty under a heavy fire, I became possessed of an idea that we would all be killed or captured, and that those captured would be taken to a Texas prison. I felt that I wanted to see my wife before going South—only a severe wound would keep me in the country probably—so I held my left arm as high as I could comfortably hold the reins and expected to get a bullet through my arm. My men were wavering. I had to ride back and forth along the rear of the firing-line and call on the men to "Quit your dodging! Keep on firing! Fire low! We will whip them yet!" While doing this I ran across the member of my company who had fled two days before at Little Blue and rode to my home to tell my wife that I was shot. I felt very bitter towards this fellow, who had deserted the fight and without authority absented himself for nearly twenty-four hours. He was in line now. I rode up to him and called him to account. Why had he run away? He tried to explain, when a bullet struck him in the chest and he fell from his horse dead. A moment afterwards Leander R. Hull, one of my good soldiers, dropped his gun. A bullet had passed through his right arm. I got off my horse, picked up his carbine, placed it on his saddle in front of him, and told him to go to the rear. About five

minutes later, as I was returning from the left of the line, I saw this same man, Hull, trying to fire off his carbine with his left hand. I rode toward him to repeat my order to go to the rear, when the boy (he was only eighteen years old) was shot through the left arm, and again I had to pick up his carbine from the ground and strap it to his saddle, and again order this brave soldier to the rear. He stubbornly stayed with his comrades until we all fell back, and to-day, forty years later, is living at Winchester, Jefferson county, Kansas.

At five P. M., when our whole line had fallen back and there seemed to be no hope, we heard cannonading at Byram's ford, four miles east. The rebel army was being vigorously attacked in the rear. What could it mean? "Who has come to our relief?" was the cry from the men and from the officers, for only a few of the generals and colonels on our side knew that troops were marching to our relief. A staff officer rode up and called for me, saying that General Curtis was near the mission, and that I must take my twenty scouts, who had been with me for thirteen days' constant work, and go to Byram's ford to take a message to Gen. Alfred Pleasanton. I had to go *via* Westport, down Brush creek. There I found Pleasanton at the head of an army of 12,000 cavalry, and learned that Gen. A. J. Smith was then at Hickman's Mills, about fourteen miles from Westport, with 10,000 infantry. There were several batteries of artillery in each command.

Price was forced to make a sudden change in his plans. Instead of pushing Blunt and Curtis, he suddenly started on a trot, which soon increased to a run, down the line between Kansas and Missouri, for the Arkansas river. We followed in hot pursuit. Colonel Moonlight, with his brigade, in which were all the men of my regiment save the twenty men with me, pushed out on our right flank, to head off any rebel movement into Kansas. I was ordered by General Pleasanton to keep with his command.

That night late, about eleven o'clock P. M., we reached a point near Trading Post, on the Kansas line, and I was ordered to let the main column of our cavalry pass. For hours, until daylight, an unbroken line of cavalry a column of fours closed up, was passing without a halt. It was raining from eleven P. M. until nearly daylight; a cold, nasty rain. We could not unsaddle and rest our horses or ourselves, but had to sit down on the roadside in the mud, keep awake, and take our medicine. It was an awful night; wet to the skin, teeth chattering horribly.

October 24 we passed Trading Post, following the enemy into Kansas, and found they had burned every house and barn in reach of their command, after robbing and plundering the same, taking clothing from the women, even to the dresses they had on, and wraps from the helpless infants, and that they had shot old men and boys. The Apaches or any band of Western Indians could not have made any plainer trail of desolation and murder than this retreating rebel army made while they were marching only a few miles in Kansas. They made us understand by the wrecks and ruins left behind what they had intended to do if they had got as far north as Leavenworth, and could have swept down through Kansas as they had planned. But they found to their sorrow that the old war phrase that they had learned from Kansas men at Springfield and at Prairie Grove, "Kansas is pizen to the hull on 'em," was no joke. We bivouacked another night on their trail.

Next day, October 25, about noon, we overtook a large force of rebels trying to cross Mine creek. They were in Kansas, some three or four miles

west of the line. Our advance saw the situation at a glance and charged, every man following. About 3000 men made a wild run for the rebels. It was a grand, inspiring sight. I shall never forget it. We captured over a thousand men, nine pieces of artillery, and many officers, General Cabell and General Marmaduke. I saw General Marmaduke get off his horse, for he was surrounded, and give up his sword. One of my men said: "General, are you hungry? If so, I have some hardtack." The general accepted the proffered food and ate heartily.

After this disaster General Price burned most of his wagons and fled as fast as he could for the Arkansas border, finally crossing the Arkansas river with about 25,000 men.

October 25 was my fifteenth day of activity, fighting every day, and actually having no sleep for five days of this time.

The story of these fifteen days' work is certainly enough to prove that these were "strenuous times" for Missouri and Kansas.

THE BATTLE ON BEAVER CREEK.

Written by GEORGE B. JENNESS for the Kansas State Historical Society.

THE Indian depredations on the Kansas frontier during the spring of 1867 early developed the inadequacy of the regular army efficiently to protect so great a range of country as was then exposed upon the Kansas border. After repeated and most urgent solicitation of the War Department, Gov. S. J. Crawford finally received authority to raise and muster five companies, which were to be armed and equipped by the general government.[1] Under the call, each volunteer furnished his own horse, and, within two weeks from the date of the governor's proclamation [July 1, 1867], four companies of fine men were in camp, mounted upon horses well used to frontier duty and considered in every way equal to the Indian ponies. Owing to the exigencies of the situation and the immediate demand for troops, it was thought proper not to attempt the organization of the fifth company, but to push the battalion of four companies already in camp immediately into the field.[2] Upon consultation with Gen. Phil. H. Sheridan, the territory to be guarded by the volunteers, respectively, was duly agreed upon, and under the efficient command of Maj. Horace L. Moore, of Lawrence, the Kansas battalion was ordered into service. The companies, A,

NOTE 1.—EIGHTEENTH KANSAS VOLUNTEER BATTALION.—During the month of July a battalion of four companies was organized, by authority from Lieutenant-general Sherman, to protect the Western settlements, to guard the employees of the Union Pacific Railway, Eastern Division, and the travel on the great highways leading to the West and Southwest. The battalion was commanded by Maj. H. L. Moore, of Lawrence, formerly lieutenant-colonel Fourth Arkansas cavalry; company A by Capt. Henry C. Lindsey, of Topeka, with Lieuts. Thomas Hughes and John H. Wellman; company B by Capt. Edgar A. Barker, with Lieuts. John W. Price and Samuel Hyburger (succeeded by Francis M. Stahl); company C by Capt. Geo. B. Jenness, with Lieuts. Peleg Thomas and James Reynolds; company D by Capt. David L. Payne, with Lieuts. John M. Cain and Henry Hegwer. The battalion consisted of 358 officers and enlisted men. They were organized for a period of four months. They discharged their duties faithfully and received the commendation of the officers of the regular army as good and faithful soldiers. About ten per cent. of their number fell during their short term of service. The expenses incurred in the organization of this battalion, and not paid by the United States government, will be found in the accompanying report of Colonel Haskell, quartermaster-general of the state.—Adjutant-general's Report, 1867, p. 6.

NOTE 2.—The rolls of the Eighteenth Kansas volunteer cavalry are printed, together with those of the Third, Fourth and Nineteenth Kansas volunteer regiments, in the Thirteenth Biennial Report of the Adjutant-general. This portion of the report has also been repaged and bound separately.

B, C, and D, were commanded, respectively, by Capt. Henry C. Lindsey, A; Capt. Edgar A. Barker, B; Capt. Geo. B. Jenness, C; and Capt. David L. Payne, D.

The first experience was not very encouraging for the future usefulness of the battalion, for while in camp at Fort Harker the Asiatic cholera broke out among the troops and came very nearly demoralizing the command. Each company lost more or less men by death, while desertion through panic became altogether too common. Company C alone, in two weeks, lost thirteen men who died from cholera,[3] and seven deserters. Finally, upon moving camp, the cholera disappeared, and the campaign began in earnest. Several weeks were spent in scouting between the Arkansas and Saline rivers before the companies were separated. Companies B and C were ordered to Fort Hays, and about the 18th of August were directed to prepare for a grand scout toward the head waters of the Solomon and Republican rivers, where a large body of Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians were reported to be encamped. This expedition was to be participated in by company F, Tenth United States cavalry, and companies B and C, Eighteenth Kansas, the whole under command of Brevet Maj. George A. Armes, of the Tenth.

Starting from Fort Hays on the 20th of August, and with but few wagons and two ambulances, the company provisions mostly carried on pack mules, the force marched rapidly in a northwesterly direction. On the evening of the 21st the command camped on the Solomon [Prairie Dog] river, about eighty-five miles northwest of Hays, and at a point twelve miles from the Republican, the two streams running almost parallel.[4] Indian signs, fresh and clear, had been discovered during the day, and that night a bright light was visible some distance to the East. Captain Jenness volunteered to take a file of men and investigate this matter, and, this meeting the approval of Major Armes, he selected Sergeant Stringer and Corporal Campbell, and started in the direction of the light, the distance to which proved greater than was at first supposed, it being nearly midnight before they approached near enough to investigate the cause. It was then discovered to be an old log burning, where the Indians had evidently stopped the day before. Turning back, the party became bewildered in the darkness, and finally, giving up all hope of finding the trail, they bivouacked for the remainder of the night on the open prairie.

Early in the morning they were in the saddle, and, traveling in a northerly direction, they soon reached the river, perhaps eight miles below the camp from which they had started. From a high hill here they discovered the

NOTE 3.— A pathetic reminder of this scourge was found among the correspondence relative to this regiment, turned over to the archives department by Adjutant-general Hughes, in a little packet of letters relating to the death of Alphonse Eugene Colbrant, whose mother lived at Fontainebleau, France. They say he had served in the rebellion as major of the Second United States colored cavalry, 1862-'65, had joined the Eighteenth Kansas cavalry in July, 1867, and had died at Fort Harker of the cholera on the 24th of the same month. His name appears in the printed rolls as Augustus E. Colbrant, private, enrolled in company D, Eighteenth Kansas, July 7; residence, Leavenworth.

NOTE 4.— James A. Hadley, a corporal of company A, Eighteenth Kansas, has published in the *Farm and Home Sentinel*, Indianapolis, Ind., a series of articles on the Kansas Indian campaign of 1867, including this running fight. His localities are obtained from Allison J. Pliley, a scout of the expedition, now living at Kansas City, who states that the fight was on the Prairie Dog, and not on the Solomon and its branches, and that the incidents occurred in northwest Phillips county. The author says that Pliley's share in this fight "brought him the approval of General Sheridan, and a captaincy a little later. It was his courage and clear judgment [the last of which Captain Jenness was wise enough to follow] that saved the little party from annihilation and brought fifty per cent. through alive and untouched, though he was himself suffering from two painful wounds."

camp of the wagon-train, which had been ordered to move parallel to the command, some three miles further down the river. This opportunity to breakfast was not to be missed; so, galloping thither, they were soon enjoying a bountiful supply of rations. The train was guarded by thirty men, under Lieut. John W. Price, of company B, Eighteenth Kansas, a very efficient and brave officer. Upon learning of the Indian signs, he made preparations to continue his march with due caution. Captain Jenness, being joined by private Thomas G. Masterson, who had just arrived from Fort Hays with the mail, left the train at about eight o'clock and pushed up the river to rejoin the main command. He reached the camp about noon, to find the troops gone, and after a short rest crossed the river and proceeded to follow the trail. Here he was met by three dismounted men, sent back by Major Armes to join the wagon-train. Not thinking it safe to allow them to continue in the face of the many Indian signs, he ordered them to follow him forward. The day was exceedingly warm, and all the men had taken off their coats, those mounted strapping theirs behind their saddles. No particular order was maintained, and no immediate danger apprehended.

Proceeding in this way for about three miles, they were suddenly startled by hearing the most unearthly yells ever dropped on mortal ears, and looking up to the west they saw about 500 Indians swooping down on them from a ridge about a half-mile away. At the same time they saw, to their intense relief, a party of cavalry, twenty men and a sergeant, coming towards them from the direction of the command. Putting their horses on a gallop, after taking up the dismounted men, they formed a junction with the sergeant and his squad just as the Indians had approached within 300 yards. Captain Jenness assumed command, dismounted his men, formed a hollow square in the time it takes to tell it, and they began to pour volley after volley into the Indians from their Spencer carbine seven-shooters.

The Indians began the fight by forming a complete circle around the detachment and just within range of the guns. They were promiscuously armed with Springfield and Mississippi rifles, shotguns, and bows and arrows. Had they been armed as well as Indians generally were several years later, not a white man would have escaped. Their tactics appeared to be to stampede our horses, and the shaking of blankets and lances with streamers attached, and their unearthly whoops and yells as they circled around, were well calculated to make the horses uneasy. As they continued riding, each alternate Indian would from time to time wheel his horse inside their circle, rein up, and discharge his piece at the square. After the formation of the square of skirmishers by Captain Jenness, the horses were wheeled "fours right" into column, and each set of fours put in charge of No. 4 of each file, and under a determination to push on and attempt to reach the main command, which Sergt. George W. Carpenter reported about four miles north, in the bottom lands of Beaver creek, we started forward. We moved slowly, keeping up a constant firing on the Indians, who also continued a perfect shower of balls and arrows. Occasionally we would be compelled to halt for a moment or so, and at such times squads of Indians would dismount, creep up behind prairie-dog hills and buffalo-wallows, and pour in flight after flight of arrows. Several of the men were struck with arrows, while scarcely a horse remained which had not been wounded. As for the execution from the square, many Indians were seen to fall from their ponies, while others would drop on one side of their saddles or topple backwards, as though fatally hit,

but were tied to their horses. This plan of strapping themselves to their trappings is a common one with Indians, as in case of being shot their bodies will be borne off with their party and not fall into the hands of their enemies.

Occasionally Indians would rally in a squad of 100 or more, suddenly face the whites, and come dashing down on a full charge. At such critical times the threatened side of the square would be reenforced by running up each alternate man from the other side of the square, when this front would kneel down and empty the full seven shots of their carbine magazines into the approaching Indians. The red devils had never before encountered troops armed with seven-shooters, and these repeated volleys without any perceptible intermission for reloading would stagger them before they reached the square, and they would break and retreat in all directions, yelling like demons. The rapid succession of shots appeared to work upon their superstitious notions, and after each such charge they would draw off and huddle together, as though for consultation over the strange phenomenon. Many Indians could be seen to fall, and at one time eleven dead bodies were counted lying in the track of their futile charge. In one of their most daring charges one Indian, mounted upon a splendid white animal, led his band. He never looked behind, but with a revolver in hand dashed on, giving encouraging commands to his warriors until within pistol range, when he opened fire. At this point his followers were staggered by a telling volley from the square, and, wavering for a moment, broke and ran. The chief, however, came on, dashing his spurs into his horse and flourishing his revolver. He rode over one man who essayed to stop him, to the square, and on to the farther side. Probably fifty shots were fired at him, but all were apparently ineffectual. He bore a charmed life and had made a most daring ride.

The detachment carried 200 rounds of ammunition per man and no fears were felt for our safety upon that score.

After advancing about half a mile in this manner, fighting incessantly, Scout Allison J. Pliley informed the commander that another and still larger body of Indians could be seen through his glass on the hills, and between us and where the main command was supposed to be. At the time all thought them to be warriors, but subsequently we learned that they constituted the inactive force of the camp—squaws, old men, and children. Being then satisfied that they were fighting men, and having no hopes of being able to cut our way through them, the plan of joining Major Armes was given up.

Upon consultation with Scout Pliley, Captain Jenness determined to return to the river and there erect a breastwork of driftwood, etc., and prepare for the coming darkness. Changing the front and turning the horses around caused something of a halt, during which the Indians redoubled their firing and showers of arrows, until only four horses remained unwounded. Many had been killed and all except those four were badly hurt and fairly bristling with arrows. They were restless and enraged and it took more men to care for them than could be spared from the lines. Under this condition of affairs, it was decided to kill all but the four whole animals, and as they were turned out of the square, they were shot by men selected for the purpose. At this point Corp. James H. Towell received seven balls in his body and Thos. G. Masterson was also mortally wounded. This was the man who had brought out the mail from Fort Hays to the wagon-train. One of the Tenth cavalry, the dismounted man who was picked up at the

river, was killed instantly. Mounting five badly wounded men, who were too badly hurt to be able to use their arms, the return movement was begun. Before killing the horses all the saddle pockets containing the ammunition had been taken off, and these the men carried across their shoulders. Leaving the high ground the detachment entered a ravine, and for the first time since the beginning of the battle the men here got water.

Three hours of constant fighting, with the nervous system strained to the utmost, had almost exhausted the energies of even these hardy Westerners. The fearful odds against them and knowledge that no quarter was ever given by those red devils had created a desperate energy which made each man perform the deeds of five. Add to this their intense thirst, for by some oversight on the part of Major Armes the canteens of all the men sent to meet Captain Jenness were empty, and you have some conception of the condition of the men when they left the ridge and entered the ravine. Already fourteen men were wounded, two of them mortally. Nine of these were so severely shot that they were unable to use their guns. Of these, five were mounted upon the four remaining horses, and their intense groans increased the gloom of the situation.

Upon entering the deep ravine before mentioned, a fine spring was discovered, and, regardless of the rapid and close-range firing of the Indians gathered on the high ground surrounding, the men broke in disorder for drinks and to fill their canteens. The ground was so broken that the squad was protected from a charge of the hostiles, and as fast as a man satisfied his thirst he would retake his position and resume firing with redoubled vigor.

The sun was sinking slowly in the west, and upon marching farther down the ravine, here cut by the little stream running from the spring, the men found cover among a stunted growth of cottonwoods and willows. From this time until dark we remained in the same position, having a good range at the Indians, and not another man wounded.

After dark the savages drew off, and the firing suddenly ceased. The rest from combat was a grateful one, and gave us time and opportunity to care for the wounded men. Taking those from the horses, the captain tore up the shirts and blankets, washed and dressed all the wounds as well as possible, and gave the sufferers a short rest upon the remaining blankets.

A reconnoissance made by Scout Pliley and Sergeant Carpenter proved the position to be a short distance from the river. They also reported another little stream running into the river a quarter of a mile east, which appeared to run from the northeast and in a line parallel to the river.

Scout Pliley had been twice shot through the calf of his left leg, the balls passing through within three inches of each other. Captain Jenness had received a large ball in his right thigh, but, binding it up with a handkerchief twisted tight with a piece of a gun-wiper, continued on foot, though his boot full of blood would squash as though he had waded in water. Pliley, notwithstanding his two wounds, heroically kept his feet, and was ever ready to second the plans of the commander. The balance of the wounded men, including Sergt. Henry H. Campbell, who was shot in the shoulder, and Sergeant Carpenter, shot in the left arm, showed a valor seldom equaled by any men.

As full darkness fell upon the squad, the signals of the Indians could be

heard upon every side—now the yelp of the coyote, and again the hoot of the owl, showing that they were posting their videttes.

Just before entering the ravine, which we had followed down to this point, and after leaving the body of the colored man of the Tenth cavalry, who had been instantly killed, the Indians had taken his scalp, tied it to a lance, and, giving it to one daredevil, sent him as close as he dared come, to insult us. He would flount it at the men and yell out: "This is the way we will serve you all." Others spoke good English, and would shout insulting epithets from time to time during the fight. Said one: "We have killed all the balance of your men and propose to have you." Upon no occasion did they get the best of the brave boys, for they would reply as spiritedly as though a thousand men were present.

At no time could any firing be heard from the direction of the main command; but as the wind blew from the south it bore our firing to them, as we subsequently learned. The silence, however, from the main force was ominous to us, and fears were entertained that the boasts of the Indians, or the white men with them, might be true. Everything combined to make the situation desperate, but still there was a fixed determination to fight to the last.

Resting in the cottonwoods until about ten o'clock, with pickets thrown out to guard against surprise, time was given to decide upon the next step for escape from the unpleasant dilemma. An examination made by Pliley discovered a buffalo path leading from the ravine in which we were situated through a dry creek-bed out to the little stream before mentioned as running parallel with the river. This path ran through quite thick underbrush, and the steep, stony bluffs upon either side were inaccessible to the Indians. From the top of the bluff, where their pickets could be heard, this path could not be seen. Evidently the Indians knew nothing of it, and had no videttes stationed to guard it. Upon consultation, it was decided to avail ourselves of this avenue to gain the river, and perhaps get to the wagon-train. Muffling the feet of the horses with shirts torn into suitable strips to prevent the noise of their iron shoes striking the stones, and covering one white horse with a blue blanket, we prepared to move. The nine men who were badly wounded were mounted on the four horses—three on the first, three on the second, two on the third, and Tommy Masterson, who was already slowly dying, upon the fourth, and a dreary march was begun. The suffering men, agonized under the smarting of their wounds, shut their teeth and most heroically abstained from groaning during the whole of this midnight march. Scout Pliley and Captain Jenness, leaning upon each other for support—one wounded in the left leg, the other in the right, and each using a carbine for a cane—led the file; five men followed; then came the horses, led by careful comrades, and the balance of the detachment followed, Sergeants Carpenter and Campbell acting as rear-guard. Silently they crept forward, keenly watching the flanks, and whispering encouraging words to each other and the wounded boys. Tommy Masterson, with all hope gone, was whispering his dying message for his mother to Corp. John A. Kirkland, who walked by his side. It was a solemn procession, yet hopeful of the end.

For over two miles this silence and strain were maintained; and then, feeling that the Indian videttes had been successfully passed, a more cheerful spirit took possession of the party. Even Masterson brightened up, and Corporal Towell, with seven wounds, talked of our future plans. On crept

the file, until five or six miles had been traveled, when the rippling waters of the Solomon were heard upon the right. Turning towards the welcome sound, the squad soon stood upon its banks. In the dim moonlight the high bluffs on the opposite side could be seen, and thinking that they would afford a better protection in case of another attack, the detachment found a shallow place and crossed over. Here a small canyon was selected—one which had the appearance of a natural redoubt—and the wounded men were taken from their horses and laid upon blankets, and as comfortably fixed as possible under the circumstances. The balance of the command, tired beyond endurance, refused all duty and threw themselves upon the ground for rest. Sergeant Carpenter was the only man who could be induced to remain awake, and, posting him upon an elevation to the east of the position, Captain Jenness himself ascended the slope on the west to keep a lookout until morning. Scout Pliley was left in charge of the men, and busied himself assisting the wounded. This solemn vigil was kept until the east became tinged with red, when, by great exertion, the men were aroused to eat the remnants in their haversacks. While assigning the men positions, and making suitable preparations for another fight, the Indians were discovered in full force upon the north side of the river. There was but one hope under the circumstances. Pliley, who knew the country, must find the wagon-train and bring reenforcements, or, if that was captured, go to Fort Hays. Mounting the best of the remaining horses, he bravely set out, going down a ravine leading south and out of sight of the Indians. In twenty minutes from his departure we were again surrounded by the demoniacally yelling savages, who appeared to fairly cover the hills upon every side. Our ammunition was still plentiful, and an active fire soon began.

Covered as the detachment was by the friendly canyon, the random, though quite rapid, fire of the Indians, was wholly ineffectual. The men, though confident of an ample supply of cartridges, were careful in their firing and never wasted a shot. Whenever an Indian presented his form above the summit of the high ridges surrounding us he received a shot. There were no means of knowing whether such firing was anyways effectual, but as the men were all Westerners, and many of them fine marksmen, it cannot be doubted that the Indians lost quite a number during this morning's fight.

About eight o'clock the attention of the captain was called to a column of men moving toward us on the high ground to the south. At first this new force was supposed to be another body of Indians, but as they came more plainly into view two cavalry guidons could be seen. As this was reported a loud and joyful cheer broke from the men, and as hearty a three times three as we ever heard echoed among those sterile hills and doubtless startled the savages themselves. They had seen the newcomers also, and, quickly withdrawing, the next we saw of them was in the stunted timber on the river-bank and broken ground beyond.

Coming into sight for a few moments only, the friendly guidons disappeared. We waited anxiously for another hour, when a few rapid volleys below us and towards the river called our attention in that direction. A few of the Indans broke from the underbrush upon this side, and soon a dismounted detachment led by Pliley, our faithful scout, still on his horse, was

in our midst. Handshaking and the warmest congratulations ensued. They were a part of the main force under Major Armes and had been sent to our relief. It appeared that the Indians had surrounded his command at about the same time they attacked the detachment of Captain Jenness, and had been fighting them every hour of daylight since. The command had just fallen back to the river and joined the wagon-train, which, unbeknown to us, was camped a mile west of where we had taken position in the canyon.

Pliley, after wandering around through the bleak hills for several hours, eluding the Indians, had finally struck the trail of the wagons, and following it up reached it but a few minutes before Major Armes came in. As quickly as possible he had secured a detachment and had come to the relief of the badly demoralized party in the canyon. As soon as practicable, the wounded men were mounted on horses and a line of march taken up for the train. The fresh men formed a large square around their worn-out companions, and in this way they proceeded to the train. The Indians, with reckless bravado, would ride out from their cover in the timber and attempt to scare the squad. Several brisk little skirmishes took place in this way, but no one was hurt upon the side of the soldiers. Reaching the train, there ensued a scene of cordial greeting such as is experienced nowhere except among comrades in battle. The detachment under Captain Jenness, and especially himself and the two men with whom he had originally started, had been given up for lost. Their firing had been heard on the day before until nightfall, when it had suddenly ceased, and it was supposed the entire detachment had been massacred. Their escape had indeed been miraculous. Their fighting, 29 men against 500 or 600 Indians, was unparalleled in the history of Indian fighting on the plains. That it was desperate the wounded evinced—fourteen men wounded and one killed out of twenty-nine. Tommy Masterson breathed out his life a half-hour after the train had been reached, while Jimmy Towell only lived to be taken back to Fort Hays two days afterwards.

During the interchange of congratulations, the Indians, emboldened by the fact that no attack was made upon their stronghold, came out in small detachments and surrounded the little valley in which the train was parked. As soon as possible a systematic line of picket skirmishers was organized and thrown out, and a large party, to be mounted on the best horses, was selected for a charge upon the hostiles.

In the meantime it became necessary to procure water from the river, now held by the Indians, and for this purpose volunteers were called for from the dismounted men. A sufficient number were soon secured, and they, led by Ed Paramore, company clerk of F troop, who volunteered to conduct this perilous duty, deployed in line and advanced cautiously, under a heavy fire, which was briskly returned. Reaching the outskirts of the timber, Paramore saw that his men, some fifteen or sixteen, were taken at a disadvantage by Indians from behind a tree, and gave the order for a charge. This movement was executed gallantly, and sent the Indians flying to the opposite side of the river. The water here was very shallow and the stream narrow, though the river-bed itself was 150 feet wide. Our boys reached the bank with but one man slightly wounded, and while the water squad filled their kettles the others kept the Indians on the other side completely under cover in the small growth of timber. The water squad returned in safety with an ample supply for all immediate purposes, and the

company cooks began the preparation of the first regular meal the command had eaten for three days.

Soon after dinner Major Armes organized his party for a charge upon the Indian lines. The savages were posted upon the high ground and nearly surrounded the canyon in which the troops were situated. Upon a gentle slope to the west was their main body of warriors. The air was so clear that almost every command of their chiefs could be distinctly heard. At intervals some of them who spoke good English would yell out, "Come out of that hole, you white s—s of b—s, and give us a fair fight," or other insulting expressions. At one time three of their warriors on foot came down towards the troops bearing a white flag. They were dismounted and apparently unarmed. Thinking that they wanted a conference, Charlie Cadaro, a half-breed who was with the command in the capacity of a scout and spoke several Indian dialects, was sent out towards them. Cadaro was up to Indian tricks, and carried a Spencer carbine beneath his overcoat. Advancing slowly and cautiously towards the now stationary savages, he had no sooner approached within good range than they threw aside their blankets, leveled their guns, and fired. Cadaro saw their motion and, anticipating their shot, dropped quickly to the ground. Uncovering his carbine, he poured seven shot after the now fleeing savages, finally bringing one of them to the ground. The wounded Indian's companions returned to him quickly, slung him over the back of the tallest, and again made off. Cadaro, unfortunately, had no more cartridges with him, and his carbine being empty, nothing remained for him but to return. This little episode put a stop to flags of truce.

When Major Armes had formed his picked squad, he ordered an advance toward the river, with a view to cover his intention of an assault upon the hill where their main body was stationed. The advance caused a very perceptible commotion among the hostiles along the river, and, as Armes's move threatened their left flank and rear, they could be seen running back and to the opposite side of the river. Finally, he reached a proper distance on the left of their position on the hill, and, giving the order to change front, the men came into line on a gallop, and, heading for the summit of the hill, they went up the slope with a hearty cheer and in gallant style. The steady and regular volleys from the carbines were too much for the random and slow firing of the Indians, and they soon broke and fled in all directions. Their fleet ponies and their scattered condition rendered pursuit impossible. As soon as the squad would make a dash for a knot of Indians, another party of hostiles would rally in their rear, and thus threaten to cut them off from the train. After an hour or so of this ineffectual skirmishing, Major Armes withdrew to the canyon, and the Indians could be seen gathering at one point. Here they remained until darkness hid them from our view.

Thus ended the battle of Beaver Creek, for the next morning the Indians were gone.

The command, after sending out a few scouting parties to scour the country, soon got under way for a return to Fort Hays. The wounded who were unable to mount their horses were crowded into the two ambulances. Tommy Masterson, who had died the day before [August 22], was that night buried in a bank by the river. The men, in the absence of spades, dug out the dirt to a sufficient depth with their sabers, and here was left the body from which had flown as brave a soul as ever actuated the drawing of a saber. A week afterwards Captain Jenness visited the scene of the bat-

tle, and found that this grave and that of one of the Tenth cavalry, who died from his wounds the same day, were desecrated. The body of Masterson had been disinterred and most fiendishly mutilated. Another and a better resting-place was prepared for the body, and the remains of brave Tommy were left alone amid the wild grandeur of those rugged cliffs. James H. Towell died of lockjaw in the hospital at Fort Hays, on [August 28] the third day after the return. His body was interred in the post cemetery, and a neat headboard, cut out by his captain, marked the quiet spot.

This properly concludes the battle of Beaver Creek, as participated in by the detachment under Captain Jenness.[5]

The official report of this fight gives the following mortality of this small command in this miraculous escape from such an overpowering force of Indians: One man, company C, Eighteenth K. V. C., killed; one man, company F, Tenth U. S. C., killed; six men, company C, Eighteenth K. V. C., wounded; four men, company B, Eighteenth K. V. C., wounded; four men, company F, Tenth U. S. C., wounded; Allison J. Pliley, scout, wounded; Capt. George B. Jenness, company C, Eighteenth, wounded—out of a total engaged of twenty-nine enlisted men, one scout, one commissioned officer, leaving only twelve men unhurt. The men, with no exception, displayed coolness and bravery, and were prompt and willing in the execution of every command.

NOTE 5.—

"NEW FORT HAYS, KAN., August 24, 1867.

"*Capt. H. C. Corbin, Thirty-eighth United States Infantry, Commanding Post, New Fort Hays:*

"SIR — I have the honor to report, in obedience to G. O. No. 71, dated headquarters, New Fort Hays, Kan., August 12, 1867, I assumed command of companies B and C, first battalion Eighteenth Kansas cavalry, and F company, Tenth United States cavalry. Marched to the Saline river and followed the course of the stream west until I met Major Moore, commanding companies A and D, Eighteenth Kansas cavalry, coming down, about four o'clock on the 14th. We decided to march to the Solomon. Major Moore went to the northwest and I to the northeast; we were to meet each other on the Solomon. I followed the Solomon forty (40) miles, examining all the tributaries thoroughly Failing to find Major Moore, I took a southwest course, intending to come by Monument station and scout down the Smoky, but on the 17th, finding a very large trail running northwest, I followed it. After coming to the Saline I halted my command forty-five miles from Fort Hays, and rode, with three men as an escort, into Fort Hays, and ordered my four wagons with forage and one with rations, and took twenty-two dismounted cavalry as guard to train. Rejoined my command on the eve of the 18th inst., and on the 19th started on the trail, which I followed to Beaver creek, seventy miles. I then halted to wait for Captain Jenness and several scouts whom I had sent out to look for Indians' signs. Reached Beaver creek nine A. M. on the 21st; while eating breakfast one of my videttes was attacked by one Indian. Supposing more to be near, I at once pushed on, leaving my wagons in charge of Lieutenant Price with sixty-five men of the Eighteenth Kansas, and sent Sergeant Johnson, F company, Tenth cavalry, and Sergeant Corbin, Eighteenth, with twenty men, back with instructions to follow Beaver creek down eight miles before they crossed. Before they had proceeded three miles they met Captain Jenness, Eighteenth Kansas cavalry, and scouts whom I had sent out that morning. Captain Jenness assumed command of the party (twenty-nine men); seeing the Indians circling around, he decided to attempt overtaking me, but failed, as he was attacked by too many Indians. I was attacked about three P. M. by between 200 and 300 Indians. I sent Captain Barker to the left with B company, half of the command, to make a charge on the largest portion. Before he had proceeded 100 yards I discovered reenforcements of Indians coming from the northwest, and found it necessary to place my animals in the nearest ravine and throw my men to the right, left front, and the rear, which was done only in time to save my stock by repelling a charge of the Indians made just as I dismounted. The Indians fought me from three to nine o'clock. Sa-tan-ta, in full uniform, on a beautiful gray horse, sounded the charge with his bugle at least a dozen times, whooping and yelling and endeavoring to get his men to charge into the ravine, but only getting them near enough to have at least twenty of his saddles emptied at a volley, or a dozen ponies killed or wounded. During the fight eight of my men were severely wounded. Under the cover of darkness I attempted to find the rest of the command. Reaching Beaver creek at four o'clock A. M., the 22d, and seeing no signs of wagons, I halted until sunrise to rest my exhausted men, then followed the creek up two miles, and found Lieutenants Price and Thomas, Eighteenth Kansas volunteers, with the wagons, encamped in a ravine, all safe, but entirely surrounded by Indians, in groups of fifty or more."

The above is a copy of an unsigned manuscript turned over by Adjutant-general Hughes to the archives department, and is apparently a portion of the report of Maj. Geo. A. Armes, of this expedition, including the movements of his own immediate command to the morning of August 22, and furnishes what is wanting to complete Captain Jenness's paper.

In Hadley's article, above quoted, he states that Major Armes would neither go himself nor allow Captain Baker to go to the relief of Jenness's little command, though he was at liberty to move, and the firing of the small party was distinctly heard. He even arrested Captain Baker for disobeying him by accompanying Pliley on the morning of August 22 to bring Jenness's command into the camp of the wagon-train.

BEECHER ISLAND MONUMENT.

THIS monument was erected, at a cost of $5000, on Beecher island, seventeen miles south of Wray, in Yuma county, Colorado, in the year of our Lord 1905, by the states of Colorado and Kansas, in memory of Gen. George A. Forsyth and his brave band of government scouts, who fought and won the battle of Beecher Island on September 17, 1868, from a band of Cheyenne Indians, assisted by the Ogallalah, Brule Sioux, and Dog Soldiers, to the number of about 1000 warriors.[1] The Indians were commanded by the Cheyenne chief, Roman Nose, who was killed in the battle. Lieut. Fred H. Beecher, Third United States infantry, Surg. J. H. Mooers and Scouts Louis Farley, G. W. Culver and William Wilson were killed in the battle, and are buried on the island. (See page 454.) The following inscriptions tell the story:

NORTH SIDE.

Battle of Beecher Island, fought September 17, 18, and 19, A. D. 1868, between Col. Geo. A. Forsyth's company of citizen scouts, numbering fifty-one men, and a large party of Indians, comprising Northern Cheyennes, Ogallalah, and Brule Sioux, and Dog Soldiers, commanded by the noted war chief, Roman Nose. The scouts were surrounded and held on this island for nine days, subsisting on horse and mule meat. Indians killed, seventy-five; wounded, unknown. Here Roman Nose and Medicine Man fought their last battle.

SOUTH SIDE.

The first night Stillwell and Trudeau, crawling out on hands and knees, started for relief, and, hiding days and traveling nights, reached Fort Wallace. The third night Donovan and Pliley started. Arriving at the fort, Donovan, with four others, immediately started back; and, coming upon Colonel Carpenter's command, on the south fork of the Republican, guided them in a twenty-mile dash, reaching the island at ten A. M. the ninth day, twenty-six hours in advance of Colonel Bankhead, with Scouts Stillwell and Trudeau. The return to Fort Wallace was begun September 27, the wounded being carried in government wagons.

WEST SIDE.

Sacred to the memory of those who fought and died here.

KILLED.

LIEUT. FRED. H. BEECHER, U. S. A.
J. H. MOOERS, Surgeon, U. S. A.
G. W. CULVER.
L. FARLEY.
W. WILSON.

WOUNDED.

COL. GEO. A. FORSYTH, U. S. A.
W. ARMSTRONG.
G. B. CLARK.
T. K. DAVIS.
H. DAVENPORT.
B. DAY.
H. L. FARLEY.
R. GANTT.
J. HALEY.
F. HARRINGTON.
L. A. MCLOUGHLIN.
W. H. MCCALL.
H. MORTON.
T. O'DONNELL.
H. H. TUCKER.
F. VILOTT.

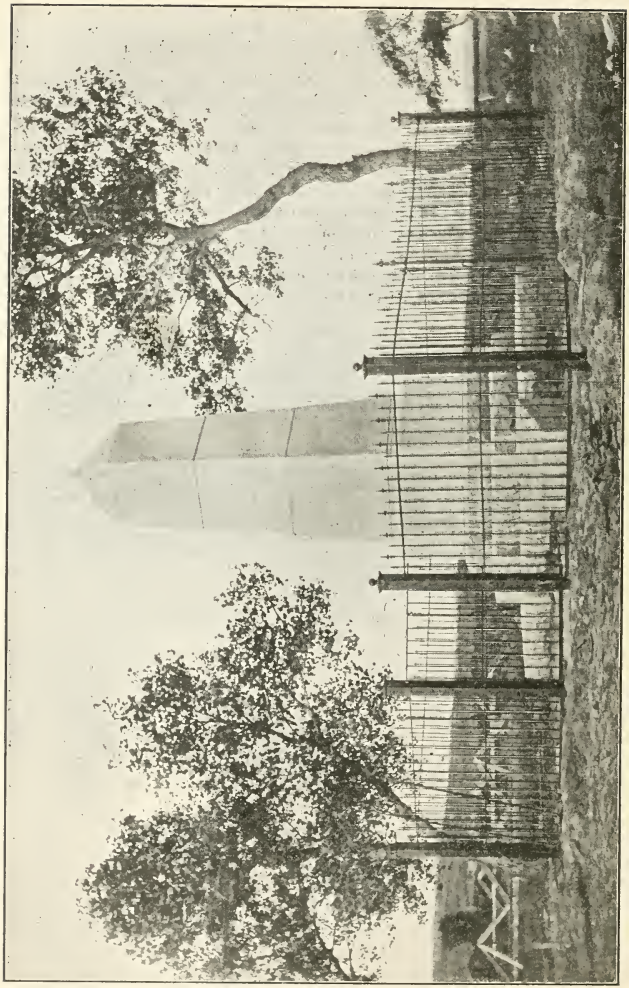
UNINJURED.

T. ALDERDICE.
M. BURKE.
J. DONOVAN.
A. J. EUTSLER.
A. DUPONT.
J. HURST.
A. T. GROVER.
G. GREEN.
J. LYDEN.
M. R. LANE.
J. LANE.
M. R. MAPES.
T. MURPHY.
H. T. MCGRATH.
C. B. NICHOLS.
G. OAKES.
C. C. PIATT.
A. J. PLILEY.
W. REILY.
T. RANAHAN.
C. SMITH.
J. S. STILLWELL.
S. SHLESINGER.
E. SIMPSON.
W. STEWART.
I. THAYER.
P. TRUDEAU.
C. P. WHITNEY.
W. WILSON.
E. ZIEGLER.

EAST SIDE.

To ever keep green in memory those who fought here, this monument was erected by the states of Colorado and Kansas, A. D. 1905.

NOTE 1.—Session Laws of 1905, ch. 61, p. 95. The story of the battle can be found in volume 6, pages 346-357, Kansas Historical Collections.



MONUMENT COMMEMORATING THE BATTLE OF BEECHER ISLAND, FOUGHT SEPTEMBER 17–19, 1868. (See page 433.)

THE BLACK-FLAG CHARACTER OF WAR ON THE BORDER.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by CAPT. H. E. PALMER, Eleventh Kansas cavalry.

A SOLDIER'S first duty is obedience to orders from his superior officer. Little did I think when I first heard of the firing on Fort Sumter, nearly three months after the dastardly act was committed, that I should ever volunteer or that my service would be needed. I thought all traitors would be promptly arrested and hanged. I was in far-off Colorado, and there were no railroads or telegraph lines west of the Missouri. Coming to Denver about July 7, 1861, I learned that war had been declared and 75,000 volunteers were wanted. Colorado had not been asked for help. I met two young men unemployed, Crawford and Goodrich, and proposed that if they would go with me to the states and enlist I would "pay the freight." They accepted, and on July 9, 1861, we left Denver in a light wagon drawn by two mules, driven by a Missourian homeward bound. We made a remarkably quick trip, only eighteen days from Denver to Leavenworth, Kan. We tried to enlist at Fort Kearney, Nebraska, where there were two companies of regular troops, but were refused, and advised that our nearest enlistment station was at Leavenworth.

At Marysville, Kan., Crawford and myself, being in splendid physical condition, having averaged about eight miles a day on foot, and fearing that the war would be over before we could reach Fort Leavenworth, left the wagon at four P. M., just after our Missouri teamster had camped for the night, and pushed on on foot, walking and trotting, until 3 A. M. We then laid down on the prairie for sleep and rest. Having no overcoats or blankets, two hours' exposure was all we could stand. Then we double-quicked about eight miles to the first ranch, where we received a good breakfast and two hours' rest and sleep; then until three P. M. we tried to outwalk and outrun each other. A good dinner and three hours' rest at an Indian agency gave us strength for an all-night rapid march to Atchison, Kan.—127 miles in forty consecutive hours, feet blistered, and tired beyond description.

A short steamboat ride brought us to Leavenworth on the eve of July 30. By ten A. M. on the 31st day of July, 1861, my twentieth birthday, I enlisted, and was mustered out November 2, 1865, Crawford joining with me, and Goodrich a few days later, on his arrival. If I had dreamed that my four years, three months and three days' service was to be all the time west of the Mississippi, on the border, on the extreme right wing of our great army; that obedience to orders and soldierly duty would deprive me of the glory of the army of the Tennessee, the Atlanta campaign, the army of the Potomac, and the march in the grand review; that the twenty-four general engagements and hundreds of bushwhacking fights in which I participated were to be comparatively insignificant, to be barely mentioned in the history to be written of the great struggle—if I had but dreamed of the possibility of such a fate, I would have walked to Washington before enlisting.

Within four days I participated in the fight at Independence, Mo., and

only a few weeks later in a fierce little battle at Morristown, Mo., where I learned my first lesson of the horrors of what was then called the "border war." In a charge upon the rebels commanded by Gen. James S. Rains, Col. Hampton P. Johnson, a gallant officer of the Fifth Kansas cavalry, was killed. We won the fight and captured several Confederates, seven of whom were called before a drumhead court-martial and sentenced to death. Their graves were dug and they were compelled to kneel down by the edge of the grave, when they were blindfolded, and shot by a regularly detailed file of soldiers; the graves were then filled up and we marched away. It was a sickening evidence that we were fighting under the black flag. This execution was in retaliation for the murder, only a few days previous, of seven men of our command.

The story of the cowardly murder that caused this revenging retaliatory act is thus told by the brilliant editor, author, and rebel soldier, John N. Edwards, who used his masterly pen to paint Quantrill a hero in his book entitled "Noted Guerrillas, or the Warfare of the Border."

"A military execution is where one man kills another; it is horrible. In battle one does not see Death. He is there surely—he is in that battery's smoke, on the crest of that hill fringed with the fringe of pallid faces, under the hoofs of the horses, yonder where the blue or the gray line creeps onward, trailing ominous guns—but his cold, calm eyes look at no single victim. He kills there—yes, but he does not discriminate. Harold the Dauntless, or Robin the Hunchback—what matters a crown or a crutch to the immortal reaper?

"The seven prisoners rode into Missouri from Shawneetown puzzled; when the heavy timber along the Big Blue was reached and a halt was had they were praying. Quantrill sat upon his horse looking at the Kansans. His voice was unmoved, his countenance indifferent, as he ordered: 'Bring the ropes; four on one tree—three on another!' All of a sudden Death stood in the midst of them and was recognized. One poor fellow gave a cry as piercing as the neigh of a frightened horse. Two trembled, and trembling is the first step toward kneeling. They had not talked any save among themselves up to this time, but when they saw Blunt busy with some ropes one spoke up to Quantrill: 'Captain, just a word; the pistol before the rope—a soldier's before a dog's death. As for me, I'm ready.' Of all the seven this was the youngest; how brave he was!

"The prisoners were arranged in line, the guerrillas opposite to them. They had confessed to belonging to Jennison, but denied the charge of killing and burning. Quantrill hesitated a moment. His blue eyes searched each face from left to right and back again, and then he ordered: 'Take six men, Blunt, and do the work. Shoot the young man and hang the balance.'

"Hurry away! The oldest man there—some white hairs were in his beard—prayed audibly. Some embraced. Silence and twilight, as twin ghosts, crept up the river-bank together. Blunt made haste, and before Quantrill had ridden far he heard a pistol shot. He did not even look up; it affected him no more than the tapping of a woodpecker. At daylight the next morning a wood-chopper going early to work saw six stark figures swaying in the early breeze. At the foot of another tree was a dead man and in his forehead a bullet hole—the old mark."

I was a member of the original First Kansas battery, then equipped with one twelve-pound brass cannon and a mountain howitzer. We were attached to the Fourth Kansas infantry, commanded by Col. William Weer. The Third Kansas, then part infantry and part cavalry, was with us, and was commanded by Col. James Montgomery, a border warrior since 1856. We had also part of the Fifth and Sixth Kansas cavalry with us, all commanded

by United States Senator "General" James H. Lane, and called "Lane's brigade."

The battle of Drywood, Mo., east of Fort Scott, Kan., September 2, 1861, was a dash by Colonel Montgomery with about 1200 men and our mountain howitzer, then known as "Moonlight's battery," against over 5000 rebels, with six Parrott guns, the famous Bledsoe battery, the Confederate force commanded by Gen. James S. Rains. So bold and determined was our assault that Rains was content, after he had shaken us off, to move on south without trying to capture Fort Scott, as he had intended to do.

At Ball's Mill, August 28, we charged upon Col. Thos. H. Rosser's Confederate regiment, about 600 men, and whipped them badly. Here I saw a man escaping through a corn-field. Being on horseback, I gave chase and soon came up with him. He threw himself on his knees and prayed for life. Though he was nearly six feet high, yet he was only a sixteen-year-old boy, son of Colonel Rosser, his home being at Westport, Mo. He had just reached his father's command with letters and clothing sent by his mother. I took him to General Lane, then at Fort Lincoln, and, having won General Lane's friendship and commendation for services rendered at Drywood, I persuaded him to let young Rosser go to his home and mother out of what he thought was the jaws of hell. For this act Rosser, seven months later, saved my life by preventing my capture by Dick Yeager's band of guerrillas.

September 22, 1861, we captured Osceola, Mo., defeating a large force of rebels, securing about 400 mules and a large amount of stores gathered for the Confederate army. Among these supplies were several wagon-loads of liquors stored in a brick building. Our men were dangerously thirsty. Some officers and men, myself among the number, were detailed to break in the heads of the barrels and spill this stock of "wet goods," to prevent the men from indulging too freely. The "mixed drinks" filled the side-hill cellar and ran out of a rear door down a ravine, where the boys filled their canteens and "tanks" with the stuff, more deadly for a while than rebel bullets, and nearly 300 of our men had to be hauled from town in wagons and carriages impressed into the service for that purpose. Had the rebels then rallied and renewed the fight we would have been captured and shot. The town was fired and was burning as we left.

After Osceola we camped at West Point, Mo., on the Kansas line. I was on duty as sergeant of the guard on picket nearly a mile from the main camp. It had been raining all night—a cold, drizzly October rain. At ten A. M. we saw a woman approaching from down the dreary, uninhabited roadway. She was on foot and was carrying a baby hugged to her breast, with four little children also walking—two boys and two girls, the oldest a girl of seven years. All were in their nightclothes and all wet to the skin; children crying and suffering with cold and hunger. We soldiers quickly shed our coats to shelter them from the storm and gave them our dog-tent by the rail camp-fire. The babe was dead. I sent for a wagon and soon we had them in camp. The mother died from this exposure within thirty-six hours. The four children were sent to four different homes by friendly officers and soldiers.

The story told by the woman before her death revealed the fact that her husband had, as a member of the Missouri legislature of '60 and '61, bitterly fought the secession scheme. He was a rich man—owned 500 acres of improved land, fine house, barn and other outbuildings, and owned several

slaves; yet he loved the flag and was for the Union. In January, 1861, he freed his slaves, and then his neighbors damned him as a "black abolitionist." They finally, in July, 1861, drove him from his home. The Union army was the only safe resort; so he joined Montgomery's Kansas regiment, and was, on this October day, 110 miles south of West Point. Bushwhackers had at divers times robbed his home until every head of stock had been driven away save a yoke of old, worn-out oxen. His wife with one old, black aunty had remained at the persecuted home, and during her confinement, in August, no friends came to see her, only the old slave woman, who would not accept her freedom, being left to help her. On this cold, dreary October night the bushwhackers came for their last damnable raid, burst in the doors suddenly, drove her and her children out into the storm, and set fire to the house, barn, and other outbuildings. The burning home gave generous heat until morning, when the old colored woman yoked the oxen to an old wagon, filled the box with straw, loaded in the children, and started for Kansas. Within four miles of our camp a band of bushwhacking fiends rode out of the brush and asked: "Where are you going?" Answer: "To Kansas." "Go on, and give our compliments to your husband." With this reply they shot the oxen and rode away, leaving a helpless mother and five children, near no habitation, to walk in the rain and mud to our camp. When the soldier husband and father heard the news, only four survivors of his once happy family were left, and they in four different homes widely separated. *Did he thirst for revenge?*

In October, 1863, Mr. Lawrence, a Virginian, a rebel sympathizer, nearly sixty years old, feeble and weak, unable to do harm to anybody, was living near the Big Blue, in Jackson county, Missouri, three miles from my headquarters, where I had 130 men specially detailed to fight the guerrilla chief, Quantrill. Lawrence owned a fine home, was a slaveholder before the war, and reputed quite wealthy. It was a lonesome neighborhood, and he lived quite alone with his wife and two daughters, between twenty-five and thirty years old, and two or three old darky servants. An unmarried son about thirty-five years old lived in New Mexico, serving as clerk for Jesus Perea, at Cimarron. He had gone to New Mexico some years before the war, and at this time, October, 1863, had not taken sides in the struggle. Capt. Joseph B. Swain, commanding company K of the Fifteenth Kansas cavalry, which regiment was then commanded by Col. C. R. Jennison, late commander of the Seventh Kansas cavalry—"Jayhawkers"—with seven of his squadron, made a night raid on Mr. Lawrence on the very day of the death by disease of Mrs. Lawrence. Mr. Lawrence was ordered to produce his money and silver plate, to which he answered that his money and silver were in a bank in Canada. Captain Swain's party dragged old man Lawrence into the orchard in front of his home and three times hung him to a tree, to force him to produce the money and valuables wanted. Lawrence had told the truth, and his persecutors, leaving him nearer dead than alive, commenced a search of the house, opening drawers with an ax when locked, emptying trunks upon the floor, and ripping open bedticks. Passing from room to room, they had passed the coffin containing the remains of Mrs. Lawrence, resting on chairs in the parlor. One fellow, Beardsley,[1] suggested that maybe money was hid in the coffin, and with that he knocked

NOTE 1.—This man's name does not appear on any published muster-roll of this company.

off the lid of the casket and searched for gold. A ring on the finger of the dead woman attracted his attention, and whipping out his bowie-knife he cut off the finger to release the ring. Before leaving, this gallant(?) party of Union defenders said to the two terror-stricken daughters: "If you want to plant the old lady, drag her out, for we are going to fire the ranch." Unaided they dragged the coffin from the burning home, nursed their father back to life, and watched for the dawn of day. A colored servant came to tell me the story early next morning. I did all I could to relieve their distress, tried to locate the villains, but did not for over a year learn who the night raiders were. My vote, as a member of a court-martial held in March, 1865, helped to give this same captain a dishonorable dismissal from the service, which he had from the first disgraced. Young Lawrence came home from New Mexico and joined Quantrill *for revenge*. In fact, "revenge" was the watchword from the north line of Kansas south on the line between Kansas and Missouri into Arkansas. Old scores from the early Kansas troubles had to be settled. The war was not commenced at Fort Sumter; it started in Kansas in 1855, and the fires had been kept bright until the Fort Sumter breeze had fanned the entire border counties into a flame.

Thus, from early spring until October, 1861, Lane's brigade fought under the black flag the rebels opposed to us. Upton Hayes, General Rains, Davidson, Standwatie and his Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians, Coon Thornton (the worst daredevil of them all), Quantrill, Thrailkill, Bill Anderson, Arch Clements, Jesse James (who made Missouri notorious after the war), his brother Frank, Cole Younger, Si Porter, Cy. Gordon, Bill Todd, Dick Yeager—all officers under Quantrill, commanding guerrilla bands—started in under the war cry: "No surrender except in death!"

The Kansans under Lane, Montgomery, Blunt, Jennison, Anthony, Hoyt and others accepted the challenge, and, until General Fremont, in October, 1861, issued his order[2] against this retaliatory work and forced a reorganization of Lane's brigade, which forced Lane out of the army and back to the senate, there was no pretension to the common amenities of civilized war, and, in fact, with the guerrillas and bushwhackers, there was no quarter given or taken until the surrender of Lee. It was a fight to the death on both sides all through the war. The bushwhackers, who were the demon devils of this border war, personally more for plunder and daredevil notoriety than for patriotic impulses, were led by men holding roving commissions

NOTE 2.— The proclamation given below is the nearest approach to the order mentioned by Captain Palmer, printed in the Official Records, and is contained in series 1, volume 3, on pages 563, 564. Col. D. Hunter, having relieved General Fremont early in November, 1861, countermanded this proclamation for various reasons, which he cites.

"PROCLAMATION.

"*To all peaceably disposed Citizens of the State of Missouri, greeting:*

"WHEREAS, A solemn agreement has been entered into by and between Major-generals Fremont and Price, respectively commanding antagonistic forces in the state of Missouri, to the effect that in the future arrests or forcible interference by armed or unarmed parties of citizens within the limits of said state for the mere entertainment of expression of political opinions shall hereafter cease, that families now broken up for such causes may be reunited, and that the war now progressing shall be exclusively confined to armies in the field:

"THEREFORE, BE IT KNOWN, To all whom it may concern:

"I. No arrests whatever on account of political opinions, or for the merely private expression of the same, shall hereafter be made within the limits of the state of Missouri, and all persons who may have been arrested and are now held to answer upon such charges only shall be forthwith released; but it is expressly declared that nothing in this proclamation shall be construed to bar or interfere with any of the usual and regular proceedings of the established courts under statutes and orders made and provided for such offenses.

"II. All peaceably disposed citizens who may have been driven from their homes because of their political opinions, or who may have left them from fear of force and violence, are hereby

from the Confederate government. They paid and supported themselves by robbery, by plundering homes and villages, wrecking and robbing trains, attacking weakly protected supply-trains and ambushing soldiers. In fights with Union men they were treated as pirates should be—no quarter was given, and, of course, our men expected like treatment from them. Two of my troopers were scalped by Quantrill's men, and I saw five of his men hung on the present site of the new Coates House, Kansas City.

This demoralized, inhuman condition of affairs in the district of the border was not confined to one side. The Seventh Kansas cavalry, organized October 28, 1861, commanded by Charles R. Jennison, gained under Jennison's control a world-wide reputation as the "Jayhawkers." Returning from their first raid into Missouri, they marched through Kansas City nearly all dressed in women's clothes, old bonnets and outlandish hats on their heads, spinning-wheels and even gravestones lashed to their saddles; their pathway through the country strewn with (to them) worthless household goods, their route lighted by burning homes. This regiment was little less than an armed mob until Jennison was forced to resign, May 1, 1862. As might be inferred, this man Jennison brought only disgrace to Kansas soldiery. He was a coward and a murderer, and for shooting, while he was commanding the Fifteenth Kansas cavalry, four brave Kansas state militiamen, October 23, 1864, was tried in June, 1865, by a court-martial, of which Maj.-gen. George Sykes, of Antietam fame, was president and myself the junior member. The death sentence was changed by the commander of the department to imprisonment for life, and finally, through the great influence of Senator James H. Lane with President Andrew Johnson, to simply a dishonorable dismissal from the service. [3]

William Clark Quantrill,[4] the bravest, most successful guerrilla of the war of the rebellion, and chief bushwhacker of the border war, was born in Canal Dover, Ohio, in 1837. His father, Thomas H. Quantrill, was princi-

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advised and permitted to return, upon the faith of our positive assurances that while so returning they shall receive protection from both the armies in the field, wherever it can be given.

"III. All bodies of armed men acting without the authority or recognition of the major-generals before named, and not legitimately connected with the armies in the field, are hereby ordered at once to disband.

"IV. Any violation of either of the foregoing articles shall subject the offender to the penalty of military law, according to the nature of the offense.

"In Testimony Whereof, The aforesaid Maj.-gen. John Charles Fremont, at Springfield, Mo., on this 1st day of November, A. D. 1861, and Maj.-gen. Sterling Price, at Cassville, Mo., on this 5th day of November, A. D. 1861, have hereunto set their hands, and hereby mutually pledge their earnest efforts to the enforcement of the above articles of agreement according to their full tenor and effect, to the best of their ability.

J. C. Fremont, *Major-general Commanding.*
Sterling Price, *Major-general Commanding.*"

Note 3.— "Jennison was, if possible, a more malignant enemy of Lane than either Halleck or McClellan, but for different reasons. Jennison was a wild man, who considered Lane too conservative; Halleck and McClellan considered him the extreme of radicals. . . . It must not, however, be imagined that Jennison ever got even with the rebels of western Missouri in barbarity. He was a gallant and heroic man; but he was not a cooperator with Lane, nor did he recognize his command; and most of the depredations charged to him were committed after the diabolical provocations of the Quantrill massacre, when Lane had no command whatever, and was almost constantly in the senate." — John Speer's Life of Gen. James H. Lane, pp. 252, 253.

Note 4.—As a general note to this paper, it is necessary to say something of the life of Quantrill in Kansas.

Quantrill's mother was born at or near Chambersburg, Pa., not Hagerstown, Md., as stated; his father was born at Hagerstown. Quantrill's parents married in Pennsylvania, and moved immediately to Canal Dover, Ohio, where he was born. He was the eldest child; so that his story of having been robbed by Kansas men while on the way to California with an elder brother was wholly untrue.

Quantrill never took a homestead nor preemption claim in Kansas. He worked for Colonel Torrey, in Lykins (now Miami) county, and Torrey had him bid in a quarter-section of land at the sales held at Paola. Quantrill did not buy this land for himself, and in Kansas, where the facts were known, he never pretended to have done so. He settled on a claim in Johnson

pal of the Canal Dover public schools. Both parents were from Hagerstown, Md. The elder Quantrill was a Whig, and a religious, enthusiastic educator. Young Quantrill enjoyed the best advantages and was under strict religious training. At sixteen he taught a country school, and in 1857, in his twentieth year, he came to Kansas to secure a homestead. Being under age he was compelled to trust a supposed friend, who proved false. This embittered the young man, and from that time it seems he lost control of the moral instincts that should be the guiding star of true manhood. For two or three years he taught school in Kansas; between terms worked with the immortal John Brown, who was stealing slaves from Missouri, and, as slaves were chattels, he also took horses, mules and anything else of value to compensate himself and companions for the risk incurred and to supply the sinews of war for the freedom of a suppressed and benighted race. John Brown could pray, shoot, steal slaves or horses, and really thought he was serving God in his almost single-handed war against slavery, an institution supported by the laws of our country and enforced by the courts and the army, but not a dollar's worth of Brown's captured booty was used by him for selfish purposes. Quantrill's experience with his false friend embittered his mind and caused him to start with his elder brother, in 1860, for California by team. They were attacked by Jayhawkers on the Little Cottonwood, in Kansas, when the brother was killed. Young Quantrill, badly wounded, escaped to the brush, and after the robbers left with the horses and provisions he crawled to the creek and laid there for nearly three days, when a friendly Indian found him and nursed him back to health and strength. From this date Quantrill became one of the most cruel and desperate robbers and murderers that ever lived. He was a blonde-haired, handsome, mild-mannered man, with nothing indicating the desperado or robber in appearance.[5]

Edwards, in his "Noted Guerrillas, or the Warfare of the Border," tells of Quantrill's interview, in Richmond, Va., with the Confederate secretary of war, in November, 1861, after Quantrill had been for more than seven

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county, Kansas, but quarreled with his associates, young men of his acquaintance from Canal Dover, and left the camp. He never tried to perfect the claim; and the war coming on, the others returned to Ohio and enlisted in the Union army.

Quantrill's letters, now in my collections, show that he committed crimes of a serious nature before he came to Kansas, and he was not twenty when he arrived here.

There is not a word of evidence that Quantrill even knew John Brown, or that he ever saw Brown. The enemies of Brown have asserted that Quantrill was with him; these assertions were made for the sole purpose of bringing discredit upon the life of John Brown in Kansas. Such assertions are malicious and entitled to no consideration.

Quantrill taught one term of school in Lykins county, Kansas. That constitutes his whole career as teacher in this state.

Quantrill had nothing but the best of treatment in Kansas. He had no reason to complain of any Kansas man, but many Kansas men had reason to complain of Quantrill from the day of his arrival in Kansas. He led a life of crime from the first, as the Collections of the State Historical Society show. (See pp. 212–229, vol. 7; p. 324, vol. 8.) In my private collections there is indisputable evidence of many other crimes committed by him long before he went from Kansas to Missouri.

Quantrill left Kansas in the execution of a plot to betray and murder his companions. Blacker treachery was never known. He murdered one of his companions and aided in the murder of all the others. This was the Morgan Walker expedition. To find some excuse to plead to the Missouri people, he invented the false stories of his brother's death at the hands of the Kansas people and the other false stories about his treatment in Kansas. He had to tell some story in justification, for even the people of Independence and Jackson county, Missouri, gathered to lynch him for the action at Walker's and the circumstances surrounding it.

All the evidence shows that Quantrill was a cruel and unnatural child; that he was a degenerate; and that he was a criminal from childhood from choice. There is not a single redeeming action to his credit in Kansas, and, for that matter, none at any time or place. His sack of Lawrence, and murder there of near 200 helpless and inoffensive Kansas citizens, men, women, and children, constitutes the blackest crime recorded in American history.—William E. Connelley, Topeka, Kan., July 20, 1906.

Note 5.—"Part of the above story is strongly vouched for, especially as to his birth and the respectability of his parents. The start for California with an elder brother in 1860, fight with

months murdering his Kansas neighbors and comrades in the name and behalf of the Southern cause, which he had so suddenly and so unexpectedly espoused. I quote the interview as reported to Edwards and written up by him in his laudatory work of showing Quantrill as a hero, a patriot, a chivalrous Southern soldier, who was willing to lay down his life for the South, as was Cushing, who sunk the Albemarle:

"His interview at Richmond with the Confederate secretary of war was a memorable one. Gen. Louis T. Wigfall, then a senator from Texas, was present, and described it afterwards in his rapid, vivid, picturesque way. Quantrill asked to be commissioned as a colonel under the partizan-ranger act, and to be so recognized by the department as to have accorded to him whatever protection the Confederate government might be in a condition to exercise. Never mind the question of men; he would have the complement required in a month after he reached western Missouri. The warfare was desperate, he knew, the service desperate, everything connected with it was desperate; but the Southern people, to succeed, had to fight a desperate fight. The secretary suggested that war had its amenities and its refinements, and that in the nineteenth century it was simply barbarism to talk of a black flag.

"'Barbarbism!' and Quantrill's blue eyes blazed and his whole manner and attitude underwent a transformation; 'barbarism, Mr. Secretary, means war and war means barbarism. Since you have touched upon this subject, let us discuss it a little. Times have their crimes as well as men. For twenty years this cloud has been gathering; for twenty years, inch by inch and little by little, those people called abolitionists have been on the track of slavery; for twenty years the people of the South have been robbed, here of a negro and there of a negro; for twenty years hates have been engendered and wrathful things laid up against the day of wrath. The cloud has burst. Do not condemn the thunderbolt.'

"The war secretary bowed his head. Quantrill, leaving his own seat and standing over him as it were and above him, went on: 'Who are these people you call Confederates? Rebels, unless they succeed—outcasts, traitors, food for hemp and gunpowder. There were no great statesmen in the South or this war would have happened ten years ago; no inspired men, or it would have happened fifteen years ago. To-day the odds are desperate. The world hates slavery; the world is fighting you. The ocean belongs to the Union navy. There is a recruiting officer in every foreign port. I have captured and killed many who did not know the English tongue. Mile by mile the cordon is being drawn about the granaries of the South. Missouri will go first, next Kentucky, next Tennessee, by and by Mississippi and Arkansas, and then what? That we must put gloves on our hands and honey in our mouths and fight this war as Christ fought the wickedness of the world!'

"The war secretary did not speak. Quantrill, perhaps, did not desire that he should. 'You ask an impossible thing, Mr. Secretary. This secession, or revolution, or whatever you call it, cannot conquer without violence, nor can those who hate it and hope to stifle it resist without vindictiveness. Every struggle has its philosophy, but this is not the hour for philosophers. Your young Confederacy wants victory, and champions who are not judges. Men must be killed. To impel the people to passion there must be some slight illusion mingled with the truth; to arouse them to enthusiasm something out of nature must occur. That illusion should be a crusade in the name of conquest, and that something out of nature should be the black

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Indians, etc., is a doubtful proposition. Quantrill's biographer and a few friends who may have read the story are about the only persons who vouch for this false friend and massacre business as the only shadow of an excuse for Quantrill's becoming the most unmerciful, meanest, cowardly murderer that ever disgraced Missouri and Kansas by his presence. I know of but one redeeming feature in his make-up, that was, he was not a drinking man—it was the devil in him and not whisky that helped to influence him to commit the terrible crimes chargeable to him.

"I might say, also, that it is a disputed question about Quantrill being in any way connected with John Brown. It is true that Quantrill boasted of this connection while on a sick-bed in Saline county, Missouri, in September, 1863, just after the Lawrence raid. A man who could commit murder as unmindful of consequences, moral or otherwise, as could this man, could lie and swear falsely without any serious compunctions of conscience."—H. E. P.

flag. Woe be unto all of you if the federals come with an oath of loyalty in one hand and a torch in the other! I have seen Missouri bound hand and foot by this Christless thing called conservatism, and where to-day she should have 200,000 heroes fighting for liberty, beneath her banners there are scarcely 20,000.'

"'What would you do, Captain Quantrill, were yours the power and the opportunity?'

"'Do, Mr. Secretary? Why, I would wage such a war and have such a war waged by land and sea as to make surrender forever impossible. I would cover the armies of the Confederacy all over with blood. I would invade. I would reward audacity. I would exterminate. I would break up foreign enlistments by indiscriminate massacre. I would win the independence of my people or I would find them graves!'

"'And our prisoners, what of them?'

"'Nothing of them; there would be no prisoners. Do they take any prisoners from me? Surrounded, I do not surrender; surprised, I do not give way to panic; outnumbered, I rely upon common sense and stubborn fighting; proscribed, I answer proclamation with proclamation; outlawed, I feel through it my power; hunted, I hunt my hunters in turn; hated and made blacker than a dozen devils, I add to my hoofs the swiftness of a horse, and to my horns the terrors of a savage following. Kansas should be laid waste at once. Meet the torch with the torch, pillage with pillage, slaughter with slaughter, subjugation with extermination. You have my ideas of war, Mr. Secretary, and I am sorry they do not accord with your own, nor the ideas of the government you have the honor to represent so well.' And Quantrill, without his commission as a partizan ranger, or without any authorization to raise a regiment of partizan rangers, bowed himself away from the presence of the secretary and away from Richmond."

Gen. Thomas Ewing, while in command of the district of the border, headquarters at Kansas City, Mo., detailed, June 17, 1863, my company, A, Eleventh Kansas cavalry, and fifty picked men from ten companies of cavalry, to trail and hunt Quantrill, who had become the terror of the country. His men were mostly toughs and desperadoes from the plains, northern Texas, and the Kansas border. They were dead shots and the best riders in the world, and while he could concentrate in a day or two 500 men, he generally moved in small squads of from ten to forty men, and occupied the timber and brush of every border county south of the Missouri river to the Boston mountains, of Arkansas. He was enabled by his daring, dashing and unexpected attacks to keep 4000 federal cavalry busy for three years, besides 4000 or 5000 of our infantry guarding towns, trains, and supply-depots. The hairbreadth escapes of this guerrilla chief, the wonderful experiences of his men, and the daily adventures of our men in his pursuit, who were lost in wonderment if we failed to have half a dozen fights with his bushwhackers each week; our miles of night riding, skulking through wooded ravines, by-roads, and cow-paths, hunting for an enemy worse than Indians; the houses, villages and cities sacked and burned by guerrillas, and the retaliatory acts of our commanders, resulted in a perfect "hell of a war."

The following incidents come before my mind as a panorama, vivid as life, a story that can never be told, the record of which would fill a hundred volumes of intensely interesting matter, and one never to be forgotten by any one of the men who were active witnesses of the sickening details: Sterling Price's first march to the South, and his several attempts to wrest Missouri from the Union; Joe Shelby's raids up to Price's last disastrous raid, in September and October, 1864; Quantrill's Lawrence raid, August 21, 1863, when he slaughtered in cold blood 142 unarmed non-combatants, and

sacked and burned that undefended city; how this sack and massacre might have been averted had it not been for a mistake of judgment on the part of one of our best and most loyal officers; Quantrill's escape from eighty men of Pomeroy's command, the Ninth Kansas, when they had him and five of his men surrounded in a burning house; the ambuscade and cowardly murder of eighteen of Capt. Henry Flesher's men, company E of the Ninth Kansas cavalry, June 17, 1863, by Bill Todd, at Brush creek, within a mile of Westport, then a military station; Bill Anderson's wreck and capture of a railroad-train on the North Missouri railroad, at Centralia, in November, 1861, and slaughter of eighty unarmed and wounded soldiers; the massacre of Blunt's staff, escort and teamsters at Baxter Springs, October 6, 1863; Capt. Charles Cleveland's desertion, with several of company H, Seventh Kansas black horse cavalry, his turning highwayman, and how it took nearly 2000 cavalry four months to disperse his band and kill him; the resignation of Geo. H. Hoyt, captain company K, Seventh Kansas cavalry, to raise a band of over 300 redlegs, an organization sworn to shoot rebels, take no prisoners, free slaves, and respect no property rights of rebels or of their sympathizers; our chase for Quantrill from the Missouri river to Arkansas and back before and after the Lawrence raid; the final driving of Quantrill and his men beyond the Mississippi, and his death at the military prison hospital at Louisville, Ky., June 6, 1865, from wounds received at his capture near Taylorsville, Ky., May 10, 1865.

I have thus cited a few instances to show a bare outline of the border war near the Kansas and Missouri line—a war that forced fully eighty per cent. of the male population of that region between the ages of fifteen and fifty into the army, made mourners in every household, and left monuments of desolation and war in burned homes marked only by stone and brick chimneys, from the north to the south line of the district covered.

The two incidents cited near the beginning of this story are given as extremely aggravated cases, not as every-day, commonplace affairs. With the exception of the Seventh and Fifteenth Kansas cavalry, there were no better disciplined or better behaved troops in the Union army than the Kansas men. The First Kansas infantry, organized in May, 1861, fought like regulars under General Lyon at Wilson Creek, and lost in that fight, August 10, 1861, fifty-one per cent. of the entire regiment in killed and wounded, and stood their ground to the end and won the fight.[6] The seventeen Kansas regiments, three batteries, and three colored regiments, with the exceptions above noted, gave the enemy no good cause for guerrilla warfare, but all

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NOTE 6.—"The Union army did leave in good order, but it left in a hurry; and Price, instead of being driven from the field, was still holding the line that he had taken at the beginning of the battle, nor had he been driven back 100 yards from this line at any time during the entire day. . . . . .

"Lyon had not fought and died in vain. Through him the rebellion which Blair had organized, and to which he had himself given force and strength, had succeeded at last. By capturing the state militia at Camp Jackson, and driving the governor from the capital and all his troops into the uttermost corner of the state, and by holding Price and McCulloch at bay, he had given the Union men of Missouri time, opportunity and courage to bring their state convention together again; and had given the convention an excuse and the power to depose Governor Jackson and Lieutenant-governor Reynolds, to vacate the seats of the members of the general assembly, and to establish a state government which was loyal to the Union, and which would use the whole organized power of the state—its treasury, its credit, its militia, and all its great resources—to sustain the Union and crush the South. All this had been done while Lyon was boldly confronting the overwhelming strength of Price and McCulloch. Had he abandoned Springfield instead and opened to Price a pathway to the Missouri; had he not been willing to die for the freedom of the negro and for the preservation of the Union, none of these things would have then been done. By wisely planning, by boldly doing, and by bravely dying, he had won the fight for Missouri."—Snead's Fight for Missouri, p. 302.

left good records for brave and soldierly conduct, and the Seventh fully redeemed itself under Colonel Lee with Sherman's army, 1862 to 1864.[7]

The guerrillas who fought with Quantrill under the black flag, executing their bloodthirsty acts as deeds of revenge, charged the first cause to acts committed before the war, 1856 to 1861, and to the early campaigning of Lane, Montgomery, and Jennison, to October, 1861. As all the guerrillas were outlawed by that time, there was no possible way of ending their crimes except in annihilation. While our men had become desperate hunters of desperate criminals, and had for years given and asked no quarter, yet when Gens. Sterling Price and Joe Shelby led their armies into our field they were met and fought with as much chivalry and soldierly courtesy as was accorded to the regular Confederate army by our men on the Potomac. When General Marmaduke, General Cabell and seven Confederate colonels surrendered with over 1000 men at Mine Creek, Kan., in October, 1864, some of their captors were Kansas men of my company and regiment, who were prompt in according them fair treatment, manifesting no spirit of revenge. Our men divided the contents of their haversacks with the hungry rebels. So at Prairie Grove, Van Buren, Newtonia, Westport, and wherever and whenever we met the regular Confederate army, wearing the gray, and carrying their flag, no Confederate soldier had cause to complain of ungenerous or unkind treatment from Kansas soldiers.

I might tell of deeds of individual heroism and bravery, of devoted loyalty to our country and our flag, and of loyalty to a wrong and losing cause, sufferings in camp and on the march, short rations, no medicine, and poor surgeons,[8] of the 1100 miles tramped on foot by my regiment in ten months before we were mounted, of five days' and nights' scout of myself and twenty men on the front and flank of Joe Shelby's command, in October, 1864, with no sleep except in the saddle—and yet we were not at Vicksburg, at Donelson, Nashville, Gettysburg, or in any of the great battles of the war, save only at Wilson Creek, Pea Ridge, Cane Hill, Prairie Grove, Van Buren, the two Lexington fights, Little Blue, Big Blue, Westport, Mound City, and Newtonia.

We were regularly mustered and drew our pay; wore the blue and fought the gray; obeyed orders, and after Lee's surrender fought Indians from the Missouri river to the crest of the Rockies and north to the Yellowstone. The soldiers constituting the large armies east of the Mississippi were indeed fortunate in comparison with troops in the army of the frontier and district of the border, detailed on the fearful and thankless duty of fighting bushwhackers. Were the former killed in battle and left in the hands of the enemy, an honorable burial and unmutilated body were awarded them; were they wounded, medical aid and care were bestowed upon them; if captured, the prospect of an exchange of prisoners was ever before them. Contrast this treatment with the unfortunate fate of the Union soldier on the border, in the hands of the guerrillas. If killed, their poor, inanimate bodies were outraged and mutilated; if wounded, they were often forced to suicide, or torture and death in the end. There were practically no captures,

NOTE 7.—See "History of the Seventh Kansas," by Gen. S. M. Fox, in volume 8, Kansas Historical Collections.

NOTE 8.—Fully eighty per cent. of the amputations at and immediately after the battle of Prairie Grove, Arkansas, December 7, 1862, were fatal.

for surrender meant death; no battle-stained flags, no heroic pages in history, no honor or special credit. "Murdered by bushwhackers," "killed by Indians," is the brief record to be found in the adjutant-general's office. Don't forget that our enemy was as often clad in the Union blue as in the butternut or rebel gray. We met sometimes face to face, with hands on our weapons, both parties in doubt; some short questioning, a faltering answer, a sign, a move, draw, fire! and let the dead bite the dust.

I quote again from Quantrill's historian, Edwards:

"From Jackson county to the Arkansas line, the whole country was swarming with militia, and but for the fact that every guerrilla was clad in federal clothing the march would have been an incessant battle. As it was, it will never be known how many isolated federals, mistaking Quantrill's men for comrades of other regiments not on duty with them, fell into traps that never gave up their victims alive. Near Cassville, in Barry county, twenty-two were killed thus. They were coming up from Cassville and met the guerrillas, who were going south. The order given by Quantrill was a most simple but a most murderous one. By the side of each federal in the approaching column a guerrilla was to range himself, engage him in conversation, and then at a given signal blow his brains out. Quantrill gave the signal, shooting the militiaman assigned to him through the middle of the forehead, and where upon their horses twenty-two confident men laughed and talked in comrade fashion a second before, there were now twenty-two dead men."

Edwards in his laudatory history of the guerrillas says, on page 327, speaking of Arch Clements, who succeeded to the command of Anderson's guerrillas, that on one raid lasting but a few days he kept an accurate diary of each day's work killing federals: Those shot to death, 152; killed by having their throats cut, 20; hung, 76; shot and scalped, 33; shot and mutilated, 11; a grand total of 292—a ten days' job for 60 men, something worth boasting of.

In the same book, in describing 183 engagements by the bushwhackers with federals on the border, Edwards reports a grand total of 6388 federal and Union sympathizers killed. The reports of these engagements are Quixotic in the extreme. The actual number killed by the bushwhackers could not have been more than 2000 to 2500—bad enough—and fully seventy per cent. of those killed are among the unknown dead; a picture of the horrors of border warfare as painted by the enemy.

We saved Kansas and Nebraska from the rebel horde; saved our Western settlements from Gen. Albert Pike's Christian scheme of annihilation by his Indian allies; kept open and comparatively safe communication with the Pacific coast, and preserved the proper alignment of the right wing of that grand phalanx of army corps that extended from the Atlantic to the crest of the Rockies; served where we were commanded to serve, and have the consciousness of having done our duty.

Kansas furnished for the war in defense of the Union 20,097 soldiers out of a population of 140,179—more than one out of eight a soldier. The census of 1860 shows 107,206. Enlistments from Kansas were 3443 more than the quota.[9] The proportion of deaths in action or from wounds was 2.79 per cent. more than that of any other of the twenty-four loyal states, and 25.91 per cent. above the average of all the states.

NOTE 9.— Kansas Adjutant-general's Report, 1861-'65, vol. 1, pp. XXVII, L. See also note on draft in Kansas, pages 368 to 371 of this volume. Census of 1865, by counties and races, in Kansas State Senate Journal 1866, p. 104.

VII.

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

THE RAILROAD CONVENTION OF 1860.

Written by GEORGE W. GLICK, of Atchison., for the Kansas State Historical Society.

TO write or speak of the early pioneers of Kansas opens up such a field of thought, such a variety of subjects, such vast and varied recollections, that those who came with the first and are here yet are overwhelmed in the attempt by an avalanche of reminiscences and memories which crowd upon each other so rapidly that the mind is dazed in an effort to recall the early life and the long train of events following down to the magnificent present.

The first settlers of Kansas were not rich in large sums of money or an abundance of worldly possessions, but were rich in energy, tenacious of personal liberty, industrious, and ambitious. They were scrupulously honest, fearless in the expression of their opinions, and always brave enough and manly enough to accord the same honesty of purpose and the same privileges to others. The ambition of the early pioneers was to found homes for themselves, provide for their families, and then to aid in laying the foundation of a magnificent commonwealth that would insure to them and to their posterity protection against violence and wrong, the comfort of peaceful homes, and the advantages of educational facilities.

The civic and commercial development of Kansas was not overlooked. The territory was divided into counties; and towns were located and afterwards made the seats of justice in the newly organized counties. Roads were laid out and worked, and thus avenues of trade established. The pioneers of Kansas did not wait for the demands of society and business to indicate the wants of the country. They were provided in advance and often far in advance of the settlers. Many new towns were also projected, mapped and exploited by Eastern speculators, who, to make a show of residents, gave lots to all who would pay them for making a deed. This kind of lot speculation was exclusively an Eastern industry. The Kansas pioneers were engaged in more substantial and useful business efforts. They were looking into the future, studying the needs and resources of their new home, planning for the development of enterprises that would subserve the public welfare and aid in the development of the state, making it a good place in which to live.

The territorial legislature, as well as the legislature of the new state, provided for the building of railroads. But in the early days all railroad schemes were projected in the interest of some town or locality, without reference to the welfare of the general public. They were organized with millions of capital stock, but with no cash, no assets, and no office.

The volumes of territorial laws are full of charters granted to build railroads. Every town and village and scores of paper towns had railroads projected to run from them as initial points, while the other end of the line was located, in the imagination of the projector, at a point on the Gulf of Mexico or the Pacific ocean. In their infatuation they expected and believed that the great lines of railroad from the East all pointed to and would terminate at their particular young and growing city of the plains.

In the fall of 1860, the Topeka *Record*, edited by Edmund G. Ross, suggested the calling of a territorial convention to plan and devise a scheme for securing a practical railroad system for the then anticipated state of Kansas. The suggestion for the convention was taken up and advocated by the Atchison *Champion*, edited by the late Gov. John A. Martin. It met with hearty and enthusiastic approval by the people, and the following call was prepared and circulated for signers by Col. C. K. Holliday, of Topeka, who was one of its most enthusiastic advocates:

"RAILROAD CONVENTION.

"A convention will be held at Topeka, Kan., on Wednesday, the 17th day of October, 1860, for the purpose of devising a system of railroad land grants for the territory, to be petitioned for at the next session of Congress. A full representation from all parts of the territory is earnestly solicited."

Topeka.

C. K. Holliday.	D. H. Horne.	E. G. Ross.
Jacob Safford.	T. G. Thornton.	W. W. Ross.
M. C. Dickey.	F. L. Crane.	

Lecompton.

Wilson Shannon.	Wm. Leamer.	D. T. Mitchell.
R. S. Stevens.	D. S. McIntosh.	John Pickering.

Atchison.

P. T. Abell.	S. C. Pomeroy.	F. G. Adams.
B. F. Stringfellow.	J. A. Martin.	Robert Graham.
L. C. Challiss.	W. H. Grimes.	H. L. Davis.
G. H. Fairchild.		

Carlisle, Allen County.

John W. Scott.	John W. Stewart.

Junction City.

F. N. Blake.	J. P. Downer.	W. K. Bartlett.
F. Patterson.	Geo. Montague.	R. C. Whitney.
S. B. White.	S. B. Garrett.	N. S. Gilbert.
Jas. R. McClure.	P. Z. Taylor.	Abraham Barry.

Louisville.

L. R. Palmer.	A. P. Smith.	J. L. Wilson.

Wyandotte.

E. R. Smith.	Byron Judd.	Frederick Speck.
W. McAlpine.	Daniel Keller.	Rev. R. S. Nash.
H. C. Long.	Jas. W. H. Watson.	T. J. Barker.
Silas Armstrong.	William McKay.	Dr. E. J. Bennett.
W. Y. Roberts.	James McGrew.	A. C. Davis.
John McAlpine.	Dr. J. Moon.	P. S. Post.
Isaiah Walker.	Luther Wood.	T. T. Abrams.
James R. Parr.	A. B. Bartlett.	C. Cobb.
Wm. P. Overton.	J. N. White.	William Stephens.
Hugh McKee.	Jas. H. Harris.	A. D. Downs.
Joseph Speck.	L. Chaffee.	Frank McHenry.

Wyandotte.

William Cook.	J. P. Root.	W. F. Simpson.
M. Mudeater.	D. A. Bartlett.	Geo. P. Nelson.
M. R. Walker.	O. B. Gunn.	C. Van Fossen.
William McHenry.	S. A. Cobb.	W. L. McHenry.
Robert Halliford.	S. F. Mather.	S. D. McDonald.
William Walker.	J. S. Stockton.	R. B. Taylor.
J. B. Wood.	William Sozier.	T. J. Darling.
James Cruise.	J. E. Zeits.	D. B. Hadley.
R. S. Emerson.	Horatio Waldo.	Lewis Blatchley.
John S. Glick.	Eben Smith.	H. H. Sawyer.
C. Christler.	Francis House.	John Brevator.
N. McAlpine.	W. P. Winner.	J. W. Dyer.
P. Washington.	B. Gray.	A. G. Walcott.
C. S. Glick.	E. T. Hovey.	Matthias Splitlog.
S. S. Sharp.	J. P. Ulden.	T. J. Williams.
William Weer.	C. Stuckslagger.	Henry West.
D. R. Smith.	I. D. Heath.	F. S. Korka.
Lewis Cox.	J. D. Simpson.	

Auburn.

H. Fox.	A. T. Reynolds.	D. B. Emmert.
J. W. Brown.	C. C. Moore.	R. Steos.

Grasshopper Falls.

Azel Spaulding.	Azel W. Spaulding.	

Pottawatomie county.

C. Jenkins.	J. Cotrell.	A. C. Hall.

Superior City.

J. M. Winchell.		

Emporia.

P. B. Plumb.	C. V. Eskridge.	I. E. Perley.
E. P. Bancroft.	J. Stotler.	S. G. Brown.
J. R. Swallow.		

Agnes City.

A. I. Baker.	I. B. Segur.	R. M. Ruggles.
E. Goddard.	J. L. French.	

Wathena.

B. Harding.	H. S. Creal.	J. W. Stewart.

Wabaunsee.

Chas. B. Lines.	J. M. Hubbard, jr.	

Quindaro.

F. Johnson.	Amer K. Gray.	Wm. Oldham.
John H. Mattoon.	G. E. Upson.	C. Morash.
E. F. Root.	Wm. W. Dickinson.	Joseph A. Bartles.
M. P. Downs.	A. Robinson.	Theodore Bartles.
R. Robitaille.	A. Tuttle.	Francis Kesler.
E. D. Browne.	E. Sorter.	Wm. Taylor.
John Stewart.	E. O. Fane.	Rev. S. D. Storrs.
Alfred Gray.	N. M. Tarrtt.	Benj. F. Farthing.
John W. Wright.	Wm. Totten.	H. Collins.
John B. Dexter.	A. J. Totten.	Jacob Bartles.
Geo. W. Veale.	C. Chadwell.	Wm. Stevens.
F. G. Fish.	J. Howard Carpenter.	Jno. A. Johnson.
J. B. Welborn.	Eli Mayer.	Fred Arms.
Michael Youngman.	John Francis.	E. B. Stevens.
Phillip Conrad.		

Leavenworth.

D. R. Anthony.	J. L. McDowell.	

Manhattan.

A. J. Mead.	S. G. Hoyt.	John Pipher.
C. F. de Vivaldi.	James Kness.	M. L. Essick.
Jesse Ingraham.	Ambrose Todd.	J. W. Robinson.
W. C. Dunton.	S. D. Houston.	

Fort Riley.

Robt. Wilson.

Lawrence.

C. Robinson.	S. N. Simpson.	J. H. Lane.
N. Cobb.	M. F. Conway.	

Big Springs.

Isaac N. Roberts.	O. E. Dole.	J. B. Miller.
J. W. Roberts.	A. S. Roberts.	Wm. R. Frost.
A. L. Wightman.	A. A. Miller.	C. Antrem.

Council Grove.

S. M. Hays.	C. G. Akins.	A. T. Lane.
M. Conn.	J. J. Howard.	J. Dunlap.
S. N. Wood.	T. S. Huffaker.	H. Allen.
G. W. Simcock.	A. C. Stewart.	E. Mosier.
Thos. White.	Allen Crowley.	June Baxter.
A. J. Collier.	J. P. Mathews.	Wm. Downing.
Robt. Parham.	F. E. Smith.	Wm. Lane.
H. J. Espy.	J. H. Bradford.	A. S. Pollard.
Geo. Biglin.	J. A. Robins.	Chas. Columbia.
A. James Chipman.	S. E. Wright.	Christop'r Columbia.
J. J. Hawkins.	Wm. Mansfield.	Wm. Phinney.

Olathe.

J. P. Campbell.	John T. Quarles.	D. Martin.
Josiah E. Hayes.	Wm. Holmes.	C. L. Dilley.
John T. Burris.	J. B. Hovey.	John Evarts.
L. S. Cornwell.	A. B. Squires.	J. J. Judy.
John T. Barton.	Chas. Sims.	John Hamilton.
P. Craig.	Robert Mann.	Jas. H. Nanham.
C. A. Osgood.	Pat. Cosgrove.	M. P. Randall.
E. S. Nash.	C. B. McRoberts.	M. J. P. Drake.
S. F. Hill.	John Lockhart.	Jas. Green.
C. J. Coles.	A. Payne.	I. J. Turpin.
J. B. Mohoffle.	A. Slaughter.	F. S. Wilkinson.
S. B. Myrick.	J. J. Ford.	Wm. Ray.
L. True.	D. C. Francis.	John M. Giffen.
John W. Mathews.	G. M. Waugh.	

Ashland.

N. B. White.	C. M. Barclay.	J. W. Brown.
E. G. Robinson.	H. V. Williams.	R. Reynolds.
M. D. Fisher.		

Sac and Fox Aagency.

Perry Fuller.

Ottumwa.

John T. Cox.	James Harris.	E. M. Hoult.
J. M. Singer.	W. E. Casson.	J. G. Shaubell.

"Other signatures will be added as authority to do so is received."[1]

I include the list of the signers of this call, so that we can see who the men were who took an interest in projecting a railroad system that would meet the wants of the people—one that would subserve the interests of the

NOTE 1.—Copied from the *Kansas State Record*, Topeka, September 29, 1860.

young state, as well as lay the foundation of a system which would answer the future needs of a well-settled and prosperous commonwealth. The names, too, recall many pleasant recollections of those early pioneers, and revive memories of hardships and friendships that are only forgotten because the cerements of the tomb securely hide from the present the friends of the past, endeared to us by a multitude of kindly actions. The Atchison *Champion* published this call, and in an able and patriotic article drew attention to it in the following appeal:

"STATE RAILROAD CONVENTION.[2]—We publish this week a call, numerously signed by the most prominent citizens of all parts of the territory, for a state railroad convention, to be held at Topeka, on the 17th day of October next. The object of this convention is to harmonize, if possible, the diverse and conflicting interests of different towns and sections, and unite upon some general plan for railroad grants which shall be urged upon Congress, and a favorable action had by that body. The object, at least, will commend itself to every one who has the interests of the territory at heart. Whether a plan can be devised that will be pretty nearly generally satisfactory, the meeting alone can demonstrate. We think, and we certainly most earnestly hope, that such a plan can be originated, so that, by a consolidated, united effort, we may extort those rights from Congress which have been and will be denied us as long as we continue to neutralize the efforts of one another by petty jealousy and unmanly rivalry. Each section, each town, should go down to the convention prepared to sacrifice something for the general good of the territory. Conciliation, harmony, unity, should be the motto of those who meet there to determine what may be so pregnant with either weal or woe to Kansas. We are satisfied that could the people of Kansas unite upon some general system of railroad grants, Congress would accede to their demands. It must, or bear the reproach of being animated by a petty desire to avenge itself upon our people for fancied injuries they have inflicted upon the dominant party in the national legislature. But as long as we are divided into utterly diverse parties and sentiments, each laboring with fanatical zeal to prevent the success of the other, Congress will quietly ignore us, and we have nothing to expect and nothing to hope for at their hands.

"Let us, then, act like men who have the good of the whole territory more at heart than the success of a few little dirt-eating paper cities. Let us endeavor to obtain harmony and united action by conciliation and united desire for the general good. We can all afford to give up something; we can all afford to sacrifice something for Kansas, and no one knows better how much she needs it than her own citizens. Cannot all sections afford to be magnanimous and great-hearted enough to lay down some portion of their ends to secure for the territory unlimited prosperity and infinite development? We assume to speak for the citizens of our town and county at least, when we say that there will be none who will be more conciliatory in their actions in the convention; none who will be more earnestly desirous of its harmonious action; and none who, when that unity of purpose shall have been established, will be more active or more untiring in their efforts and exertions to procure for it at the hands of Congress a successful determination than they.

"Atchison enters into the movement with heart and soul. The laboring, indefatigable men whose efforts have, unaided by any outside assistance, given her an Eastern railroad communication, will be at Topeka to aid by their counsels, to assist by their presence, to advance, if needs be, by their energy and their means, any scheme which will bring our territory out of her difficulties and place her upon the highway to prosperous success and unlimited greatness. Will all who come there meet us in the same spirit of fraternal kindness and sacrificing generosity?"

The convention was held at the time and place designated. Nineteen

NOTE 2.—*Freedom's Champion*, Atchison, August 18, 1860.

counties were represented, as follows: Atchison, Allen, Breckinridge (now Lyon), Doniphan, Davis (now Geary), Jackson, Lykins (now Miami), Leavenworth, Morris, Anderson, Coffey, Clay, Douglas, Riley, Osage, Jefferson, Wabaunsee, Wyandotte, and Shawnee. These were the counties in which the greater number of people then resided and practically the settled portion of the territory. When we consider the fact that there were no public facilities for travel and that some of those attending the convention had to come long distances in private conveyances at large expense, it will be conceded that the convention was a grand success, and its results far beyond the most sanguine anticipations of the most enthusiastic delegate present.

It would, perhaps, be too tedious to give the entire proceedings of the convention, as in all such bodies many things occur that are not germane to the purposes sought to be obtained. Such matters will be omitted from this paper.

I have not given the reasons for and against the different motions, as I think they will suggest themselves as the propositions are submitted. The principal details of the convention are given as they occurred.

"STATE RAILROAD CONVENTION.—The convention of the people of Kansas, called for the purpose of devising some means for securing for the territory from Congress grants of land for the construction of railroads, assembled at Museum hall, in the city of Topeka, at ten o'clock A. M., on Wednesday, the 17th of October, 1860, and was called to order by Samuel C. Pomeroy, of Atchison, who, after a few preliminary remarks, nominated E. G. Ross, of Topeka, for temporary president. The motion was adopted.

"On motion of C. K. Holliday, of Topeka, John A. Martin, of Atchison, and J. F. Cummings, of Topeka, were appointed temporary secretaries.

"After a short discussion on the mode of procedure by C. K. Holliday, S. C. Pomeroy, and W. F. M. Arny, a motion was made by P. T. Abell, of Atchison, that a committee consisting of five members be appointed by the chair on credentials and permanent organization.

"J. E. Jones, of Douglas county, moved to amend the motion by making the number thirteen.

"W. Y. Roberts, of Wyandotte, moved to further amend, by making the committee consist of seven members, to report on credentials, apportionment, and permanent organization. The amendment was adopted, and, on the question recurring on the motion as amended, it was adopted.

"William Weer, of Wyandotte, moved that the committee be instructed to report as an accredited delegate to this convention every *bona fide* resident here present of any county which has failed to appoint delegates.

"George W. Glick, of Atchison, moved to lay the motion upon the table. Carried.

"Charles Robinson moved to instruct the committee to make the basis of apportionment the population of the territory.

"George W. Glick moved to lay the motion on the table. Carried.

"The chair appointed the following men as the committee: B. F. Stringfellow, of Atchison; James McGrew, of Wyandotte; W. F. M. Arny of Anderson; Joel Huntoon, of Shawnee; George S. Hillyer, of Jefferson; Thos. Means, of Leavenworth county; Amory Hunting, of Riley county.

"On motion, the convention adjourned until 1:30 o'clock P. M.

"*Afternoon Session.*—Meeting called to order by the president.

"General Stringfellow, on behalf of the committee on credentials, apportionment, and permanent organization, presented the following report: 'That your committee find the following counties represented: Allen, Atchison, Anderson, Breckinridge, Doniphan, Davis, Jackson, Lykins, Leavenworth, Morris, Coffey, Clay, Douglas, Osage, Riley, Jefferson, Wabaunsee, Wyandotte, Shawnee. They recommend the following basis of representation: That the delegates from each county represented in this convention shall be

entitled to cast one vote on all questions before the convention, and when such delegates shall divide on any question, such votes shall be divided in proportion to the number of delegates voting from such county as they respectively represent. They recommend as permanent officers of this convention a president, seven vice-presidents, and three secretaries, and recommend: For president, W. Y. Roberts; for vice-presidents, W. F. M. Arny, Samuel Medary, P. T. Abell, Charles Robinson, Thos. Ewing, jr., A. J. Mead, W. A. Ella; for secretaries, John A. Martin, J. F. Cummings, C. F. de Vivaldi.'

"Thomas Means, of Leavenwoth, offered a minority report (verbally), fixing the representation in the convention at one vote for every county, one additional vote for every thousand population and every fraction of 500 and upwards.

"William Weer, of Wyandotte, moved that that portion of the report referring to the permanent organization of the convention be adopted. The motion was carried, and the chair appointed General Stringfellow and Judge Means to conduct Governor Roberts to the chair.

"W. Y. Roberts, on taking his seat, made an eloquent address, urging concession and harmony.

"Thomas Means moved that the minority report be adopted.

"Mr. McGrew moved to amend by inserting 'majority.'

"George M. Beebe called for the reading of the list of delegates as reported by the committee.

"The list was read, as follows:

Atchison county.—S. C. Pomeroy, B. F. Livingston, John A. Martin, R. L. Pease, R. McBratney, S. D. Northway, G. W. Glick, L. C. Challiss, J. C. Crall, H. L. Davis, B. F. Stringfellow, P. T. Abell, J. P. Carr, John M. McClun, D. O. Keef, A. J. McCausland.

"Breckinridge county.—P. B. Maxson, E. P. Bancroft.

"Allen county.—John W. Scott, C. P. Twiss.

"Doniphan county.—John Stiarwalt, Sewall Hardy, Doctor Wheeler, ——— Wilmoth, Chas. Wakeman.

"Davis county.—James Streeter, P. Z. Taylor, J. R. McClure, John Sanderson.

"Jackson county.—Byron Jewell.

"Lykins county.—O. C. Brown.

"Leavenworth county.—J. L. McDowell, J. H. McDowell A. M. Sawyer, Thos. Ewing, jr., A. C. Wilder, John Tams, Thos. Means, Henry Still, J. M. Hillman, John C. Douglass.

"Morris county.—Thos. White, T. S. Huffaker, Chas. Columbia.

"Anderson county.—W. F. M. Arny.

"Coffey county.—John T. Cox, W. A. Ella.

"Clay county.—S. D. Houston, ——— substitute.

"Douglas county.—H. W. Petriken, J. E. Jones, G. M. Beebe, S. Medary, C. Robinson, G. W. Deitzler, Josiah Miller, G. W. Smith, C. W. Babcock, Levi Woodard, S. O. Thacher, Henry Baricklow, Lyman Allen, G. F. Warren, William Hutchinson, Wilson Shannon, R. S. Stevens, William Brindle, Oliver Barber, Alford Curtis.

"Riley and adjacent counties.—A. J. Mead, W. C. Dunton, D. L. Chandler, A. Hunting, D. Wilson, C. F. de Vivaldi.

"Osage county.—S. R. Canniff, D. I. Rooks, C. D. Welch, S. A. Fairchilds.

"Jefferson county.—Ed. Lynde, D. L. Lakin, G. D. Hillyer, J. Kunkle.

"Wabaunsee county.—Chas. B. Lines, H. M. Seldon, C. W. Dalby.

"Wyandotte county.—James McGrew, George Russell, William Weer, A. G. Walcott, Robert Halford, A. C. Davis, A. Bacon, W. Y. Roberts, V. J. Lane, William Woodbury, Frank Kessler, William Levitt, Alfred Gray.

"Shawnee county.—C. K. Holliday, J. F. Cummings, E. G. Ross, W. E. Bowker, Joel Huntoon, J. Safford, T. G. Thornton, G. B. Holmes, L. C. Wilmoth, H. C. Hawkins, F. W. Giles, M. K. Smith, D. H. Horne, J. B. Billings, M. C. Dickey, C. C. Kellam.

"The amendment offered by James McGrew was discussed by General Stringfellow, Judge Means, Colonel Abell, Lyman Allen, Governor Robinson,

General Weer, Governor Medary, W. F. M. Arny, J. E. Jones, Judge Ewing, Geo. M. Beebe, General Davis, John McDowell, M. J. Parrott, and others.

"General Weer then moved the previous question.

"Judge Arny moved that M. J. Parrott, of Leavenworth, who was present, be invited to a seat in the convention and participate in the proceedings. Carried."

The discussion on the matter of apportionment was fully and ably maintained on both sides. Thomas Means, an attorney and ex-judge, made the principal argument in favor of his verbal minority report, and incidentally on the railroad interests and needs of Kansas. He argued that Leavenworth city was the metropolis of Kansas; the great port of entry on the Missouri river; that all roads led to that city and the outlying counties had to go there for their supplies, and hence should consult her interests and aid her in her demands. He said it was wrong, an unjustifiable wrong, for counties that scarcely have any population, whose delegates represent nothing but prairie sod, to assume the same voting power in the convention. Judge Means spoke for nearly an hour. His speech was eloquent, argumentative, and sometimes bitter and vindictive towards the sparsely settled counties. This caused irritation among delegates who thought they were the subject of his remarks.

B. F. Stringfellow, an attorney, and formerly attorney-general of the state of Missouri, made reply to Judge Means. General Stringfellow argued that, instead of those sparsely settled counties being under any obligations to Leavenworth, the day was not far distant when that city would be dependent on those counties for support and business. He said that those counties are rapidly settling up; that while their delegates to-day are only representatives of "prairie sod," as claimed by Judge Means, the day was not far off when those counties would have large populations, with improved farms, furnishing train-loads of produce for the markets of the world; that it ought to be the interest of that city to aid in getting railroads to all parts of those counties to transport the products of the soil to that city, to enable her to become in fact a metropolis of our territory; that it was business that made a metropolis, and not efforts to destroy the country that furnished the articles of commerce for business and transportation.

The speech of General Stringfellow seemed to strike a responsive sentiment in the minds of the delegates and all but two counties voted to adopt the report on apportionment.

"The motion was adopted, and the question being put on the amendment of Mr. McGrew, to strike out the minority and insert the 'majority,' Thomas Ewing, jr., of Leavenworth, moved that the roll be called and the question be taken by yeas and nays, but subsequently withdrew it; and the question being put to the meeting, it was carried, and the original motion as amended was adopted."

At this stage of the proceedings, the delegation from Leavenworth county, and all but J. E. Jones, from Douglas county, left the convention, giving as a reason their disagreement with the majority on the question of apportionment and representation. C. B. Lines, of Wabaunsee, J. R. McClure, of Davis, and E. P. Bancroft, of Breckinridge, also withdrew for the same reason.

"William Weer moved that the chair appoint a committee of one from each county on schedule. Carried.

"The chairman appointed the following committee: William Weer, of

Wyandotte county; C. K. Holliday, of Shawnee county; T. S. Huffaker, of Morris county; S. C. Pomeroy, of Atchison county; J. E. Jones, of Douglas county; J. W. Scott, of Allen county; W. F. M. Arny, of Anderson county; S. D. Houston, of Clay county; C. W. Dally, of Wabaunsee county; Ed. Lynde, of Jefferson county; Byron Jewell, of Jackson county; O. C. Brown, of Lykins county; P. B. Maxson, of Breckinridge county; J. T. Cox, of Coffey county; L. D. Chandler, of Riley county; C. H. Welch, of Osage county.

"The committee retired, and, in their absence, Samuel Medary, W. Y. Roberts, A. C. Davis and G. M. Beebe favored the convention with speeches. After which General Weer, from the committee, submitted the following report, and the whole report, as amended, was unanimously adopted, as follows:

"SCHEDULE AS ADOPTED.—*Resolved*, That a memorial be presented to Congress asking an appropriation of public lands to aid in the construction of the following railroads in Kansas: First, a railroad from the western boundary of the state of Missouri where the Osage Valley & Southern Kansas railroad terminates, westwardly, by the way of Emporia, Fremont, and Council Grove, to the Fort Riley military reservation; second, a railroad from the city of Wyandotte (connecting with the P. G. R. railroad and the Pacific railroad) up the Kansas valley, by way of Lawrence, Lecompton, Tecumseh, Manhattan, and the Fort Riley military reservation, to the western boundary of the territory; third, a railroad running from Lawrence to the southern boundary of Kansas, in the direction of Fort Gibson and Galveston bay; fourth, a railroad running from Atchison, by way of Topeka, through the territory in the direction of Santa Fe; fifth, a railroad from Atchison to the western boundary of Kansas.

"C. K. Holliday, of Topeka, offered the following resolutions:

"That there be a committee of five appointed to memorialize Congress in behalf of the railroad schedule recommended by this convention, and that the delegates representing each of the respective routes contemplated in the schedule nominate a member of said committee. Said committee shall also issue an address to the people of Kansas upon the subject of railroad grants.

"*Resolved*, That a standing committee of five be appointed by the chair, whose duty it shall be to adopt such measures as they may deem best, by the appointment of subcommittees or otherwise, to obtain the signatures of the people of Kansas, to be presented to Congress in favor of the schedule of roads adopted by this convention, and adopt such other measures as they may deem best calculated to carry out the objects of this convention.

"The vote, being called by counties, was carried unanimously.

"John A. Martin, of Atchison county, offered the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the proceedings of this convention be entrusted to Hon. M. J. Parrott, our delegate in Congress, and that he be requested to present the plan of railroads and memorial adopted to that body for their favorable consideration.

"The vote, being called by counties, was carried unanimously.

"The different delegations present, at the suggestion of the chair, nominated the following members of the committee contemplated by C. K. Holliday's resolutions.

"COMMITTEE ON MEMORIAL.—W. Y. Roberts, Kansas Central railroad; C. K. Holliday, Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad; John T. Cox, Jefferson City & Neosho Valley railroad; D. W. Houston, Lawrence & Fort Gibson railroad; B. F. Stringfellow, Atchison & Pike's Peak railroad.

"EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.—C. F. de Vivaldi, Kansas Central railroad; E. G. Ross, Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad; S. C. Pomeroy, Atchison & Pike's Peak railroad; James Blood, Lawrence & Fort Gibson railroad; W. F. M. Arny, Jefferson City & Neosho Valley railroad.

"B. F. Livingston moved the adoption of the following resolution, which was carried unanimously:

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of this convention be tendered to the president and secretaries for the faithful and impartial manner in which they have discharged the duties of their respective positions.

"A. C. Davis moved that the papers of the territory be requested to publish the record of this convention. Carried.

"On motion, the convention adjourned *sine die*.[4]

JOHN A. MARTIN, W. Y. ROBERTS, *President.*
C. F. DE VIVALDI,
J. F. CUMMINGS,
Secretaries."

The memorial to Congress was prepared by General Stringfellow. It was a full, complete and masterly presentation of the subject, with reasons and arguments showing the importance of the roads named in the schedule and the necessity for their construction.

In 1862 Congress made a grant of lands and United States bonds to aid in the construction of the Union Pacific railroad, including a grant for the Kansas division, which was to connect with the Union Pacific in Nebraska by way of the valley of the Republican river.[5] This law was changed so that the Kansas division could build direct to Denver, and connect with the Union Pacific at Cheyenne, Wyo.[6] This system has now, with its branches in Kansas, 2962.74 miles, the Kansas mileage being 950.36.[7] Similar aid to that given the Union Pacific was also given the Hannibal & St. Joseph railroad to enable it to extend its line west from the city of Atchison for 100 miles to a connection with the Kansas branch of the Union Pacific in the Republican valley.[8] This road afterward assigned its rights to the Atchison & Pike's Peak Railroad Company, now known as the Central Branch Union Pacific. This branch was built the 100 miles to Waterville by January 20, 1868, and has since been extended so that the main line and its branches give transportation facilities to the most of the counties in northern Kansas, giving that magnificent country railroad connection with all parts of the United States. It has 388.19 miles of road.[9]

The Atchison & Topeka railroad, having now the word Santa Fe added to its name, was another line recommended by the convention. This system has now 4674.44 miles in all,[10] with the main line and branches in Kansas aggregating 2605.17 miles. It received a grant of land to aid in its construction, but no bonds.[11] In 1864 the writer, then a member of the Kansas legislature, introduced and secured the passage of a memorial to Congress asking for a land grant to this company.[12] Senator Pomeroy, by whose efforts the grant was secured, told the writer that this memorial and the one previously prepared by General Stringfellow materially aided him in securing the passage of this grant.

The railroad from Lawrence south, now called the Southern Kansas rail-

NOTE 4.—These proceedings of the convention were published in *Freedom's Champion* of October 22, 1860.

NOTE 5.—Laws 37th Cong., 2d sess., ch. 120, approved July 1, 1862.

NOTE 6.—Laws 39th Cong., 1st sess., ch. 159, § 1, approved July 3, 1866.

NOTE 7.—Report United States Statistics of Railways, 1904, p. 278; Report Kansas State Board of Railroad Commissioners, 1904, p. 62.

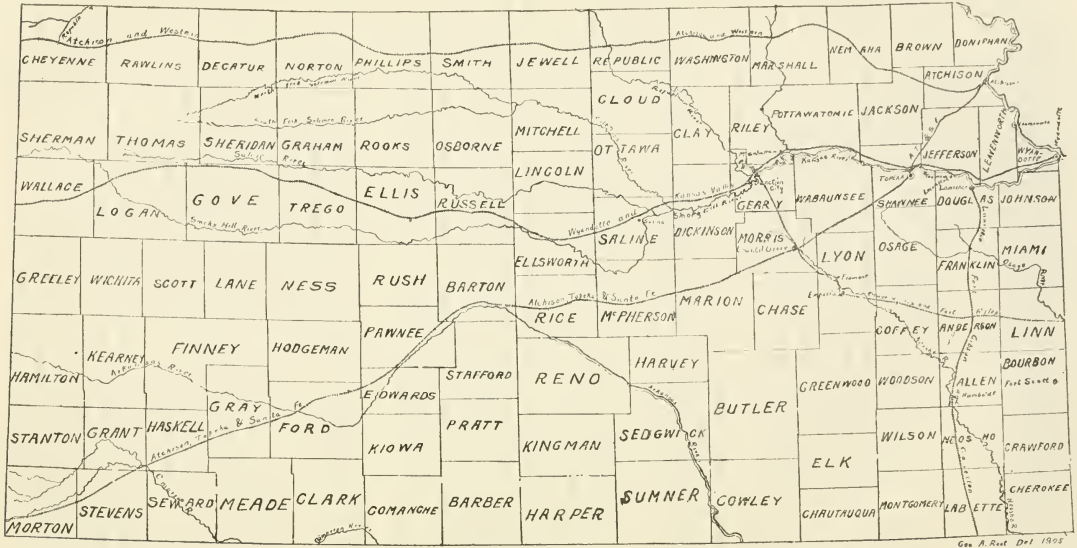
NOTE 8.—Laws 37th Cong., 2d sess., ch. 120, § 13; treaty with the Kickapoo Indians, June 28, 1862, in United States Laws and Treaties, 1904, p. 836.

NOTE 9.—Report of Kansas State Board of Railroad Commissioners, 1904, p. 47. This volume gives a brief history of all Kansas roads now in operation.

NOTE 10.—Report of Kansas State Board of Railroad Commissioners, 1904, p. 16; United States Statistics of Railways, 1904, p. 278.

NOTE 11.—Laws 37th Cong., 3d sess., ch. 98, approved March 3, 1863.

NOTE 12.—Journal Kansas House of Representatives, 1864, p. 450.



Lines of Railroad Suggested by the Convention of 1860

road, secured a grant of land in the name of the Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston company, but the public land was already mostly taken by settlers, and the grant was not large.[13] This road also received a grant of about 125,000 acres of the 500,000 acres ceded to Kansas for public schools, or, as it was claimed, for public improvement.[14] The railroad on the north line of the state (now known as the St. Joseph & Grand Island), the Missouri, Kansas & Texas and the road from Kansas City to Fort Scott (now called the St. Louis & San Francisco) got the rest of the 500,000 acres.[15]

The writer earnestly opposed this disposition of the 500,000 acres of land, for the reason that he regarded the act as a violation of the constitution of the state, and, though he still holds the same belief, he has no hesitation, now, forty years after the act was passed, in saying, what he has often said before, that the donation was of vast benefit to our state. The people have condoned the breach made in our constitution.

The first line of road mentioned in the schedule adopted by the convention seems to have had no friends after the convention adjourned, though the country traversed by its imaginary line is now well supplied by various roads.

With this exception, the results of that first great railroad convention in Kansas have proven the prophetic wisdom and foresight of the men who signed the call as well as of those who participated in its proceedings. Few of them may now be living, but the desire of the writer in submitting this paper is in a measure to help perpetuate the names of those men who helped lay the foundation for the great railroad system of Kansas. They have erected a monument to themselves which time only can efface. It would gladden the hearts of those delegates who have passed beyond could they break away from the cerements of the tomb to view the grand results of their handiwork—the great continental lines of railroad which have made Kansas famous, and connected her with the entire railroad system of the United States.

It is only justice to say that Kansas is greatly indebted to B. F. Stringfellow, Ed. G. Ross, C. K. Holliday and W. Y. Roberts for the magnificent results secured by that convention, and to the work and efforts of Senators Pomeroy and Lane in the United States senate for making that work effective by the forms of law.

While the original Pacific Railroad bill was pending in the senate, Senator Henderson, of Missouri, amended it in the form of a proviso so as to allow, with the consent of the legislature of Kansas, what is now the Central Branch Union Pacific railroad to be constructed from the city of St. Joseph to a junction with the Union Pacific from Omaha. This amendment was on its face so fair that the Kansas senators could not prevent its adoption. It was known as the Henderson amendment,[16] and was a source of great con-

NOTE 13.—Laws 37th Cong., 3d sess., ch. 98, sec. 1.

NOTE 14.—Ordinance to Kansas constitution, sec. 7. See a statement of this controversy by Col. E. C. Manning, pp. 372 and 373, this volume.

NOTE 15.—Kansas Session Laws, 1866, p. 142.

NOTE 16.—"SEC. 13. *And be it further enacted*, That the Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad Company, of Missouri, may extend its road from St. Joseph, *via* Atchison, to connect and unite with the road through Kansas, upon filing its assent to the provisions of this act, upon the same terms and conditions, in all respects, for one hundred miles in length next to the Missouri river, as are provided in this act for the construction of the railroad and telegraph line first mentioned, and may for this purpose use any railroad charter which has been or may be granted by the legislature of Kansas; provided, that if actual survey shall render it desirable, the said company

cern to the people of northern, southwestern and eastern Kansas. If the Kansas legislature had consented to this change, the road would have been constructed from the city of St. Joseph to the northwest and would scarcely have touched our state, thus seriously, if not permanently, injuring the magnificent railroad system now existing in northern and western Kansas, and might have greatly crippled the business interests of that part of the state.

The contest waged to transfer this railroad terminal from Atchison to St. Joseph was made during the session of 1863. Edward Russell, then a representative from Doniphan county, led the contest for St. Joseph, and the writer was selected to champion the interests of Kansas and resist the transfer of the initial point of this proposed railroad from Atchison to that city.

Caucuses were held by the friends of each side, and efforts made to ascertain the intentions of the various members of the house, which failed with many outside of those whose immediate interests were involved. Those from Leavenworth and Douglas counties, for some unexplained reason, gave their influence and votes to the scheme to construct the road northwest from St. Joseph. The resolution purposing to give the consent of the legislature for the transfer got only seventeen votes. The negative had the rest. This contest was waged with great vigilance and earnestness, but engendered no bitterness or ill feeling. The defeat of the "consent" resolution ended all railroad controversies in the state. The railroad systems and lines projected by the pioneers of 1859 and 1860 have given Kansas her magnificent railroad system, the pride of our state, affording transportation and business facilities to almost every town and village that dots the prairies of our beautiful Kansas.

Looking over the list of delegates to that railroad convention, it will be seen that it contains the names of our most eminent men—those who laid the foundation broad and deep for the state we are pleased to call home, our own beloved Kansas. They were among the foremost of those whose wisdom and energy started her on the road to prosperity and greatness, with the result that our towns and villages are bedecked with churches and schoolhouses, while our broad prairies are covered with farms, the pride and glory of our young commonwealth.

The list contains the names of three territorial governors of Kansas—Wilson Shannon, Samuel Medary, George M. Beebe; three men who became governors of Kansas—Charles Robinson, John A. Martin, and George W. Glick; two who became United States senators—Samuel C. Pomeroy and Edmund G. Ross; one who became the first lieutenant-governor of Kansas—James McGrew; two became judges of the Kansas supreme court—Thomas Ewing, jr., and Jacob Safford; two were attorneys-general of the territory of Kansas—William Weer and A. C. Davis. Thomas Ewing, jr., William Weer, John A. Martin and G. W. Deitzler became colonels, and did active service in the civil war, while Thomas Ewing, jr., and G. W. Deitzler were made brigadier-generals; A. C. Wilder became a member of Congress; Marcus J. Parrott was then the delegate in Congress from the territory of Kan-

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may construct their road, with the consent of the Kansas legislature, on the most direct and practicable route west from St. Joseph, Mo., so as to connect and unite with the road leading from the western boundary of Iowa at any point east of the one hundredth meridian of west longitude, or with the main trunk road at said point; but in no event shall lands or bonds be given to said company as herein directed to aid in the construction of their said road for a greater distance than one hundred miles."—37th Cong., 2d sess., ch. 120, approved July 1, 1862.

sas; Solon O. Thacher became a judge of a district court, and a state senator; Edmund G. Ross was a major, and served during the civil war, and in 1885 was appointed governor of New Mexico by President Cleveland; James R. McClure was a captain in the civil war, did gallant service, and was crippled for life; G. W. Smith was a member and speaker of the Kansas house of representatives; R. S. Stevens and G. M. Beebe became members of Congress from New York; Mr. Stevens built the Missouri, Kansas & Texas railroad while a resident of Kansas; W. Y. Roberts was an ex-lieutenant-governor of Pennsylvania; V. J. Lane was a member of the Kansas house of representatives,

and the editor of the Wyandotte *Herald* for the past forty years; James L. McDowell was the first United States marshal of Kansas; John Stiarwalt, Wm. Hutchinson, S. D. Houston, E. G. Ross and S. O. Thacher helped to make the constitution of our state; C. F. de Vivaldi was made a consul to a South American port; W. F. M. Arny served as secretary and acting governor of New Mexico; P. B. Maxson, P. Z. Taylor, and many others whose names I cannot now recall, served in our legislature, and as officers and privates in the civil war.

Samuel C. Pomeroy worked and secured the passage of every land grant made to a Kansas railroad during his first term as senator. The work and labors of Mr. Pomeroy have been worth millions to Kansas. Every important line of railroad in Kansas owes a lasting debt of gratitude to him.

Great credit is due to Cyrus K. Holiday for his work in the organization of the company to build the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad. By his efforts the construction of that great railroad was started, and his usefulness to that company was demonstrated by the fact that he was one of its directors up to the time of his death. He did much to secure the construction of our state capitol.

There was no politics in that convention. Democrats, Republicans, free-state and pro-slavery men composed its personnel, and all worked together in one patriotic and harmonious body for the welfare and the future glory of Kansas.

THE DROUGHT OF 1860.[1]

Written by GEORGE W. GLICK, of Atchison, for the Kansas State Historical Society.

THE drought of 1860, in a way, has given Kansas a reputation that it does not deserve. All countries are at times subject to droughts. Kansas is not subject to such visitations more than the other states of this Union, or other countries. Each recurring year has its drought in some parts of our large and extended domain. It will be recollected that in 1894, following the Columbian Exposition at Chicago, the country east of the Mississippi river was visited with one of the most severe and long-time droughts that ever occurred in this country. The dry weather set in in the latter part of May and lasted till the 2d day of September,[2] and during that time not a drop of rain fell in Chicago for a period of eighty-three days.

The frequent rains, the genial sunshine, the large crops harvested annually for the past forty-five years, have blotted out of the history of Kansas that hated term "droughty Kansas." The frequent and refreshing showers have washed the remembrance of the dry spell of 1860 out

NOTE 1.—This story of the drought, filed by Governor Glick among the manuscripts of the Historical Society, is here printed as showing the conditions existing in Kansas at the time of the sitting of this railroad convention.

NOTE 2.—"The great drought of 1894, so far as it concerns agriculture, has been but the cumulation of a long period of deficient rainfall . . . since the 1st of Jannary."—Monthly weather review, August, 1894. "The weather was very favorable for the plowing and seeding of wheat and barley. The drought was generally broken about the middle of the month."—Id., September, 1894.

of the memory of the pioneers of that year, and those who have come to Kansas since that time cannot believe the stories told of that unfortunate year. Now Kansas gets her full share of rain, and her fertile soil and bounteous crops are mute and willing witnesses that the clouds floating over Kansas do not forget the needs of her soil and of her industrious and patriotic people. But newspapers and some thoughtless people have made so much of the dry summer of 1860 as to indelibly associate the experiences of that year with the name of Kansas, to the great disadvantage of our state.

The drought alone was credited with bringing great suffering, and visiting the inhabitants of the then territory with calamitous conditions that made the good and kindly disposed people in the eastern part of our country shudder for the unfortunate condition of our people.[3]

During the fall and winter of 1859-'60 but little rain fell. There were one or two heavy snows that did much towards putting the ground in good tilth for farming on lands that had been already tilled. The spring of 1860 was dry, with no rain, and the dry weather and hot summer continued until late in the fall, almost six months without rain, except a shower on the 4th of July, at Atchison and vicinity. That was a summer thunder-shower. I do not know how far it extended, but I think in the river counties only — Doniphan, Atchison, Leavenworth, and Wyandotte. The ground was so dry and hard that it did but little good.[4]

That there was great suffering that year there can be no doubt, but it was greatly aided and induced by other conditions that were equally as potential in their effects as the drought.

There was some immigration to the territory in the fall of 1859, and a large immigration in 1860.[5]

The new settlers took claims or farms on the prairies, and, as is well known now, farming the first year on a prairie claim will rarely yield a living to the most industrious, and suffering is the result, unless the immigrant has the means to provide for subsistence for the first year's residence on a quarter-section of prairie sod.

The great majority of the immigrants at that time were poor. Many expected to make their living the first year of their residence from their unimproved claims. These expectations would not have been realized even in an average year. Many laborers and mechanics then coming to the territory were in the same financial straits, and of course suffered in like manner. But settlers who had lived on their claims for two or three years along the Missouri river did not suffer any of the inconveniences or hardships of the newcomers. In 1860 I had a garden in Atchison, in which I raised a good lot of potatoes, corn and various kinds of vegetables. I had all I needed, and besides supplied two neighbors with what they needed.

There was much anxiety felt by the well-to-do people of Kansas who were able to provide

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NOTE 3.—An appeal for help, dated October 30, 1860, and signed by Rev. Daniel Foster, of Nemaha county, and five others, citizens of Shawnee, Douglas, Miami, Riley and Lyon counties, makes the following statements:

"During the year preceding the 1st inst., a terrible drought has prevailed throughout the interior of Kansas. A narrow strip bordering on the Missouri river has had occasional showers, and has yielded a fair crop. Some other small and isolated districts have also had light showers, and raised a part of a crop. But residing as we do in widely separated localities, we believe that four-fifths of the cultivated land in the territory has not yielded the smallest crop of any kind, except a little corn-fodder.

"The inhabitants have not old crops on which to rely for bread. Last year's vegetables, of course, are consumed. The wheat was either used for seed or ground for food. Nearly all the old corn has been fed out, or was sold last spring at from twenty to twenty-five cents a bushel. Not one farmer in twenty has a peck of old grain.

"Nor is there money to buy bread. Our people have expended all available means in making improvements. The commercial disaster of 1857 left us stranded. . . . Now comes the loss of our crops, and with it goes our hope of returning prosperity.

"This drought is an exception in Kansas. To this fact we have the explicit testimony of missionaries who have lived there from fifteen to thirty years."

NOTE 4.—John Glancy, of Hawthorn, Atchison county, came to Kansas in March, 1857, and preempted 160 acres of land. In 1860, when few farmers in that vicinity planted potatoes because they thought it was too dry to raise any, he put in a crop, and dug 350 bushels, getting $2.50 a bushel for them.—Atchison *Globe*, January 5, 1906.

NOTE 5.—Another circular signed by Daniel Foster, "general agent of the Northeast Kansas Relief Committee," says:

"The population of Kansas was 109,000 last June. . . . A severe and unbroken drought of nine months, commencing in September, 1859, cut off entirely the winter and spring wheat in Kansas. During the summer there were showers in the Missouri valley, which made a partial crop of corn, so that 31,000 people, the number in that valley, were partially supplied with food. I was in interior Kansas, and know that the drought in all Kansas, away from the river, continued through the summer, so that all the crops failed, leaving 78,000 people in a state of fearful destitution. In Centralia, my own home, we planted 1200 acres — and replanted again and again, but we did not get the seed back. . . . Our population was 330, and the 1st of last September we had only four weeks' supply, reckoning in all our money and food. . . . It is estimated by the best informed that 30,000 have left the state of Kansas to winter elsewhere, taking their stock with them; that would leave 48,000 needing relief until next July. They need food, clothing, and seed."

for themselves and their families during the coming winter for those whose condition appealed to their benevolent feelings and generous impulses.

A meeting was called, at Lawrence, for November 14, 1860, which was well attended, to consider ways and means to care for those who might need assistance and support during the coming winter of 1860 and 1861.

Plans were devised for appeals to the people of the prosperous states. An address written by Hon. Marcus J. Parrott, then our delegate in Congress, was issued. It was heartrending and pathetic in its appeal for aid and assistance to prevent the great suffering and threatened starvation. The needs and necessities of the people were depicted in such a manner that no one who had a spark of human kindness in his nature but would take it as a personal appeal. It was extravagant in its descriptions, and made the statement that "many people were then living on acorns and were clothed in bark." [6]

Gen. S. C. Pomeroy, at this meeting, was made the receiving agent for such contributions and donations as might be made. Atchison was named as the receiving point, and was selected because it was the only point in Kansas reached by a railroad.[7]

In many ways the word went out to the world that there was great suffering in Kansas, and the generous people from all parts of our great country responded nobly and abundantly in flour, meal, and other provisions, in clothing, seed grain, and money.

General Pomeroy devoted his whole time to this benevolent work, and no man could have been more vigilant, industrious and faithful than he in the discharge of the onerous and trying duties assigned to him.

Provisions and articles did not all come at once, but were coming in small quantities almost daily. This condition was a source of constant and daily annoyance to General Pomeroy, and subjected him to abuse and censure from many thoughtless and greedy fellows. There would often be fifty persons asking aid, with only five sacks of flour, 500 pounds of corn-meal and a few

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NOTE 6.—In a pamphlet addressed to E. G. Ross, in 1872, Thaddeus Hyatt, of New York, then in London, says that the Kansas famine fund was a thing of his own devising, and grew out of a startling letter from Mound City, Kan., in the summer of 1860, shortly after his release from the American bastile, where he had been placed because of his refusal to comply with the demands of the United States senate committee who were investigating the John Brown raid. "I started for Kansas with my compatriot, Judge Arny [one of the most faithful and unselfish friends that Kansas had in her early times], determined to learn by personal examination the actual state of the case." They went to Atchison and urged S. C. Pomeroy to join them, but he was incredulous, as everything along the Missouri looked green, corner lots included. He told Hyatt, "You know how everybody who had anything to do with the aid funds four years ago were talked about. You know, too, that I mean to be a candidate for the United States senate. If any money is raised for these people here, and you mix me up in it, it will kill my political prospects. They will accuse me of stealing the relief funds." But they got him to go along, and made a twenty-five days' trip into southern Kansas, returning by Topeka. By the time they reached Atchison again, Pomeroy's views of the situation were changed, and he was willing to risk his reputation for the good of the people. He was soon afterwards elected general relief agent, with headquarters at Atchison. Hyatt then went East to "attempt to prevent a famine." He prepared a pamphlet of sixty-eight pages, having the following title: "The prayer of Thaddeus Hyatt to James Buchanan, president of the United States, in behalf of Kansas, asking for a postponement of all the land sales in that territory, and for other relief; together with correspondence and other documents setting forth its deplorable destitution from drought and famine. Submitted under oath, October 29, 1860. Washington, 1860." Of this, 5000 copies were distributed. President Buchanan gave him a check for $100, which was printed in full in the New York *Tribune*, and relief began moving towards Kansas, "which dear, skinny old brother Arny, camping by the side of a railway depot in Illinois, kept shoving right along, and which, I ought to add, my friend Pomeroy, in Atchison, standing to the work night and day, handed over to the settlers through their own appointed agents."

NOTE 7.—The wife of Senator Pomeroy—Lucy Gaylord—had been an invalid for years, and had but recently followed her husband to the territory, when, gaining in strength temporarily, she joined with him in the relief work. To a friend she wrote:

"ATCHISON, December 3, 1860.—Many thanks for money received in your last. It will help in the great work. More and more do I feel the magnitude of what we have undertaken. All the while S. is borne down with it. Many have moved into town, hoping to get work, and the people all seem willing to help. There are now fifty teams camped here, waiting for some corn or wheat to arrive before they can return to their suffering friends. We now see the benefit of a railroad to Atchison. God foresaw our necessities and prepared for them. I know of no way by which our wants could have been met if this road had not been finished. Now it will save Kansas from utter depopulation."

In the "Memoir to Mrs. Pomeroy," prepared by her husband's sister, Mrs. Ruth P. Boscom, Mrs. C. I. H. Nichols writes as follows: "It seemed to her, as well as to others, that fearful winter, very remarkable that her health was such as to allow such increased labor. . . . From 30 to 100 letters arrived daily. These she opened, laid aside the money contained, glanced rapidly over the contents, and labeled each letter with the name of the clerk to whose department it referred. . . . To the more general correspondence, in which three or four clerks were often employed, she devoted all the rest of her time, and very few letters had to be referred to the general agent. Probably the immense amount of work she accomplished wore not so heavily on her health and spirits as the daily sight of ragged, starving, and, often, half-frozen men, women, and children too, who thronged our streets. She listened to their sad stories with her usual sympathy and undisturbed patience, then gave them orders to some relief department, according to their need."

beans at the warehouse. The general tried to find out the condition of each applicant, the number of needy people represented by each one, and the distance they had come. Then an effort was made to divide the produce on hand fairly among the parties present. The amount that could be given to each was sometimes small, and the result would be growling, faultfinding, swearing, and abuse of the general. But he never lost his temper, seemed always cheerful, and ready and anxious to do the best possible thing under these trying conditions. I have seen as many as a hundred persons insisting on a distribution when there was not flour on hand to make bread enough to feed those in attendance for one day.

General Pomeroy and his employees were often engaged all night in waiting on applicants for aid. While this had to be attended to, the goods that were coming in had to be taken care of. They had to be ferried or hauled over the Missouri river, teams hired, bills paid, and the goods opened and assorted and arranged in the warehouse for their speedy disposition.

The trying time through which General Pomeroy passed, his devotion to duty, his effort to be fair and just to all, were never fully appreciated except by those who saw him at his daily task. Those who were recipients of the aid knew little of the work and labor that he was doing for them without reward and with but few thanks.

The winter of 1860-'61 was a cold, disagreeable one, weather changeable, considerable snow, the roads at times in a horrible condition, feed for teams scarce, and those who came to Atchison with teams often suffered for feed for hours. These teams had to be provided with feed. The people who came and expected aid had to be furnished the necessary food and sleeping-place while waiting for the expected supplies. General Pomeroy furnished two large rooms for sleeping-places for the waiting people and kept them warm and comfortable. Often for days no aid came, and then in a rush would come large quantities of flour, meal, beans, a little salt meat, and considerable comfortable, though cast-off, clothing. This last was received gratefully by many who were in sore need of clothing. At times a whole car-load of aid, and sometimes two, would come in at once. It took time to unload, assort and arrange the goods ready to hand over to the waiting crowd. It was a sad sight to see some of the different phases of humanity at such times. Some were patient, and content to await their turn to be helped; others were greedy and importunate and wanted all in sight, showing a swinish nature that was not willing to divide the shipment with those more needy than themselves. They would grumble, find fault and often exhaust the lexicon of profanity because they did not get all the provisions in sight.

In the spring of 1861 seed-wheat, seed-corn, buckwheat, and all kinds of garden seeds were sent to Kansas — plenty for all who needed and could use them. The railroads made no charge for transportation. Everything east of the Missouri river came over the then Hannibal & St. Joe railroad to St. Joe, and from there to Winthrop, just across the river from Atchison, by the Atchison & St. Joe railroad, built and owned by the people of Atchison with some little aid east of that city. When the Missouri river was not frozen over the goods were ferried over; when closed by ice, the goods had to be hauled to the warehouse provided by General Pomeroy on the west bank of the river.

I have no doubt that many persons got much more than they deserved. General Pomeroy did not know all who applied for aid, and often had to take the word of the applicant. Knowing this, many took advantage, by greed and falsehood, and, claiming to represent others, demanded aid for them. Through it all General Pomeroy was careful, discreet, and pleasant, but firm as a rock when he had to be; so that the work was well managed, much suffering avoided, and the great bulk of the aid went to the needy and worthy. Though small and insufficient quantities of provisions had to be given out at times to those who had come long distances for it, the man was less than human who saw all the conditions and embarrassments to which General Pomeroy was subjected, and who in the end did not rise up and bless him for the work he did.

The distribution of aid was continued to about the 1st of April, when most of the provisions had been exhausted, but the distribution of field and garden seeds was continued for some time afterwards. There was an abundance of this class of aid, and it was of great benefit to those in need of seed, and was greatly appreciated.[8]

NOTE 8.— REPORT OF THE KANSAS RELIEF COMMITTEE, TO AND INCLUDING MARCH 15, 1861.— At the regular meeting of the Kansas Relief Committee for March, 1861, held at Atchison, March 6, it was voted that a complete statement of the business of the committee, in all departments, be prepared for publication. Messrs. W. W. Guthrie, F. P. Baker and C. B. Lines were appointed a committee to prepare such a statement, with instructions to report a series of resolutions, setting forth such facts connected with the relief movement as, in the judgment of the committee, should be made known to the public. The committee submitted the following:

REPORT.

Showing the amount of provisions, etc., received and distributed by the Kansas Relief Committee prior to January 1, 1861, and from January 1 to March 15, 1861, inclusive:

Total of receipts prior to January 1	1,062,552 lbs.
Total of receipts since January 1	7,028,399 "
Total receipts	8,090,951 lbs.

Tabular statement showing amount of general relief distributed to the various counties prior to and since January 1:

Total general distribution prior to January 1	494,832 lbs.
Total special distribution prior to January 1	222,652 "
Total	717,484 lbs.
Total of general distribution since January 1	5,245,515 "
Total of special distribution since January 1	773,425 "
Total distribution at Atchison (exclusive of branch depots)	6,736,424 lbs.

STATEMENT OF GENERAL RELIEF DISTRIBUTED.

Counties.	*Prior to Jan. 1.*	*Between Jan. 1 and Mar. 1.*	*Between Mar. 1 and Mar. 15.*
Allen	31,050 lbs.	147,060 lbs.	121,255 lbs.
Anderson	20,850 "	136,345 "	92,300 "
Atchison	28,233 "	105,802 "	110,980 "
Arapahoe	.....	.....	9,600 "
Breckinridge	38,146 lbs.	124,532 lbs.	128,620 "
Bourbon	17,765 "	132,945 "	21,850 "
Brown	16,850 "	63,870 "	102,720 "
Butler	8,440 "	33,550 "	11,640 "
Coffey	17,520 "	93,720 "	83,615 "
Chase	11,470 "	43,505 "	5,800 "
Clay	3,725 "	3,210 "	15,700 "
Douglas	17,253 "	201,556 "	123,755 "
Doniphan	2,220 "	33,760 "	102,770 "
Davis	.....	11,990 "	27,110 "
Dickinson	.....	10,720 "	28,930 "
Franklin	5,800 lbs.	96,050 "	54,200 "
Greenwood	30,445 "	54,250 "	60,765 "
Hunter	4,010 "	* 4,000 "	10,040 "
Jackson	18,605 "	75,325 "	102,820 "
Jefferson	20,670 "	120,379 "	107,875 "
Johnson	12,820 "	80,204 "	30,070 "
Lykins	15,225 "	107,905 "	15,745 "
Linn	9,850 "	27,595 "	7,000 "
Leavenworth	.....	54,425 "	25,420 "
Madison	11,895 lbs.	63,990 "	21,380 "
Marshall	19,735 "	46,810 "	88,400 "
Marion	600 "	2,310 "	.....
McGee	.....	630 "	.....
Morris	5,700 lbs.	24,510 "	31,620 lbs.
Nemaha	16,750 "	77,635 "	104,200 "
Ottawa	2,100 "	4,210 "	4,700 "
Osage	14,305 "	52,165 "	55,070 "
Otoe	7,200 "	8,250 "	4,500 "
Pott'wat'mie	15,095 "	116,555 "	105,560 "
Riley	7,075 "	17,320 "	54,975 "
Shawnee†	36,045 "	179,170 "	145,950 "
Saline	820 "	9,080 "	9,080 "
Washington	1,150 "	10,450 "	31,650 "
Waubonsee	14,615 "	37,625 "	46,870 "
Woodson	10,190 "	95,200 "	33,600 "
Wyandott	1,100 "	12,705 "	3,300 "

* Special train sent to Hunter, Butler and Otoe counties.

† Including supplies sent to depot at Topeka.

In addition to the above amount distributed at Atchison, the committee have forwarded to Leavenworth and Wyandott, for distribution at those points, provisions and seed weighing, as per bills of lading, 437,190 pounds, making a total of 7,173,614 pounds provisions and seed distributed by the committee, up to and including March 15, 1861.

This statement does not include clothing, medicines, and garden seeds, of which large quantities have been distributed. . . .

FINANCIAL REPORT.

Whole amount of cash received, subject to order of committee, from October 1, 1860, to March 15, 1861, inclusive	$83,869 52
Amount expended to same time	$78,446 24
Balance in treasurer's hands	5,423 28
Expended and on hand	$83,869 52

I hereby certify that the balance reported by S. C. Pomeroy in the above statement ($5423.28) is correct.

G. H. FAIRCHILD,
Treasurer Kansas Relief Fund.

. . . . . .

RESOLUTIONS.

. . . . . .

Resolved, That our confidence in the ability, integrity and impartiality of Gen. S. C. Pomeroy, in the discharge of his duties as general superintendent, remains unimpaired, notwithstanding the assaults that have been made upon him, and that his labours have been exceedingly arduous, and his powers of endurance under such constant application most surprising, and we do feel that, in place of abuse, he is entitled to the lasting gratitude of our people, and of the friends of humanity everywhere, for his most faithful and untiring services.

W. W. GUTHRIE,
F. P. BAKER,
C. B. LINES,
Committee.

General Pomeroy worked and labored for the early pioneers of Kansas for nearly five months without pay, except the pay that an approving conscience gives to him who works for humanity in a good and worthy cause.

General Pomeroy was the man for the place. I do not believe that there was in Kansas another man who could have filled it as wisely, discreetly and as humanely as he did.

General Pomeroy was a good man; honest, kind-hearted, and generous to a fault. He was loyal to his friends and to Kansas, and did more for Kansas in her early days, and for her people in the early '60's, than any other man who lived within her borders.

It is forty-five years since I first made the acquaintance of General Pomeroy. I knew him socially; I knew him as his attorney for many years; I knew him as a citizen of the territory and of the state of Kansas. He was always kind, generous, and loyal to his friends, and loyal to Kansas and all her interests. He has passed to the unknown world, and if he had faults I hope they may be forgotten and forgiven by those who knew his goodness of heart and his loyalty to Kansas.

REMINISCENCES OF FOREIGN IMMIGRATION WORK FOR KANSAS.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by C. B. SCHMIDT,[1] formerly Commissioner of Immigration of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway.

EVERY state of the Union, at some period in its history, has put forth strong efforts to attract foreign settlers. Abraham Lincoln was one of the strongest advocates of foreign immigration, and the American homestead law, the enactment of which he urged so strongly, has acted as a strong incentive to foreign immigration.[2] Thousands upon thousands of European immigrants, who came to this country during the years of the civil war, and were sent from the emigrant ships direct to the battle-fields in the South, where quantity counted and not quality, after the war took advantage of the homestead act and established farms in the West. What Lincoln's homestead law did for the valleys of the Mississippi and Missouri, Roosevelt's national irrigation law is destined to accomplish for the Rocky Mountains and the arid sections of the country, but it will take a very much longer time to secure the same results if we restrict immigration too much.

In the Rocky Mountain region we want, besides farmers, laborers in the sugar-beet fields, in the mines, in the smelters, and in other industrial plants.

NOTE 1.—CARL BERNHARD SCHMIDT was born September 7, 1843, in Dippoldisvalde, Saxony, the eldest of seven children. His father was architect to the king of Saxony. The son was educated in the public schools and at Queen Anna's College, at Dresden. He chose a commercial career, and, after a two-year course at the Dresden Commercial College, went to Hamburg in 1863. Here he obtained a position as foreign correspondent in a commercial house, which he held for eight months. In August following he sailed for New York, landing on his twenty-first birthday. September 7, 1864, after only a week's stay in New York, and notwithstanding many tempting offers of bounty to serve as a substitute in the army, he started west, stopping at St. Louis. In this city he taught music and worked in a mercantile house. In August, 1866, at St. Louis, he married Miss Mattie Fraim, a native of Kentucky. In 1868 he came to Kansas, and lived in Lawrence for five years. He worked for Wilder & Palm, and finally established himself in the grocery business. He was, while in Lawrence, an active correspondent for newspapers in Germany, and this led to his appointment as commissioner of immigration of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad, and his removal to Topeka, in January, 1873. He remained in this position until the lands were practically all sold. He then went to Omaha and took the management of the Equitable Trust Company. In 1880 he established the London office of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe, keeping charge of it for three years. Since 1895 Mr. Schmidt has resided in Pueblo, Colo., as manager of the Suburban Land and Investment Company and director of the Bessemer irrigating ditch. During his forty-two years of residence in the United States he has crossed the Atlantic thirty-seven times in the development interests of the West. He is in Europe to-day in the interest of the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railroad Company.

NOTE 2.—The Republican party in Kansas was organized at Osawatomie, May 18, 1859. The convention resolved as follows: "That the passage of a liberal homestead bill, giving 160 acres of land to every citizen who will settle upon and improve it, would be a measure just in principle, sound in policy, and productive of the greatest good to the people of the nation." The homestead bill was passed by Congress in 1860, and on the 22d day of June James Buchanan vetoed it. In the senate it failed to pass over the veto and was lost. May 20, 1862, the homestead bill became a law, with the signature of Abraham Lincoln.

C. B. SCHMIDT.

The fruit growers in the Pacific Coast states already complain that their Chinamen are getting gray-headed and too old to work; no new Chinamen coming in, who is to take their place to prevent the orchards from becoming unprofitable and ruined?

Among the southern Europeans who now come to this country in such great numbers there are doubtless many who should not be admitted, because of their moral degeneracy, criminal record, or contagious diseases. But the application of an educational test is, in my judgment, of doubtful justification when the requirements of this Western country are considered. Illiteracy may last for one generation, but the second is sure to produce good American citizens, thanks to our efficient free-school system. In Pueblo county, Colorado, there are several hundred Italian market-gardeners, property-owners, many of whom cannot read, write, or speak the English language; yet they are prosperous and law-abiding citizens, and their children are the brightest students in the country schools. Take our smelters and coal-mines, and the men who do the rough, hard work are the Slavs and Italians, while the native Americans hold the positions of foremen, engineers and other higher places, in which the brain and the tongue are more essential than muscle.

The most active and most successful colonizers in America have been the land-grant railroads. It has ever been a disputed question, whether the granting of public lands to encourage the building of railroads through undeveloped regions of the country was a sound economical measure, or whether it was to be contemned as a profligate policy. Some land grants

have been admirably husbanded by the beneficiaries, while others were neglected or squandered, or their development left to chance. I have heard at least one railroad manager make the statement that it would not pay his company to "peddle out" its land grant to individual settlers; he preferred to sell it in large tracts at a low price to capitalists or syndicates. Fortunately, however, railroad managers, as a rule, know the value of a densely settled agricultural country, and they have striven to develop their land grants, even if the price obtained for the land was scarcely sufficient to pay for the cost of procuring the settlers. A quarter-section of land in grain will produce eight car-loads of freight, while a quarter-section left in grass will generally produce no traffic for the railroad, or at best, a car-load of cattle.

It was a fortunate thing for the state of Kansas when the national government relinquished a strip of land from its public domain, equal to twenty miles of average breadth across the state, in alternate sections, for the benefit of the Boston syndicate which undertook the construction of a railroad and telegraph line from the Missouri river to the western state line. The completion of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railway from Atchison to the Colorado line, about the end of 1872, proved an important period in the development history of Kansas. By that feat the railroad company had earned its magnificent land grant of 3,000,000 acres, and an extensive system of immigration and colonization machinery was at once set in motion by the able and far-sighted managers of the property.

When the land grant had been surveyed from end to end, and appraised section by section, its management was entrusted to A. E. Touzalin. This gentleman, a native of the island of Jamaica, had established a great reputation on the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy railroad as a passenger traffic manager and intelligent advertiser. At the age of thirty-three Mr. Touzalin came to Kansas in the full vigor of his manhood, with a rich fund of experience and a tremendous energy that promised great things for his new field of operations—the southern half of Kansas. He acted in the double capacity of general passenger agent and land commissioner of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad.

With a keen appreciation of the importance of a rapid settlement of the lands tributary to the railroad, Mr. Touzalin set about at once to organize an army of land agents, scattering them throughout the eastern and middle states, some with stationary offices at centers of population, and others itinerant. Each agent was amply supplied with attractive literature, descriptive of the country tributary to the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad, its agricultural and pastoral resources, its commercial and industrial opportunities. A system of effective newspaper advertising was inaugurated, which soon brought to headquarters an enormous daily volume of inquiries from all parts of the country. The four-story building at the corner of Kansas avenue and Sixth street in Topeka, which was then occupied by the passenger and land departments of the company, became a veritable beehive of clerks, correspondents, land-agents, newspaper reporters, advertising solicitors, and land-seekers. Mr. Touzalin, the king bee of the hive, tolerated no drones. With remarkably quick perception of individual capacity, he selected for each place in his departments the man best fitted for it, and by his extraordinary personal magnetism he instilled into every one of

his subordinates his own enthusiasm for the work of building up a commonwealth.

One of the most important and most interesting features of the land department was the foreign immigration department, the organization and conduct of which was placed in my hands. From a small beginning it grew to extensive proportions; with headquarters at Topeka, its ramifications extended from the Ural mountains, on the eastern confines of Europe, to the American Pacific coast. The prosperous German, Austrian, Swiss and Mennonite settlements in those parts of Kansas which are tributary to the Santa Fe system are the fruits of this foreign immigration work. Their foundation, gradual growth and influence have been duly recorded and described in the "Annals of Kansas" and in the public-school "History of Kansas," as marking an epoch in the history of this state.

The most important achievement of the foreign immigration department was the transplanting of some 15,000 Russo-German Mennonites from southern Russia to Kansas; important, because they were all professional farmers, with ample means, and because they came in large companies, usually each company filling one Atlantic liner by themselves. What induced these people to leave their opulent homes in the Crimea and along the coasts of the Black sea and the Sea of Azof in such numbers is a question which I have often been asked. The answer involves a recital of their romantic history, dating back to the days of the German reformation.

The Mennonites are a denomination of Protestants who reject infant baptism and baptize adult persons only, and then on a profession of faith. Nonresistance and abstinence from oaths are tenets of their faith. They thus combine some of the leading principles of the Baptists with some of the distinctive views of the Friends, although historically they preceded both.

Their first church was organized A. D. 1525, at Zurich, in the German Switzerland. They called themselves "Taeufer" (baptizers), while their opponents dubbed them "Anabaptists." In Switzerland the sect grew very rapidly, being most numerous at St. Gall. Persecution soon drove many of them to southern Germany, where Augsburg and Strassburg became their strongholds. Here also persecution broke out, and more than 3000 of them suffered martyrdom. They found refuge in Moravia, where they greatly increased until the thirty years' war broke out. Their doctrine of non-resistance and non-combativeness was the principal cause of their persecution in that warlike age. About 1530 the Roman Catholic priest and religious reformer, Menno Simons, reorganized and more fully indoctrinated the sect in Holland, and from that time on they were called "Mennonites." The history of the Dutch Mennonites is written in blood. About 6000 of them suffered martyrdom under the rule of Philip II of Spain during the time of the secession of the Netherlands. William of Orange favored them, but other leaders of the reformed party opposed them, and it was not till 1651 that toleration was secured to them by a general law. At present the Mennonites are scattered in small communities through Switzerland, southern Germany, east Friesland, the province of West Prussia and other parts of northern Germany.

When in 1783 the Crimea, with the adjoining provinces, was ceded by the Turks to Russia, the empress, Catherine II, herself a German princess, invited the Mennonites to colonize in her newly acquired southern province of Taurida. She knew them to be excellent farmers, and hoped that they

would intermarry with the natives and improve the race. By way of inducement, important concessions were made to them, such as immunity from military service, religious freedom, their own local administration, a community grant of land equal to 65 desjadines—about 160 acres—to each family. These privileges were guaranteed to the colonists for 100 years, and then each family was to get title in fee simple for 65 desjadines. Under this paternal treatment the Mennonite colonies in southern Russia became quite populous and wealthy. The original settlements along the Dnieper had spread in the Crimea and eastward, near the coast of the Sea of Azof and along the Kuban river, at the foot of the Caucasus. Other settlements were made along the Volga, near the cities of Saratov and Samara, and also in the provinces of Volhynia and Bessarabia. These German colonies in southern Russia grew in wealth and opulence; wheat was their staple product, and the cities of Odessa, Kherson, Berdiansk and Taganrog rapidly grew in importance as the ports whence English ships carried the wheat to Liverpool and London. The annual supply of South Russian wheat governed the price of that staple in the world's market. The expectation of Catherine, the imperial colonization agent, that the Mennonites would intermarry with the Tartar and Russian natives, proved a disappointment; they employed them during harvest-time, but after that they sent them home again to their wretched villages on the interior steppes.

In view of the growing wealth and the exclusiveness of the German colonists, and owing to the special privileges enjoyed by them, a very strong feeling of jealousy and enmity gradually developed among the natives and national Russians. The government was importuned to withdraw these privileges, but that could not be done before the end of the century limit, the year 1883, had been reached. The Franco-German war of 1870–'71, however, seemed to present to the Russian government a way out of its pressing dilemma. Russia remained neutral during that war on certain conditions imposed on Germany, one of which was that the German government should withdraw its political guardianship which it had exercised over all German colonists in the Russian empire. Bismarck accepted that condition upon the counter-condition that these colonists, of whom there were some three millions, including the Mennonites, should be allowed a period of ten years within which to emigrate, if they did not wish to become full-fledged Russian subjects. This counter-condition was also agreed to by Russia.[3] The Mennonites were kept in ignorance of this international agreement which was of so much consequence to them. They paid no attention to politics, and most

NOTE 3.—Noble L. Prentis, who became interested in the Mennonites through his work as a newspaper reporter in Topeka at the time of their sojourn here, gives in his "A Day with the Mennonites," written in 1882, after a second visit to one of their Kansas communities, the following statement regarding their Russian experiences:

"After supper, Mr. Richert, his son and the visitors had a long talk about Russia. The treatment accorded the Mennonites by the Russian government up to 1871 was all that could be desired. The agreements made in the days of the Empress Catherine, what Mr. Richert called the 'privilegium,' were faithfully kept. The Mennonites did not own the lands, but leased them on the condition of cultivating them; the improvements were their own. The Mennonites had, in fact, very little to do with the imperial government; each of the fifty villages had its burgomaster, and a chief burgomaster was elected by the people. The government transacted its business with the Mennonites through a council consisting of three Russian officials, and these performed their duty honestly—a rare thing in Russia. The Mennonites were industrious, peaceable, and loyal; the Mennonite was the richest man in the Crimea, and one of the wealthiest in Russia. Everything went well until the government, in 1871, announced its intention of enforcing a universal conscription. Against this the Mennonites protested. Ten years was given them to yield or leave. Thousands left. In 1881 the government revoked the 'privilegium,' compelled the remaining Mennonites to take lands in severalty, and began to introduce the Russian language into the Mennonite schools. Russia's loss is our gain."—Prentis's "Kansas Miscellanies," p. 163.

of them did not know that a European war was in progress. They read no newspapers, except their own denominational publications. They would have found themselves ten years later as Russian subjects, their children compelled to go to Russian schools under control of the orthodox church, and their sons drafted into the imperial army, had it not been for one man, Herr Cornelius Jansen, Prussian consul at the city of Berdiansk, a Mennonite himself, but owing to his official position fully in touch with the outside world. Herr Jansen realized the consequences of the agreement between the two governments, and explained it to his coreligionists, thereby causing the greatest excitement throughout the Mennonite colonies. He strongly advised emigration to America, where absolute religious freedom would be guaranteed them. The agitation became known to the government, and the Jansen family were expelled from the country, where they had accumulated considerable property, of which they could dispose only at a great sacrifice. They came to America, where they were received with open arms by the Mennonite communities of Lancaster and Montgomery counties, Pennsylvania, and those in Maryland and Canada; communities which were then 200 years old, the oldest one being Germantown, near Philadelphia, founded by Dutch Mennonites about 1680.

The arrival of Cornelius Jansen in this country was about the time when the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad Company began its colonization campaign, and soon I came in touch with that gentleman. He visited Kansas during the summer of 1873, and together we traveled for a week over the company's land. A party of Mennonites were already on the long, overland journey which was to consume nine months, the expenses being defrayed by the government. These three delegates were to report their findings to the colonists upon their return. Under these conditions I deemed it advisable to undertake a journey to Russia myself in the interest of Kansas and the Santa Fe railroad. The Mennonites of Gnadenau, Marion county, and Hoffnungsthal approved of my plan and provided me with about a hundred letters of introduction to their friends in West Prussia and South Russia.

After procuring in Washington my American passport, a precaution very necessary in those times, especially for travel in Russia, I embarked early in February, 1875, in New York, on the old Inman liner, City of London, for Liverpool. The passage consumed thirteen days, and was the roughest of thirty-six voyages to follow. After a visit among the wealthy Mennonites in West Prussia, near the cities of Danzig and Marienburg, whence later on we received a very valuable immigration, I crossed the Russian frontier, between Eydtkuhnen, on the German, and Wirballen, on the Russian, side. On the platform at the Wirballen station a dozen or more tall frontier gens d'armes loomed up threateningly through the driving snow-storm in their long gray coats, spiked helmets, and guns with fixed bayonets over their shoulders. The travelers were ushered into a smoky room for examination as to their business and scrutiny of their passports. Fortunately, I escaped an examination of my person and the danger of discovery of my many letters of introduction, which I had strung on a tape and tied around my body underneath my clothes. If they had been discovered, my mission would have been nipped in the bud.

Then followed a tedious railway journey of about a week's duration, over a wintry landscape of plain and forest. Ten miles an hour was about the average speed, owing to deep snows and frequent blockades. Fortunately

the first-class carriages were elegantly fitted up and every possible comfort provided. All were transformed into sleepers at night. In fact the Russian railway carriages, even at that time, were not behind our present most luxurious Pullmans. At every station elegant dining-halls were provided for the traveling public, handsomely fitted up and decorated with tropical plants, the tables spread with the finest linen and costly tableware. Excellent meals were served there prepared by Tartar cooks and served by Tartar waiters in spotless white clothes. A feature in every dining-hall is a long counter filled with glass tumblers, each containing two lumps of sugar and a slice of lemon, and the traveler helps himself to a glass of delicious tea from the samovars, one of which stands at each end of the counter. The tea is of the celebrated China product which comes in brick form overland from Maimatschin, by way of Kiachta.

My route took me through the cities of Vilna, Minsk, Smolensk, Orel, Kursk, Kharkov and Lasovaia to Alexandrovsk, the last named being the railway station nearest the large German colonies. My traveling companions along the route were chiefly army officers on their way to distant garrisons and noblemen traveling to their estates in the Caucasus or in South Russia. Card playing and champagne drinking constituted their occupation *en route*. All of them could speak French, and some of them even English and German. Their American traveling companion who traveled through Russia in winter-time, unable to understand or speak a word of the Russian language, was a curiosity to them, and they showed me many courtesies. One Russian prince, dressed picturesquely in silks and furs, who had boarded our train at Smolensk, expressed great interest in American agriculture. He owned a large estate at the foot of the Caucasus and was then on his way there. Before we parted at the city of Kursk, where we were held for a day and a night by a snow blockade, he requested me to buy for him, on my return home, three American harvesting-machines, which I had described to him.

At the station of Lasovaia, the junction point of the railway lines from St. Petersburg, Moscow, the Caucasus, and the Crimea, I found a company of German colonists on their return home from Moscow. They were a God-send to me, as they proved a rich source of information about the Mennonite and other German colonies in southern Russia. I gladly joined them in their second-class coach for the remainder of my railway journey to Alexandrovsk, which was also their destination. We arrived there in the evening of the same day, and my companions were met by sleighs, each hitched with four horses abreast and amply supplied with fur rugs. Two hours of rapid sleigh-ride brought us to the village of Friedrichsfeld, the northernmost of the German colonies, consisting of Lutherans. The Lutheran colonists were not affected by the emigration fever, but they knew about the proposed movement among their Mennonite neighbors to the south, and were personally acquainted with many of the persons to whom I had letters of introduction.

On the following morning my missionary campaign began in good earnest. An all-day sleigh-ride brought me from Friedrichsfeld to Alexanderwohl, the first Mennonite village. Here lived a Mennonite merchant of much influence with the St. Petersburg government and with the colonists, who looked up to him as a sort of oracle, to be consulted in all their difficulties. This man was childless and rich, and therefore not in sympathy with the

emigration movement. For this reason the Mennonites already in Kansas had thought it important that I should call on him first and try to win him over to their cause, because then I should have clear sailing in the colonies. The letter which I presented to him from his brethren in Kansas, however, procured me but scant courtesy, and I saw at once that my call at his house was a mistake. He assured me that there was no more emigration to be expected, the dissatisfied element had departed, and those who remained were satisfied with their condition, and why should they not be? The czar loved them and treated them as a father. Only a few weeks ago General von Todtleben, the friend of the emperor, Alexander II, and a German by descent, had been traveling through the settlements as special ambassador of the tsar to assure the Mennonites of his majesty's interest in their welfare, and to prevail upon them not to give up their homes. The general had held meetings at every one of the villages and convinced the people that they would make a great mistake if they would emigate to America. My host further assured me that I should only waste my time if I were to continue to pursue my evident object in inciting the people to emigrate, and it might bring me in conflict with the authorities of the province. This was cold comfort indeed, but I determined not to be bluffed in that way. After assuring my host that I should return to Germany after delivering just a few family letters in the next village, I went to bed and planned my future campaign. The following morning a sleigh team was placed at my disposal to take me to the neighboring estate of a wealthy Mennonite family, who already had friends in Kansas. The very driver of my team told me that hundreds of families were preparing to go to America, and that he himself was one of them; that Herr Klaassen, whose house we had just left, was to blame for the difficulty the intending emigrants had in securing the necessary passports, and that I must be very careful, because Klaassen would lose no time in informing the governor at Simferopol of my presence.

Attaching little importance to this caution, I pursued my journey through the fifty-six Mennonite villages, which constitute what is known as the Molotschna (Milk river) colony. My reception was cordial everywhere, my visit having already been announced by letters from Kansas. Large crowds of men, women and children greeted me at the schoolhouses and other meeting-places, and the most intense interest was shown in all I had to say about conditions in Kansas. Many unexpected questions were asked, as for instance, What protection is there in Kansas against the Indians, the Indian Territory being so near the state? "Soldiers must certainly be needed there, and we do not bear arms." I assured them there was a provision in the constitution of Kansas exempting from militia duty all those who had religious scruples, and this aided greatly in attracting the Mennonites to Kansas.[4]

My desire to transplant to Kansas as many of these people as possible increased as I traveled through those thrifty and handsome villages. The dwelling-houses were large brick structures with tile roofs, a flower-garden between the street and the house, and well-kept vegetable-garden and orchard in the rear. The stables were filled with splendid work-horses of heavy build, and the sheds with vehicles of all descriptions, among them comfortable family coaches and all kinds of American farming machinery.

NOTE 4.—Section 1, article 8, of the constitution; section 4032, General Statutes of 1901.

They were certainly the best appointed farming communities I had seen anywhere. Scattered over the country were large, isolated estates, with buildings reminding one of the feudal baronial castles of western Europe. Their owners were millionaire Mennonites, who had acquired large tracts of land by private purchase. I was entertained by one of them, who had the reputation of being the largest sheep owner in Europe. When I asked him how many sheep he owned he could not tell, but said he had 3000 shepherd-dogs taking care of his flock. A little figuring developed that he owned over half a million sheep, scattered in flocks all along the coast of the Black sea.

As I proceeded on my journey I became more and more convinced that the emigration fever was very strong, and that thousands of families were arranging their affairs with a view to leaving as soon as possible. When my presence in the colonies became generally known, the people came from every direction in order to see me as soon as possible. For about a month I traveled through the Molotschna colony, holding meetings two and three times a day, till at last my voice gave out. Rumors had reached me at different places that I was being hunted by mounted gens d'armes, and a report had gained ground that I had been captured and was on my way to Siberia with other prisoners. I was not alarmed by these reports, but, for the sake of a little rest, I left the agricultural colonies and proceeded by wagon to the seaport city of Berdiansk, seventy versts south of the Molotschna colony. Berdiansk is the seaport for the largest of the Mennonite colonies, and among its inhabitants are many well-to-do Mennonites, engaged in trade, milling, and shipping. At the time of my visit it had about 25,000 inhabitants, of a great variety of nationalities—Russians, Turks, Tartars, Bulgarians, Armenians, Greeks, English, and Germans. It was from this port that, four months after my visit, a Red Star Line steamer carried a full cargo of household goods, farm implements, and wagons, the personal property of 400 Mennonite families from the Molotschna colonies, to Philadelphia, consigned to Newton, Kan., and carried all the way at the expense of the Santa Fe Railroad Company. It was here, also, where a Mennonite bishop entrusted me with 80,000 rubles ($56,000) in the form of a draft on Hamburg, with the request to invest that sum in land-grant bonds of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad Company, which then could be bought at sixty-five per cent. of their face value, but were accepted at par by the company in payment for land.

My stay at Berdiansk was limited to three days, one of them a Sunday, pleasantly spent in a circle of refined Mennonite families, many of whom I had the pleasure of meeting later in Kansas. My host, the proprietor of a large flouring-mill, furnished me with a team and driver for the drive to another large inland colony, where I resumed my missionary work, preaching the gospel of emigration to Kansas from village to village, and earning among the Mennonites the title of their Moses. The people in this colony were all surprised to see me amongst them, because they had what they considered reliable information that I had been arrested and deported to Siberia. One gossip had seen me amid a troop of convicts, escorted by Cossacks, on the road to Orenburg. The evidences of pursuit at last became so alarming that I thought it best to hasten my work, and as soon as possible seek the protection of the nearest American consulate, which was at Odessa. One evening, while driving from Mariawohl, where I had held a

meeting, back to Ruckenau, where I had come from in the morning, a man on horseback at a gallop caught up with the carriage and asked the driver, my Ruckenau host, whether I was in the carriage. He had just been at Mariawohl in quest of me and had been told that I was on my way back to Ruckenau. He was a messenger sent by my Berdiansk friends to put me on my guard. Three mounted gens d'armes were at my heels and would probably be at Ruckenau that night. The miller with whom I had stopped at Berdiansk had been arrested and imprisoned for showing me hospitality and pretending to be unable to give information as to my whereabouts.

This news alarmed my Ruckenau host so much that he concluded not to take me back to his house. He put me off at a blacksmith shop outside the village, until he had made sure that the coast was yet clear. In a short time he came back for me; and, after a hasty supper, I started, at eleven o'clock at night, with an escort of two strapping young Mennonites, on a springless wagon, to which four horses were hitched abreast, for Melitopol, the nearest railway station, about seventy miles away. The roads were terrible! The streets through which we had to pass were well enough, being covered with a bed of straw, but upon the high steppes the roads were yet covered with snow in deep ruts. It was a night ride that I shall never forget. By five o'clock in the morning we had reached the village of Terpinje. Here I had a letter to deliver to a prominent Mennonite, Mr. Warkentin, from his son, already in Kansas. The old gentleman had been looking for me for many days, but had finally given me up when he had been informed of my supposed arrest. He had also written this information to his son in Kansas, and when I so unexpectedly turned up he was greatly delighted, and would not allow me to proceed on my flight. He assured me of my safety under his roof, and in Terpinje, which was an exclusively Russian town, with himself as the chief magistrate. "Here I am the tsar," he said, "and no gens d'armes will dare touch my guest." And right he was; no officers came near me. I had a delightful rest for a few days and the first leisure to write home of my safety thus far. It was certain that young Warkentin, when he received his father's letter informing him of my supposed Siberian expedition, would communicate the news to the railroad officials at Topeka and to my family. This was actually the case, and before my first letter reached Topeka steps had been taken by the railroad company, through the government in Washington, to procure my liberation.

Mr. Warkentin was one of the three delegates who had been in eastern Siberia and the Amur valley to explore that region with a view to possible Mennonite colonization. He had but recently returned, and assured me that no Mennonite would go there, because the journey was too long and difficult, there being no railroad then, and there would be no market there for agricultural products. In his opinion, the emigration would all turn to America. He himself later on joined me in Germany and accompanied me for a visit to Kansas, where he attended the marriage of his son and set him up in the business of milling at Newton. The Newton Milling and Elevator Company, with Bernhard Warkentin, president, is to-day a very large concern, with branch mills in surrounding Kansas and Oklahoma towns.

On leaving Terpinje, Mr. Warkentin himself drove me to the railroad town of Melitopol, where he had a large flour store. There I took the train to Odessa, where I had my passport indorsed by the only American consul

in southern Russia, in order to guard against any possible trouble when crossing the frontier at Podwolociska, the gateway to Austria-Hungary.

After this interesting campaign in Russia I spent two months more in Austria, Germany, and Switzerland, appointing agents for my immigration department, thus completing my first European mission, which, however, was by no means my last.

Although my work in Russia was cut short by the threatening attitude of the authorities, the result was exceedingly satisfactory. The first arrival of Mennonites in Kansas that same year consisted of 400 families, 1900 people, who brought with them two and a quarter million dollars in gold, and purchased 60,000 acres of land in the counties of Marion, McPherson, Harvey, and Reno. They arrived simultaneously with the grasshoppers, but outstayed them.

For four weeks, pending the selection of their lands, these 400 families were quartered at Topeka, in the King bridge shops, which, about that time, had been purchased by the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad Company for car shops, and were not yet fitted up with machinery, but consisting merely of an immense brick enclosure of several acres of ground, safely roofed. During that period the merchants of Topeka did a thriving trade with these newcomers. Processions of Mennonite men, women and children were constantly passing between the stores on Kansas avenue and the bridge shops, carrying purchased articles for the prospective households on the prairies. Finally, the tradespeople established themselves temporarily in booths and tents near the bridge shops, and a regular fair was in progress there. Farmers for hundreds of miles around Topeka, who had no feed for their stock, owing to the protracted grasshopper visitation, brought horses, cows, calves, pigs and poultry to this market, and the new settlers bought what they wanted at ridiculously low prices, thus profiting by the scourge.[5]

Before their departure from Topeka to their new homes in the counties of Marion, McPherson, Harvey, and Reno, the governor extended to the Mennonites an invitation to visit him at the state capitol, and most of the 1900 men, women, and children, in their none too elaborate, but strange-looking costumes, filed through the imposing halls and offices of the stately capitol building, shaking hands with the governor and other state officers; my genial friend, Mr. Jake Smith, who, for that occasion, had assumed the name of "Jakob Schmidt," acted as master of ceremonies. This "levee" was perhaps the most picturesque ever held at Topeka, and the governor's hospitality was sincerely appreciated by the guests.

By the year 1883 about 15,000 of these people had settled on the lands of the Santa Fe road, and since then they have increased to at least 60,000. Branch settlements have been established by them in Oklahoma and in the Arkansas valley of Colorado. Their mass movement from Russia had the effect of starting a Mennonite emigration also from South Germany, Switzerland, and West Prussia.

NOTE 5.—Wilder's Annals, second edition, gives the following facts relating to this emigration: "August 5, 1873.—Five Mennonite leaders visit Harvey, Sedgwick, Reno, Marion and McPherson counties to select land for a colony from Russia. March 19, 1874.—An act exempting Mennonites and Friends from military service. September 8, 1874.—Six hundred Mennonites arrive in Topeka. September 23, 1874.—Eleven hundred Mennonites arrive at Topeka. October 14, 1874.—Buy 100,000 acres of land of the A. T. & S. F. Railway Company. January 2, 1875.—Two hundred Mennonites arrive at Great Bend, direct from Russia. August 10, 1875.—A train with 201 Mennonites arrives at Topeka and leaves for the southwest. July 15, 1877.—C. B. Schmidt says that more than 6000 Mennonites are now living in the Arkansas valley. February 2, 1884.—Two townships of land in Reno county bought by Mennonites."

They have brought out bleeding Kansas with flying colors; they made it the banner wheat state by "plowing the dew under." They have made their section of Kansas a garden of affluence and contentment. They have built a college [6] in Kansas and missions among the Indians in the Indian Territory.[7] They have brought the Cheyennes and Arapahoes to their farms, and taught them, not only to work, but to read and write English and German, and to live like Christians.

An incident in the Mennonite emigration from Russia led to diplomatic correspondence between Washington and St. Petersburg in 1880.

Among the Mennonites in southern Russia there were a number of very wealthy men, owning extensive tracts of land, acquired by private purchase, and hundreds of thousands of sheep. These people would have been subjected to great sacrifices of property if they had left the country. They tried every means to avoid emigration, and remain in Russia as foreign colonists under the protection of some foreign power. They had petitioned the Swiss government for citizenship, with the privilege of residing in Russia, but, of course, were refused. The ten-year emigration privilege was drawing to a close, and something had to be done. In their desperation they fell victims to the cupidity of corrupt government officials.

In the fall of 1879 a Mennonite preacher in McPherson county received a letter from one of those wealthy colonists informing him that he and seven other families had found a way to avoid emigration and to continue to enjoy their special privileges as foreign colonists. For the payment of 4000 rubles for each family they had secured American citizenship papers, and they considered it cheap. All they had to do was to apply to the governor of the province for these papers and he procured them from the consul, upon payment of 4000 rubles each. This letter was sent to me, with the request to lay it before the government in Washington. I sent a translation to the Department of State, at the same time informing the secretary, Mr. Wm. M. Evarts, that I expected to start for Europe soon and would bring the original letter to Washington with me, if he desired to see it. Mr. Evarts promptly requested me by wire to call at the department with the letter on my way through Washington. I complied with the request, but on arriving at Washington I found that Mr. Evarts had gone to Boston. Col. John Hay, then first assistant secretary of state, knew of the matter, and he went with me to the White House and introduced me to the president, Mr. Rutherford B. Hayes. Mr. Hayes was intensely interested in the affair, when I related to him the history of the Mennonites and their immigration to Kansas. Inquiry developed the fact that there was only one American consulate in southern Russia, and that in Odessa. Consul Smith stood high in the estimation of the State Department, and the idea that he could be implicated in the fraud was not entertained for a moment. The president, upon learning that I was then on my way to Europe, suggested that I proceed to Russia as a special agent of the government to investigate the case. I should have been glad to accept this mission, in the hope of securing to Kansas so valua-

NOTE 6.—The Mennonites of Kansas have founded but one college, Bethel, at Newton, but several small preparatory schools have been maintained in some congregations, and in very many churches. So-called parochial schools exist were German is taught."—C. H. WEDEL.

NOTE 7.—Daniel K. Cassel's "History of the Mennonites," Philadelphia, 1888, relates largely to their settlements in the United States. Pages 126-128 contain a report by Rev. S. S. Haury of his mission work among the Arapahoe and Cheyenne Indians at Darlington and Cantonment, Okla., begun in 1880 at the instance of John D. Miles, of Lawrence, Kan., then agent to these tribes.

ble an immigration as those Mennonite millionaires would have been, but the directors of the Santa Fe road, in Boston, refused their consent.

Soon after my arrival abroad I read in the London *Times* an account of the official attempt in Russia to prevent, by fraud and misrepresentation, the emigration of the wealthy Mennonites, and that the eight families, upon representation of the matter by the American minister at St. Petersburg, had been refunded the money paid by them for their spurious American citizenship.

Fearing that the Mennonite emigration might assume still greater proportions, and desiring to retain such valuable settlers in the empire, the Russian government finally granted them a continuation of their special privileges, such as immunity from military service, religious liberty, and German schools and churches. This concession checked the mass emigration of the Mennonites from Russia.

EDWARD GRAFSTROM, A HERO OF THE FLOOD OF 1903.

A LARGE number of friends met in the Hall of the House of Representatives, Saturday afternoon, June 2, 1906, to witness the presentation to the Kansas State Historical Society of a bronze tablet in honor of Edward Grafstrom. The tablet is of elegant design and perfect workmanship, 3 feet by 4 feet 9½ inches in size, and bears the following inscription:

"In memory of EDWARD GRAFSTROM, son of Col. Carl Axel and Cecilia Grafstrom. Born in Motola, Sweden, December 19, 1862. He was educated at Orebro University, and at Boras Institute of Technology, where, at the age of nineteen, he received the degree of mechanical engineer, and at the time of his death was chief mechanical engineer of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railway. During the great flood of June, 1903, which swept over North Topeka, he designed and built a small side-wheel steamer, in which, with a volunteer crew of six men, he rescued hundreds of people. While making the last trip, on the night of June 2, 1903, the boat was capsized and Mr. Grafstrom was drowned. His noble personality endeared him to all. This tablet is erected in grateful appreciation of his heroic sacrifice in giving up his life to save others."

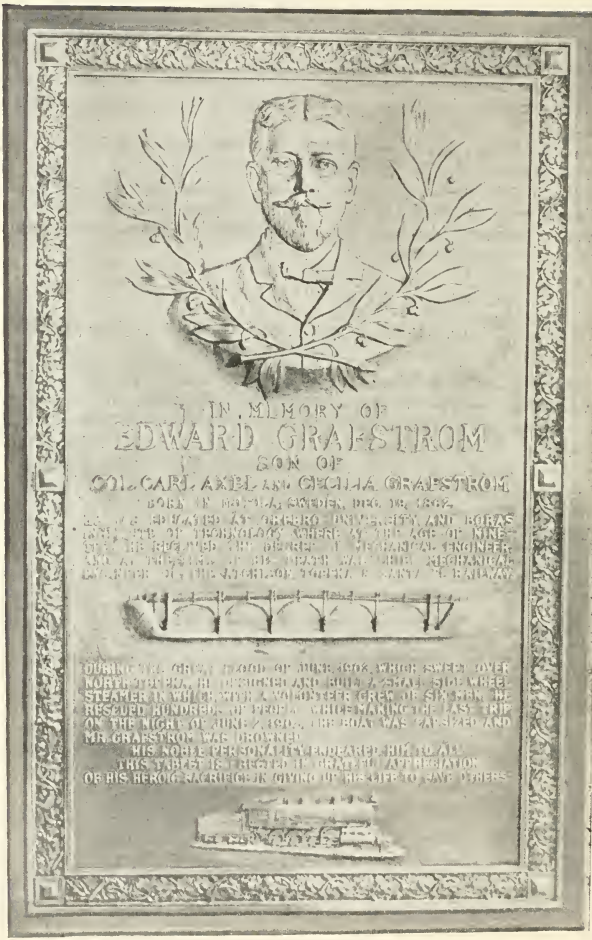
Mr. Charles S. Gleed, of Topeka, presided. A quartette composed of Mrs. George W. Parkhurst, Mrs. Florence Thatcher, Mr. James Moore, and Mr. Harry Pribble, accompanied by Miss Gertrude Tracy, sang "Beauteous Morn."

Mr. Gleed said:

"This tablet has been given to the state of Kansas by a committee of railroad men, in Chicago and elsewhere, as an expression of their admiration for the late Edward Grafstrom. The pedestal supporting the tablet was designed by the state architect, John Stanton, and built by Mr. John Purcell and his assistants, in the shops of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Company in this city. We are honored to-day by the presence of the chief executive of the state, Governor Hoch, who, on behalf of the state, will accept this tablet."

Gov. Edward W. Hoch spoke as follows:

"No more certain is it true that all the world loves a lover than is it true that all the world loves a brave man. Deny it as we may, and often do, it is true, nevertheless, that to a large extent we are all hero-worshipers.



Bronze tablet, 3 feet x 4 feet 9½ inches, contributed to the Kansas State Historical Society collections in honor of Edward Grafstrom by the railroad mechanical engineers of the United States.

Deeds of valor command our admiration, and we yield instinctive homage to those who lift themselves above the common level by acts of heroism. In all the realm of human endeavor, in all the field of fierce conflict, in military and civil walks alike, noble spirits have appealed to this innate love of the courageous within us. All our hearts beat faster when we think of Spartan valor at Thermopylæ; of the desperate daring of the Light Brigade; of Pickett's historic charge; of Lawrence of "Don't give up the ship" fame; of Nelson and the world's greatest naval battle; of Farragut, lashed to the rigging of his flag-ship. Or, in civil realms, of General Gordon in the Soudan; of Livingstone, struggling merely to continue an existence against a fatal disease until certain explorations could be completed; of Grant, under similar circumstances, battling against his last and final enemy, an incurable disease, beating back the foe only long enough to complete his 'Memoirs'; of the Irish patriot, Emmet, flinging defiance in the face of his accusers. These and an innumerable host of other immortals thrill us with a record of lives heroic.

"A great and grateful people have just honored themselves in honoring the memory of the noble men and women whose services and sacrifices, whose heroic valor, preserved to posterity this government 'of the people, by the people, for the people.' Memorial day is heroes' day; but not all of earth's heroes have worn uniforms and carried guns and earned our admiration and gratitude on crimson fields, made red in war's red carnage. Peace hath her heroes and her victories no less renowned than war. For it must ever be true that he that conquereth himself is greater than he that taketh a city. True courage does not always lurk in the gun muzzles, or glitter from saber points. The brave fireman, who climbs the treacherous ladder and battles with smoke and fire in topmost story; the locomotive engineer, with hand on throttle, standing at his post, in face of impending collision; the sea captain, unmoved and unmastered by storm; the faithful nurse, ministering to the dying in times of pestilence; the patriot in state and nation, incurring ostracism and obloquy for honest convictions; the martyr in religion, sacrificing his life for the sake of truth—all these heroes are as worthy of our admiration as those who win their laurels 'mid smoke and battle.

"We have met to-day to honor the memory of one of these heroes in private life, whose splendid courage and noble spirit was a rich possession of this community, and whose memory is a heritage of honor to Topeka. Edward Grafstrom had heroic blood in his veins. He was the son of Col. Carl Grafstrom, a distinguished officer of the Swedish army, and was for awhile himself in the Swedish navy, where another brother still holds an important official position. He was born at Motola, Sweden, December 19, 1862. He was finely educated, a remarkable linguist, and possessed a rare knowledge and love of art. Of a mathematical trend of mind, he graduated from a school of mining and mechanical engineering. He was long engaged as master mechanic with the railroads of this country, chiefly with the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad Company, and at the time of his death was chief mechanical engineer of this great company. He was largely a designer of the heavy style of locomotives, the finest in the world, now the property of this company. He was a splendid type of a magnificent people, for no country on the face of the earth, perhaps, has adorned the pages of human history with greater luster than the Scandinavian peninsula; the peninsula which was really the cradle of liberty; the real birthplace of constitutional government; the peninsula where the percentage of illiteracy is least, and the ownership of homes by the common people exceeds that, it is said, of any spot on earth; the peninsula which is rich in great names of artists like Thorwaldsen, of warriors like Gustavus Adolphus, of philosophers like Swendenborg, of writers like Tegner, Bremer, and Bjornson, and of nightingales like Jenny Lind and Christine Neilson.

"There are philosophers who contend that character is largely a product of climate and of physical environment. There are those who believe that the sturdy character of the American Puritan is really a contribution from the barren rocks and bleak shores and wintry blasts and sterile fields of the Plymouth land, whence sprung this stalwart people; that the necessity for

struggle in their environment is the secret of their character. By the same process of reasoning, it is believed by many that the rocks and snows and severe conditions account for the splendid character of the Swedish people. Be this as it may, it is certain that America welcomes no higher class of immigrants than that of which Edward Grafstrom was a typical representative.

"The desire to be remembered is a universal desire, and the fear of forgetfulness is a universal fear. The pyramids, erected at an immense cost of treasure and life, and every tombstone in every cemetery, alike attest this universal fact. It is a spark of the divinity within us all. It is a reflex of the principle of immortality. Perhaps the best argument for immortality is the universal desire and demand for it. No normal mind desires extinction; no sane person wishes to be blotted out of existence; and as science has discovered nowhere in nature a demand without a supply, this universal demand for immortality, I say, is the best evidence of it, and is in accord with highest science and best philosophy. The desire to be remembered and the effort to perpetuate memories are reflex evidences of the divine, of the immortal within us. This innate principle calls us to this Representative hall to-day and inspires these beautiful ceremonies.

"Three years ago to-day the Kansas river from source to mouth was a terrible torrent of angry waters. History was eclipsed and legend taxed in this awful overflow. Witnesses of the terrible scenes can never forget them. The valleys became a part of the great raging stream; the overflowing waters crept far up on the hillsides; houses were swept from their foundations and became floating debris upon the bosom of the rushing current; people found refuge in trees, and the piteous cries for help that pierced the darkness of that awful night will never cease echoing in the memories of those who heard them. In times like these the best and the worst in human nature are developed. Ghouls there were, preying upon the unfortunate; but, thank God, heroes were more numerous, risking life that the lives of others might be saved, and their deeds of daring would make an immortal book.

"Such a hero was Edward Grafstrom. All his great ability and all his splendid courage was devoted to the noble task of rescuing the perishing. Many owe their lives to his heroic efforts, but without irreverence it may be said of him, as was said of the Ideal Man, he saved others, but himself he could not save. Of the list of lives lost in that awful deluge, none brought more tears to the weeping eyes or more pain to the aching hearts of the people of Topeka than the loss of this fair-haired, tender-hearted, courageous son of Scandinavia, Edward Grafstrom, and in token alike of our admiration for his character and our gratitude for his noble acts in that great crisis of the city's history, and of the love with which we cherish his memory, we place this enduring tablet to his memory in the historic chambers of our state capitol, here forever to remain, as a simple token of our love and affection, and as an inspiration to nobler lives on the part of all who may hereafter stand in the presence of this memorial of a manly man.

The quartette sang "Silent Night."

Mr. Gleed said: "The nearest neighbor and one of the closest friends of Mr. Grafstrom was the former lieutenant-governor of the state, Hon. James A. Troutman. Mr. Troutman will speak to us of his personal knowledge of Mr. Grafstrom."

Mr. Troutman spoke as follows:

"Near the city of Cracow, the old capital of independent Poland, stands an unique and significant monument, 250 feet high. It was erected by a grateful people to perpetuate the memory of General Kosciusko, known everywhere in history as 'Thaddeus of Warsaw.' It is composed exclusively of earth brought in contribution from the numerous battle-fields upon which the valor and heroism of Polish soldiery had been displayed. There was no inspiration in the physical act of gathering those contributions of earth from historic battle-grounds, but back of it all was a principal of universal philosophy and love as old as the human race. That monument

means what every monument and every tablet means—love and gratitude for men who lived and died for others.

"This is not a meaningless ceremonial here to-day. It exemplies the adoration of friends and neighbors for a heroic life, and typifies their sorrow for a tragic death. This tablet will commemorate a day of sadness and desolation in this community, but the circumstances of that fateful hour make Edward Grafstrom's death an exaltation and the sorrow of family and friends noble and triumphant.

"The anxiety of that night of gloom will never be effaced from my memory. How the neighbors gathered in groups about the family homestead and in subdued voices asked for hopeful tidings. As footseps or carriages were heard on Greenwood avenue, noiseless sentinels would hasten to meet them with a lingering hope that a messenger was bringing the news that our friend and neighbor still lived. Hours lengthened into days and buoyancy and hope were superseded by despondency and despair.

"The receding waters left no trace of the missing man. But after the lapse of days, some of us still believed that he would yet return. After the boat went down, his six companions, all of whom had found refuge in trees or other places of safety, saw him swimming in the turbulent waters beyond the timber-line.

"Powerful in physique, self-poised in all emergencies, a skilful athlete and an expert swimmer, we hoped that he had reached some place of safety where communication was impossible. Mrs. Troutman responded to telephone calls at our house for ten days, momentarily expecting a message to be repeated to Mrs. Grafstrom that her husband was alive. But hope vanished, and a whole neighborhood was in tears and a city in mourning. Incomparable havoc had been wrought all along the valley, a pall rested over a thousand homes, and the very skies were clad in the habiliments of mourning. And rising above it all, like a pyramid in the solitude of gloom, was the vicarious sacrifice of the life of this good man.

"There are no degrees of personal grief when death enters the home. The tears in the hovel are just as bitter as those in the palace. A legend comes to us from the early literature of Asia, which tells of a woman who presented herself to Buddha and implored him to bring back the life of her dead child. 'Go, my daughter,' the great man said, 'and bring me a mustard seed from a house into which Death has never entered, and I will do as thou hast bidden me.' Impelled by a glimmering hope, she ran from house to house in town and country in her search for a home that was a stranger to death. Finally, in her despair and isolation, she came to know the meaning of Buddha's words. She was impressed with the truth that her personal grief was but her part of the common sorrow of the human race. Buddha's philosophy dispelled the illusion in this woman's mind that hers was a distinct type of bereavement. No chemist can analyze tears of tribulation and tell whether they come from rich or poor, high or low. But society's loss is impersonal and is commensurate with a man's standing and computed by what he represented in the community.

"Edward Grafstrom was a man of rare culture, unusual attainments, of commanding influence among his fellows, and just upon the threshold of a brilliant career. Conscious of his power to do more than the ordinary man to alleviate the suffering and rescue the perishing, he was anxious to do his full duty, and designed and constructed a launch that would do the work of a dozen of the small and crude boats improvised and used by others. He operated it himself and had made several successful trips, rescuing more than a hundred people, when it struck a tree and went down. It is one of the inexplicable freaks of fate that the only man lost was the designer of this life-saving craft.

"The extraordinary character of the man and the beneficent mission which resulted in his death invest this occasion with a legitimate public interest.

"Some sage said that he would rather coming generations would inquire why no monument was erected over his grave than to ask why one was erected. No one in all this city familiar with that deluge of three years

ago will ever ask why this tablet was erected to the memory of Edward Grafstrom.

"Mr. Grafstrom had developed a type of Kansas and Topeka loyalty that was one of his marked characteristics. When he first came to Topeka he wrote to his wife that he believed the Lord had directed him here, and that he could see great opportunities in the future. Only a few evenings before the flood he and his wife came over to our house, and he told us in confidence that he had received a tempting offer from a railroad company in Australia, with headquarters at Melbourne. His reputation was not limited to our national boundaries, and this offer came from a company that was looking for the highest grade of skill and service. He talked about the attractive features of the proposition, but repeatedly expressed his reluctance to leaving this city, and said that, wherever he might go, Topeka would be his permanent home. Here he remained, and here he sleeps in an unknown sepulcher.

"He had reached that period in life which some one has designated as 'the old age of youth and the youth of old age'—forty. He was taken away at the dividing line between young and mature manhood, when his plans were necessarily incomplete and his proficiency in its beginning. But no man can say at the end of his life that he has accomplished all he desired. The allotted span of life may be given to man, he may scale the heights of renown, and be the recipient of the world's homage, and yet there will always be something more that he would like to accomplish before he dies. While he lived scarcely long enough to accomplish great things, Edward Grafstrom's life was well rounded and complete. I knew him in the social walks of life; I knew him in business. I knew him in the hammock in the front yard, and with the hoe in his garden: I knew him in the parlor and dining-room, the kitchen and the coal-house; I knew him before breakfast and after supper; and he was a polished, symmetrical gentleman at all times and under all circumstances.

"Permit me, in conclusion, to appropriate the words of Mark Antony, as he stood, in mournful adoration, over the lifeless body of his friend Brutus:

> "'This was the noblest Roman of them all;
> . . . . . .
> His life was gentle, and the elements
> So mixed in him, that Nature might stand up
> And say to all the world, This was a man.'"

The quartette sang "My Heavenly Home."

Mr. Gleed said: "A position for this tablet has been selected where the light for it will be perfect, and where the busy throngs who constantly pass through the capitol may readily inspect it."

THE STORY OF A FENCELESS WINTER-WHEAT FIELD.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by T. C. HENRY.[1]

I WAS reared on a limestone farm adjoining Clifton Springs, N. Y. My father was an intelligent, thoroughgoing farmer. His specialty was winter wheat, to which the old farm was particularly adapted. To this day no agricultural product so interests and attracts me as that cereal. The land was hard to work. Nearly every rod of the fencing was stone, gathered from the fields enclosed. The frost heaved new supplies to the surface,

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NOTE 1.—THEODORE C. HENRY was born in Ontario county, New York. He was reared on a farm, and received a thorough academical and classical education. At the age of nineteen he was principal of the high school in the village of Clifton Springs, N. Y. After the close of the war, in 1865, he went to Alabama and tried the experiment of raising cotton by the use of Northern methods. Impaired health and financial reverses made the experiment a failure. He built the first schoolhouse for the education of negro children in central Alabama. He returned to his native state, and, in 1867, came to Kansas, settling at Abilene In 1868 he was quite a contractor

which were regularly harvested after each plowing. I never succeeded in doing a furrow turn without striking a buried limestone boulder. My young hips were bruised all seeding-time by the handles jerked beyond my strength and control, as the plow encountered those hidden bumpers. For that reason, and some others, shortly after attaining my majority, I struck out for the West. I never intended to farm another acre of land.

I still carry the impression those great prairies of central Illinois made upon me when I first saw them, from the Alton line, in October, 1865. They were as fertile as I saw they were black. Thousands of cattle were feeding upon the ungathered corn-fields, and not a stone as large as a hazlenut on 10,000 acres! I decided if the worst ever again came to the worst, and I had to go back to farming, I should abide thereabouts.

A futile attempt to add to my exchequer by growing cotton in Alabama at a cost of twenty cents per pound, and marketing it in Montgomery at seven and one-third cents, cost me my patrimony, and eventually determined my removal to Abilene, Kan., in 1867. There I purchased quite a tract of land, adjoining the town, at $6.25 per acre, which twenty years afterward I sold for $150,000—nearly $270 per acre. So, after all, I became a farmer—a Kansas farmer. I soon "caught on," however. Within two years I captured a county office and became a real-estate broker. My two partners were both county officers, and all together, including some deputyships, we held about four-fifths of what there was of them in sight. Having successfully organized what the envious termed "the court-house ring," we gained a second term. Meantime I was steadily adding to my land holdings. By 1872 I had bought out my partners and my competitors, gaining practically a monopoly of the real-estate business in Dickinson county.

Alternating seasons of drought by that time had convinced me that corn could not be relied upon for a safe and leading crop. Spring wheat was no more successful. Diversified and specialized crops were not favored in that frontier era of agriculture. Sporadic attempts to grow winter wheat had been made in the county, but with irregular and precarious results. Boyhood predilections deepened my interest and influenced my systematic observations. In 1873 I was ready to introduce my system of winter-wheat culture, mainly based upon changes of methods, and then began operations.

In Franklin's autobiography is an account of his demonstrations of the value of phosphate of lime (plaster) as a fertilizer applied to common clover. Those of us who are familiar with its use in the East know how astonishing the improvement is. Franklin selected a field in the suburbs of Philadelphia and sprinkled the lime on the clover spelled out in great letters: "This Has Been Plastered." Very soon, of course, this unique display could be seen and read of all men. The advertising feature to me was quite as desirable as any possible direct returns. The ingeniousness of Franklin's expedient appealed to me; so I chose the Smoky Hill valley, east of Abilene a couple of miles, alongside the Union Pacific railway, for the site of my winter-wheat

in hay. In 1869 he became associated with James B. Shane in the real-estate business, and his firm had the agency for the sale of the Kansas Pacific railway lands. In 1869 he was elected register of deeds of Dickinson county, and reelected in 1871, holding the office for four years. In 1870 he was elected mayor of Abilene, being the first one to enjoy that official distinction. In 1873 he retired from public life and commenced wheat farming on an extended scale, and that year had 500 acres broken and seeded to wheat. In 1877 he had 4000 acres in the same crop. In 1876 he was appointed one of the Centennial commissioners for Kansas. In 1877 he was appointed a regent of the State Agricultural College. In 1878 he was elected to the state senate from the thirtieth senatorial district. In 1880 he was a candidate for the nomination of governor before the Republican state convention.

farm project. I thought that a few hundred acres area, returning but a moderate average, would be a far more effective spectacle than a small acreage, however extraordinary its yield. Therefore, I broke up 500 acres. This was mostly done with Texas oxen, six-yoke teams drawing twenty-inch Moline plows, rigged to self-hold. The herd-law statute just enacted dispensed with the need of fencing. In August the seed, the Early Red May, or Little Red May, a soft, amber-colored, small, symmetrical berry, was broadcasted on the sod and covered by common Scotch harrows, drawn by ox-teams. The ground was so dry and hard that each wing of the harrow, in order to get results, was weighted by a mowing-machine wheel. When the seeding was completed those harrow-teeth were mere stubs, all but worn away. My processes were purposely primitive and inexpensive, merely adequate for an example. The opulent Kansas wheat farmer of to-day cannot comprehend the economic straits which beset his predecessor thirty years ago.

The drought and grasshopper year of 1874 is famous in the annals of Kansas. Crops of all kinds were nearly a total failure. Great distress, particularly in the frontier counties, followed. But my 500-acre "fenceless" wheat-field, a veritable oasis, advertised itself, like Franklin's clover. Its proud and surprised owner became famed as "the Kansas wheat king." Two Marsh harvesters and a Weylich header were purchased to harvest the crop. The harvesters were quite like the present machines, without the self-binding attachments. Two men rode upon them and, standing, bound the cut grain as it was elevated. But the hot winds so ripened the grain that, in forty-eight hours from the time we began, the brittle straw bands would break and we could use the harvester no further. There were more than 400 acres still left unsecured. I had never seen a header work. I was induced to purchase one through the representations of Mr. G. B. Sealy, a leading merchant of Abilene, who had headed wheat in Illinois before coming to Kansas. But for that single header I should have lost the major portion of that wheat crop. We ran it with team relays night and day for about ten days. At first it happened to be moonlight and we could operate. Later, a man on a white horse, dressed in white, carrying a light just ahead of the machine, rode along the edge of the uncut grain to guide the pilot. Finally we rigged a lamp and reflector, fastened to a reel-post, and by that device successfully accomplished our object.

The yield was a trifle under twenty bushels to the acre, and was sold for about ninety cents per bushel. It was thrashed by a steam-engine and thrasher. Both that and the header used, so far as I know, were the first brought into Kansas. All the work was done by contract, and it become known as the "contract system" of growing wheat. I paid three dollars an acre for breaking the prairie, twenty cents an acre for each harrowing; ten cents an acre for the broadcast seeding, and forty cents later, when we used drills. The price for heading and stacking ranged from $1.50 to $2 per acre. About six cents per bushel was paid for thrashing, and the price for hauling the grain varied according to the distance of the haul, from three to six cents per bushel. On the basis of twenty bushels to the acre, the cost was between forty and fifty cents per bushel. My boast was that "I farmed in kid gloves, without horse or hoe."

In the spring of 1874 I broke 700 acres adjoining the other. The fall was very favorable for seeding. In 1875, which was a wet year, my 1200-acre

field, all adjoining the railroad, attracted great attention, and was as widely advertised as it certainly merited. The yield averaged nearly twenty-five bushels to the acre. One half-section grew more than thirty-five bushels to the acre. The crop was grown and harvested by the contract system, as before, and done mainly by M. D. Thisler, still a prosperous and respected citizen of Dickinson county. The price realized on the railroad-track at Abilene ranged from $1.05 to $1.21½ per bushel, and the crop was sold to Leavenworth millers. It was No. 1, a grade never again equaled in my wheat growing.

The late Henry Worrall, of Topeka, a man whose unique public services Kansas should honor, was sent by a Chicago newspaper to interview me, and write up and illustrate my wheat-field. We had never met. He was directed to my modest little cottage in town and inquired of me where he could find Mr. Henry. I told him I presumed I was the man. "Oh, no!" he said, "I want to see Farmer Henry." "But," I urged, "I am that party." As I was then in my early '30's, and looked anything but a hornyhanded son of the soil, only those who knew Professor Worrall can comprehend his astonishment and characteristic expression. He had expected to see an old hayseed farmer, living on a ranch with the usual environments—but merely on a large scale.

My wheat-farming operations were rapidly enlarged, reaching the maximum of nearly 10,000, acres scattered over the county. There were about 5000 acres in the main field, extending from Abilene five miles east to Detroit, through the center of which ran the railroad. In those years the trainmen were instructed to call out to the passengers: "We are coming to Henry's wheat-field." It was truly an attractive sight, particularly when the harvesting was going on. All this spread the story of my success. The example became contagious. Dickinson for some years was the banner wheat county in the state; and by 1876 Kansas surpassed every state in the Union in the production of winter wheat, a supremacy maintained to this day. The fame of our fields became national. In 1876 Colonel Anderson, a staff correspondent, was sent out by the New York *Herald* to write up the wheat industry. He called on me. Just before sunset we drove to an elevation northeast of Abilene, overlooking the valley. The yellow grain, nearly ripe, stretched afield for miles to the east, bordered by the deep green verdure of the prairies on either side. The setting sun gave brilliancy to the contrasting hues. My companion caught inspiration from the scene, and exclaimed: "What a magnificent golden belt!" Such was the origin of the well-known and appropriate term.

I spread my winter-wheat propaganda. No evangelist was ever more active. I answered hundreds of letters, sent out thousands of circulars, wrote treatises, and delivered addresses. No town-site boomer in the West ever overlapped me. As I recall some of my alluring wheat literature, I am sure I was more poet all those years than farmer.

After 1878 I began to diversify crops, and gradually diminished my wheat acreage. Finally, I removed to Colorado in 1883, where for some years my wheat-growing and general farming operations were even more extensive than in Kansas.

I have often wondered who introduced the Red May wheat into Kansas, and where it originated. My first seed was grown by James Bell on his farm adjoining Abilene on the south. This wheat did not give a large

yield. It was tender to heavy frosts. I experimented with other varieties. The Fultz was introduced from Pennsylvania. It was very promising at first, but also proved to be too tender. I brought the Clawson from New York, a beautiful, soft, white wheat, but it could not withstand the cold, dry winter winds. Finally, my attention was directed to the Turkey or Red Russian variety. It was a hard wheat, and at first regarded as much inferior to the Red May, but it proved very hardy and yielded prolifically. I substituted it, I think, in 1877. It became widely popular, and it is still mainly grown in Kansas and in the great trans-Missouri West. I know nothing as to its origin. The wheat farmers of Kansas should offer a prize for that information.

This leads me to suggest, in conclusion, that an association composed of practical Kansas wheat farmers should be organized, and confine its investigations to that product, with a view to preserving its welfare. Kansas, no more than California, can indefinitely grow wheat and not exhaust the virgin fertility. The average yield in California, as compared with forty years ago, is now barely more than one-third, and yet there are no more naturally fertile valleys in the world than the Sacramento and the San Joaquin.

WHERE KANSANS WERE BORN.

Compiled by DANIEL W. WILDER for the Kansas State Historical Society.

AUTHORS and editors, not a few of them persons of note, have long been saying and causing to be printed statements in regard to the native states of the people of Kansas that are incorrect. They can be officially corrected only by the census reports made by the United States government. An incomplete attempt to use that source was made by the present writer, and was published in volume 6 of the Kansas Historical Collections. But that was in a past century. The need of giving publicity to the birth state of all Kansans was last made conspicuous by the publication, in 1903, of the "Autobiography of the late George F. Hoar," long a United States senator of Massachusetts; a great man, and a good man, very earnest in his work to keep our territory and state free from the curse of slavery.

It seems incredible, impossible, that a man of Senator Hoar's familiarity with all of the efforts of the North to make this soil free could believe, during nearly half a century, that "The people of Kansas are very largely of Massachusetts origin" (vol. 2, p. 83, Autobiography). There has never been a sixtieth of a minute when that assertion was true. In the books containing similar opinions there has usually been a personal bias in favor of the author's state, and the author himself has not been unwilling to be known as a savior of Kansas.

The old "Bay State" had few of her sons and daughters here during the territorial period, and has not many now; but she gave birth to Channing, Garrison, Emerson, Lowell, Phillips, Whittier and other great souls who continue to inspire mankind.

I have been greatly assisted in this compilation by Miss Zu Adams, the daughter of Judge F. G. Adams, a New Englander, of the family of Presidents John Adams and John Quincy Adams, and George A. Root, newspaper clerk with the Historical Society.

THE STATES KANSAS PEOPLE WERE BORN IN.

	1860.	*1870.*	*1880.*	*1890.*	*1900.*
Alabama	240	718	1,605	1,607	2,183
Arizona	.....	2	12	48	134
Arkansas	448	2,087	3,084	3,196	5,098
California	30	208	683	936	1,276
Colorado	.....	154	634	1,615	3,725
Connecticut	650	1,402	2,791	2,366	1,648
Delaware	91	307	567	573	415
District of Columbia	72	204	300	364	309
Florida	23	28	103	132	159
Georgia	179	789	1,579	1,599	1,591
Idaho	.....	12	28	91	222
Illinois	9,367	35,588	106,992	137,903	113,704
Indiana	9,945	30,953	77,096	98,138	75,390
Indian Territory	.....	456	685	1,132	2,889
Iowa	4,008	13,073	55,972	66,148	88,153
Kansas	10,997	63,321	233,066	487,093	630,321
Kentucky	6,556	15,918	32,978	39,783	31,364
Louisiana	114	408	1,782	1,367	1,209
Maine	728	1,837	3,538	3,040	2,127
Maryland	620	2,067	4,431	5,224	3,908
Massachusetts	1,282	2,894	5,395	4,999	3,433
Michigan	1,137	4,466	13,012	13,775	10,462
Minnesota	76	708	2,784	3,441	2,961
Mississippi	128	519	3,452	2,644	2,465
Missouri	11,356	29,775	60,228	84,016	100,814
Montana	.....	37	150	247	275
Nebraska	.....	639	4,350	11,128	19,075
Nevada	.....	32	82	122	95
New Hampshire	466	1,158	2,088	1,735	1,140
New Jersey	499	1,845	4,631	4,617	3,268
New Mexico	.....	69	106	232	471
New York	6,331	18,558	42,779	40,635	28,897
North Carolina	1,234	3,612	5,709	5,825	4,570
North Dakota	.....	17	132	355	306
Ohio	11,617	38,205	93,396	116,671	88,298
Oklahoma	.....	.....	.....	27	2,756
Oregon	2	99	198	292	663
Pennsylvania	6,463	19,287	59,236	62,064	47,013
Rhode Island	180	364	612	657	392
South Carolina	215	404	899	874	743
South Dakota	[See North Dakota.]			244	928
Tennessee	2,569	6,209	15,649	17,963	14,790
Texas	108	975	4,057	3,750	4,330
Utah	.....	75	126	137	214
Vermont	902	2,370	4,914	4,528	3,117
Virginia	3,487	9,906	15,336	16,982	12,251
Washington	.....	11	48	122	555
West Virginia	.....	.....	3,644	6,627	6,568
Wisconsin	1,351	4,128	15,016	14,125	11,719
Wyoming	.....	7	51	116	263
Alaska	.....	4	.....	5	8
Hawaii	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
United States at large	942	123	.....	7,760	4,196
Indians	189	.....	.....	.....	.....
At sea	12	9	4	23	30
Territories	88	.....	.....	.....	.....
Porto Rico	.....	.....	.....	.....	4
Abroad	.....	.....	.....	165	915
Total native born	94,513	316,007	886,010	1,279,258	1,343,810
Foreign countries	12,691	48,392	110,086	147,838	126,685
Total population	107,206	364,399	996,096	1,427,096	1,470,495

Census of the territory of Kansas for January and February, 1855, as compiled by Louis A. Reese, by states, from the returns published in the "Report of the Howard Congressional Committee to Investigate the Troubles in Kansas in 1856," pp. 72–100:

SOUTH.		NORTH.		FOREIGN.	
Alabama	5	Connecticut	12	Belgium	2
Arkansas	17	Delaware	2	Canada	7
District of Columbia	2	Illinois	203	Denmark	3
Georgia	18	Indiana	100	England	12
Kentucky	112	Iowa	120	France	5
Louisiana	5	Maine	31	Germany	38
Maryland	13	Massachusetts	115	Holland	3
Mississippi	3	Michigan	19	Hungary	2
Missouri	1,386	Minnesota	9	Ireland	30
New Mexico	2	New Hampshire	14	Italy	2
North Carolina	6	New Jersey	4	Prussia	3
South Carolina	1	New York	99	Scotland	4
Tennessee	36	Ohio	147	Switzerland	3
Texas	2	Pennsylvania	119	Wales	1
Virginia	54	Rhode Island	5	Unclassified	30
Total	1,662	Vermont	11	Total	145
		Wisconsin	21		
		Total	1,031	Grand total	2,838

The census shows a majority of the settlers to have emigrated from slave states. A percentage of those from Missouri, Kentucky and Tennessee were free-state men, but there was not a sufficient number of these to destroy the pro-slavery majority. There was general complaint in Missouri that Governor Reeder had ordered the census in midwinter, when many Missourians who had staked out claims the preceding fall were spending the winter at home, and hence were excluded from the enumeration. The immigration from the North during the months of February and March, 1855, though considerable, did not equal that from Missouri. The aid company conducted but one spring party to the territory prior to the election of March 30, 1855. These figures and facts prove that if the election had been left solely to the *bona fide* settlers of the territory, the pro-slavery party would have secured a majority in the legislature.

In April, 1856 (Webb Scrap-books, vol. 11, p. 116), the New York *Herald* made the following statement of emigration to Kansas:

FROM THE SOUTH.		FROM THE NORTH.	
Missouri	1,100	Massachusetts	350
South Carolina	230	Connecticut	120
North Carolina	120	Rhode Island	30
Georgia	100	Vermont	20
Alabama	30	New York	300
Tennessee	120	Ohio	250
Kentucky	100	Pennsylvania	50
Louisiana	50	New Jersey	40
Virginia	50	Indiana	60
Total	1,900	Illinois	130
		Total	1,350

VOTING FOR LINCOLN IN MISSOURI IN 1860.

Written by D. P. HOUGLAND, of Olathe, Kan., for the Kansas State Historical Society.

I WAS born May 8, 1833, at Barlow, Washington county, Ohio. My father, John Hougland, was born December, 1802, on the same farm, and I believe in the same brick house, said to be the first ever built in the township, if not in the county. My grandfather, Cornelius Hougland, was born November 23, 1773, in Hampshire county, Virginia. My grandfather on my mother's side, Nathan Proctor, was born September 18, 1764, in Danvers, Mass. When a boy I attended a school taught by D. C. Pery. My father was unfortunate and lost his property and the old home place, and had some debts hanging over him as a reminder. He moved to Cabell county, Virginia (now West Virginia), in 1847.

I attended Marshall Academy one term. In 1852 my father moved to Fort Madison, Iowa. I learned the carpenter trade and worked at it for eight years. When Fremont was nominated for president I was working in Springfield, Ill., and went to Fort Madison to give my first vote for him. I was working in Springfield for Warwick & Ball, who were remodeling Lincoln's old home, and I thought there was no man like Lincoln, and have never yet changed my mind.

I came to Kansas in 1857 to get a home for myself and parents, landing in Kansas City in April with $3.75 in my pocket, and a good kit of tools. My trunk was sent to the Gillis House. When I asked what they charged, they replied: "Four dollars a day, or ten dollars by the week." I thought I had better go by the week, and hustled out to see what I could get to do. I asked who was the best carpenter in town, and some one told me a Mr. Johnston. I went to his shop and found him looking over some plans, and asked if he wanted a hand. He glanced up at me and asked if I had a kit of tools. When I told him I had, he asked if I could work from drawings. I responded that I had, and could try again. He said to send my chest up and go to work in the morning, and if I suited he would give me $2.50 a day; if not, he did n't want me. I went back to the hotel feeling better. I guess I suited, for two weeks after he said: "I want you to go out and take charge of the Gilham cottage, and I will give you three dollars a day." I replied that I would if I could get a good place to board close by. He took me out to a Mrs. Evans, a sister of Milt. McGee, who said she would board me for five dollars a week. That was my home for some time. It was the brick house that stood in the old fair-ground, now Dundee Place, Kansas City, Mo.

Some time afterwards I made a claim on a quarter-section about three miles west of Oxford, and put up a little plank house, thinking I would stay on it enough to hold it, and work at my trade in the city. After a while I went to Lecompton to file on my claim. They told me at the land-office that it was on military-reserve land.

In the winter of 1857–'58 I put up a house for Mr. Absten, in New Santa Fe. Oxford was in Johnson county, Kansas, and New Santa Fe across the line in Missouri. Mr. Absten was from old Virginia, but had moved first

to Cabell county, Virginia, and then to Missouri. He wanted to let his house by contract. I thought if I could get the contract it would be convenient for me to keep an eye on my claim. I put in my bid. He quizzed me closely to find where I was from. I thought I could see how the land lay, and so I said Cabell county, Virginia. He asked me if I knew any one there, and I told him, "Oh, yes; F. G. L. Beuhring's wife is my cousin; and I went to school to Josiah Pogue at Marshal Academy." In the conversation he said something about Epa Owens, and I responded: "I have eaten old Aunt Luty's suppers many a time and gone coon hunting with the boys." It seemed to please the old man. There was no more said about a contract, but he gave me some money, and said he would send a couple of black men down with teams and for me to get what lumber I wanted.

I went to the city to finish up some work, when I got word that the shanty on my claim had been burned, and that the claim would be jumped. I had a load of lumber taken out, and commenced to restore the shanty. A man by the name of Ducate, from Weston, Mo., was on one corner of the quarter in a covered wagon. Pretty soon he and four or five others came galloping down on me with guns and revolvers and ordered me off in a hurry. I told them that I had friends over in Santa Fe and I did n't propose to go. We had a pleasant little chat for a while, and finally agreed to arbitrate the next day, each to pick a man, and they a third. I went over to Santa Fe that night, told my tale, and eight men agreed to go with me the next day. When we got to the claim, Ducate had seven men; so I was one ahead. The thing seemed to be going my way, and Ducate began to get up a quarrel. He called Tom Vaughn, who had come with me, a liar. Quick as a flash Vaughn pulled a gun on him and fired. McPhearson knocked the gun up, so it missed him. Ducate was holding a horse, with which he was trying to get up a race. He leaped on the horse and was off like a shot. Vaughn had a big gray mule, which he quickly mounted, and was after Ducate under full speed, firing at every jump. The crowd laughed and whooped. It was a new experience for me. I had never had or shot a revolver in my life, and my father had whipped me once because I had a little fisticuff with a schoolboy.

But I then saw the only way to stand straight on the border was to have a revolver and know how to use it; so I got an Allen's revolver that night of Jim Stewart. I have never seen one as large since, and it is the only one I have ever seen that would shoot with any accuracy. I shot it a few time to get the hang of it, loaded it up, and put it in a pair of saddle-bags with my dinner when I went over to put up my shanty. I rode a pretty fiery horse and lariated him close by, and went to work. I had gotten two sides of the house up, had my saddle and my saddle-pockets with the revolver in them against one of the sides, and was driving a nail when Ducate rode up to me with a revolver in his belt and a double-barreled shotgun in his hand, and told me I had to get off of the claim; that they had run him off the day of the arbitration, and now I had to go. I talked to him kind of nice and sat down on my saddle and kept working my hand for my revolver. Just then my horse pulled up the picket-pin and away he went. This took Ducate's attention, and when he looked around I had the revolver on him and told him to drop his gun and bring my horse back, which he did very kindly.

I found I could n't hold a claim there and work at my trade; so I sold my claim to Pat Stewart for seventy-five dollars. What the object was at the

land-office in telling me that a military reservation would cover the land, I never knew.

Some time in February, 1858, a young Doctor Ritchey wanted to go to Butler, Bates county, Missouri, too look for a location, and Henry Godsey, a train boss for Majors & Russell, wanted to go to Harrisonville to look after some cattle, and they asked me to go along. McKnight & Eldridge had been wanting to trade me a shingle machine and sawmill fixtures; so I thought I would go along and see if I could find a location for a mill that would pay. We started one pleasant day horseback, and went to Pleasant Hill that night. The weather changed in the afternoon and commenced to spit snow. The next morning it was snowing and blowing, and the other two backed out from going any farther. I concluded to go as far as Butler anyway. I inquired of the landlord at Pleasant Hill about the timber in that vicinity, and asked if he thought I could get to stay all night with some one on the road to Harrisonville who would be interested in having a shingle machine or sawmill put in. He thought he could tell me of the man and directed me how to go. About two and a half or three miles out of Pleasant Hill I was to cross the bridge over Big creek; there the roads forked, and he told me which road to take. But when I reached the forks I could n't say whether it was the right or left road he told me to follow; so I hung the bridle-reins over the saddle-horn and let the horse choose the road. It took the right hand, and I have kind of believed in destiny ever since; for a mile from the forks of that road I not only found the location I was looking for, but one of the best, truest wives a man ever had, Sarah J. Farmer. I found afterwards that the left-hand road was the one I was directed to take, and he expected me to stay all night at Col. Thomas Thomas's (the Tom Thompson of "Dorr Morrison's Ride," by Martin Rice, in "Rural Rhymes").

I think the horse's selection of a road changed the course of my future life. I found that I could get what timber I wanted on Big creek, two miles from Pleasant Hill. I ran the shingle machine in connection with a sawmill during the fall of 1858 and winter of 1859, and made money. On June 7, 1859, I was married to Sarah J. Farmer.

When it was announced that Abraham Lincoln had been nominated for president, I told my wife that I was going to vote for him sure, and she said that I could if I wanted to. I commenced to boost him, but soon found I was the one that would get "boosted" instead of Lincoln. The night before the election a note was slipped under the front door, telling me that any one casting a vote for Lincoln would be tarred and feathered, and ridden out of town on a rail.

Two others had promised me to vote for Lincoln. I waited till afternoon of election day for them to appear, but concluded they were not coming. A Mr. John Hon came by on his way to vote, and I asked him to hold on and I would go over with him. I got my horse out and I saw that Mr. Hon looked uneasy. He said to me: "I don't want you to go if you are going to vote for Lincoln, for I know you will get into trouble. I haven't anything against you, personally, but I don't like your politics, and I don't want to see you get into trouble." I replied: "Mr. Hon, if you don't want to go with me, go ahead, and I will go alone." But he waited and rode with me, and tried to talk me out of voting that way, while I tried to convince him that Lincoln was the best man ever nominated, and that I had a right, as a

free-born American, to vote for him. When we got to Pleasant Hill he had to see a man at the other end of town.

They voted through the window of a tailor shop, a little back of the sidewalk. A crowd lined each side of the way up to the window and along the sidewalk. There was a post in front of the voting-place. I rode up and hitched to the post. There was an ominous silence. I stepped in front of my horse, opened my overcoat, put my right hand on my breast, and looked every man square in the face as I walked to the window. I took the *Missouri Democrat*, and had cut the Republican national and the Missouri Union tickets out of the paper. These were a column in length, and I had the slip in my left hand. Fount Freeman took the ticket at the window. I handed him the ticket. He asked: "How do you vote?" I said, "There is my ticket." He let it roll out, and glancing at it said, "It is a damned black Republican ticket." He dropped it and stamped his foot on it. Feeling Henley, one of the clerks, said: "Pick that up, Fount; it has to be counted.' That was the different make-up of the two men.

I turned and walked back to my horse, saying by my looks all I knew how: "Keep your hands off of me." Everything was still until I got on my horse, when some one called out, "How did he vote?" Freeman stuck his head out of the window and said, "It was a damned black Republican vote." Then the howl began; but I still had my right hand in my bosom — there was nothing there but my hand, but they did n't know it. A number of them knew I was a good shot. I had practiced especially for the effect it might have.

I lived there till the following June. But such a life! I got a notice under the door one morning not to come to Pleasant Hill again, and Mr. Hon told me that John Duley said if he ever caught me in town he would whip me within an inch of my life. I had never spoken to Duley, and he had no reason to suppose I knew him; but I did know him to be considered the bully of the place. Two weeks later I had to go town on business. My wife wanted me to take my revolvers—I had two good Colt's navy. I told her No; I thought it a bluff, and I did n't want any blood shed if I could help it. I went, and called at Jim and Andy Allens' store. Andy was at a desk that was on a short counter at the back end of the store. I asked him to look up my account. While he was looking over the books some one came into the store, and as Allen looked up I saw that he turned pale. I knew something was wrong. There was a hatchet lying on the counter by me. I picked it up and turned around quick. Bill Palmer was walking toward me and John Duley was standing in the door. I looked Palmer in the face and felt of the edge of the hatchet. He stopped and sat down on the counter running to the door. I knew whatever was done had to be done quickly. I started with the hatchet in my hand, and then laid it down, and, appearing to arrange a pistol in my breast pocket, walked as far as Palmer and slightly halted, looking him square in the face, but saying nothing. When I got to the door, Duley was standing in it, with his side against one jamb and his hand against the other jamb, cracking nasty jokes with some fellows outside. I tapped him on the arm and said: "Please let me pass." He partly turned round, and I stepped by, but kept a side glance on his moves. Seeing his right hand coming down on my shoulder, I turned around and faced him. He said: "See, here; I understand you have threatened my life." I asked him who he was, and told him I did not threaten men I did n't know.

He said: "I am John Duley, a little the best man in this town, and you can't come to this town." I said: "That may be; but don't you put your hand on me when I do come." I backed to my horse and mounted. Some said Allen kept Duley from shooting me as I rode away, but I doubt if he had the nerve to chance it. I did not have a weapon of any kind.

Two weeks later I had to go to the drug-store for some medicine for my wife, but I went prepared for war that time. I put a navy in each pocket of my overcoat. It was Saturday, and the drug-store was full when I went in. I saw Duley and Palmer standing by the stove at the back end of the room. I walked to the counter, told the druggist what I wanted, but kept my hand on my revolver, full cocked, with the determination to empty every barrel before any man should lay a hand on me. No one molested me by look or word.

Some time after that, I was on my knees running a screw in a hinge of our front gate. I heard a swish, saw something stick into the plank just above the hinge, and then heard the report of a gun—the first time I was fully convinced that a ball discharged from a gun traveled faster than the report. The ball went between my ear and head, shaved off some of the hair, and skinned the ear. There was a forty-acre corn-field across the road opposite the gate. I suppose some one was shooting at game in there, and the ball came my way.

Some time, I think, in May, 1861, they were trying to get up a company to defend the state, and I was told that I would have to join it. My wife was a cousin of the wife of Robert Brown, near Harrisonville, at that time a Union candidate for the constitutional convention. I had business at Harrisonville, and went to Brown's and stayed all night. He and I rode into Harrisonville the next day, and soon saw that some excitement was up. Representative Briscoe was up from Jefferson City, and was going to speak at the court-house. I went to hear what he had to say. He had a fearful story to tell about Camp Frost,[1] Lyon and his Dutch Hessians, and how a Dutch officer had run a brave little boy through with his sword at St. Louis because he had made sport of them. I soon saw it was not the best place for me. The Harrisonville paper had published my name as one of Lincoln's hirelings, and intimated that I had better be notified to leave the county; so I slipped out as quietly as possible, and went home. I told my wife it would n't do for me to stay there while the flurry was on; that they would be after me to join a company, and that I never would do, and fight the government, and that that was what it would come to. So I left that night. A young man by the name of Henry Bell, who was working for me, went with me. He afterwards became a captain in the Union army. We went to Lawrence and worked for Col. Shaler W. Eldridge, on a farm west of town. I think the farm belonged to Governor Reeder. We worked there two weeks, and thought by that time that the company would have been organized and gone, and that perhaps we might return to stay.

We reached old man Judy's, at the head timber of Big creek, about sundown. The old man was Union. He had hauled slabs and shingles from my mill, and I had found he would say more to me than he dared talk out. Two of his sons were killed a mile east of Olathe in September, 1862, by

NOTE 1.—Camp Jackson, St. Louis, where the state militia was encamped under the command of Daniel M. Frost.

Quantrill's men, in their raid on that town. The old man was excited when he saw us ride up, and rushed us and our horses back to the barn and out of sight. He told me there was a patrol along that road every night watching for me; that it was reported that I had gone for Montgomery and Jennison, and was coming back to clean things up. He advised me not to go home. I told him I must see my wife, and he responded that a guard was kept in front of my house at night. Bell and I kept the timber road down the creek and left our horses in the thick brush. The house was on the west side of the Pleasant Hill and Harrisonville road, and an old rail worm fence ran from the timber to the back of the house. The house had an ell, and an upper and lower porch in the angle. We put an old ladder up to the upper porch and I went up and Henry kept watch. I slipped quietly into my wife's room—it was about one o'clock—and put my hand over her mouth and held it tight till I got her to know who I was. She told me that a guard paced up and down the road every half-hour in the night, and that they had terrible tales out about me, and that I could n't stay there if I would n't fight for my state.

I arranged things the best I could with my wife, and Henry and I left the way we came. We got to Judy's about daylight. He told us when the patrol left, fed our horses, and got our breakfast. There was but one house on the prairie then from Judy's to the Kansas line; so we had clear sailing.

Bell said he had enough of it, and went to Leavenworth and enlisted in the First or Second Kansas, a three months' man. I stayed in Kansas till I heard the companies had left, and then I thought maybe I could go back home and stay. I went back and stayed a few days, for all I met seemed friendly. But soon one of the companies came back, and one Sabbath morning in the latter part of June some one called me up about sunrise. I looked out of the window and saw Mr. Hon, Mr. Neal, and Sam Beard, my closest neighbors. I went out to them. They said they wanted to talk to me, and advise me as friends that I would have to enlist in a company and help defend the state I lived in. I told them I was as willing to help defend the state's rights as any of them, whenever the state's rights were encroached upon; that the government had never encroached upon the state's rights, and that when it did I would defend them as soon as I would those of any other state in the Union. They said the time had come when the ways parted, and that I would have to make my choice. I replied that I never would enlist to fight against the government, but if they would pay me half the worth of what I had I would go gladly. Mr. Neal spoke up and said that there was no necessity for them to buy me out; that I would have to go anyway. I turned and walked into the house, and they went to Beard's, a short distance up the road.

In a little while a company of men filed out of Beard's barn with arms, and drew up in line in the road, and a man with an orderly sergeant's chevron on his coat galloped to my front gate and called me out. He pulled a roll out of his pocket and handed it to me over the gate and said: "I want you to sign this." I unrolled it and saw it was a company roll. I handed it back to him and said: "Not for your life, Roary." He was a mean cuss from New York, and had worked for me, and I did n't like him, and paid him off. He seemed to feel lordly in his new position, and I could see that it did him good to lord it over me. It would have helped my feelings about then to have wiped the earth up with him. He stuck the roll in his pocket,

and threw a letter in the yard and said: "You can look at that." I picked it up, took it in the house, and read it to my wife. This it what it contained:

"*Mr. Hougland:*

"SIR—We consider you one of our worst enemies, and deem it our duty to notify you and yours to be gone by eleven o'clock this day, or the consequences to you and yours will be evil."

No name was signed, but it was well written. I looked at my wife and she looked at me. She spoke first, and said: "We won't go. We have a good double-barreled shotgun, a rifle, two revolvers, and there is old Bucephalus. It is good for twenty of them the first shot! Let them come." That was a name we had given an old musket. A man from Michigan on his way to Pike's Peak took sick in his wagon and died at my house. He had the barrel of an old musket banded eight or ten inches up from the breech with heavy iron bands to kill Indians or buffalo, and the widow left it with me when she returned to Michigan. It was a holy terror to get in front of, with twenty or thirty buckshot as a load, and they knew it, as some of them had borrowed it to shoot wild geese. I said: "All right; 'Barkis is willin'."

We looked up the road and saw a man coming toward the house. I told my wife to have everything handy, and I would go out and see what he had to say. I walked out to the front fence by the garden paling, a navy revolver in each hand. As he came I saw he had two revolvers in his belt. Just as he approached I laid both of my revolvers, full cocked, on top of the fence, and said: "Larkin, what will you have?" He stopped short and seemed kind of bashful, but finally he said he wanted to have a friendly chat and save me some trouble. But he went back soon with me holding the fort. That was Larkin Skaggs, the only one of Quantrill's band killed at the sacking of Lawrence.

A man that was in the crowd when he started to come told me afterward that Larkin said he did n't want a better job than killing that damned negro lover; and that his brother Willis caught him by the arms and told him he should n't go, but that others pulled him loose and said: "Let him go; it will save a lot of trouble."

My wife and I got ready to give them a warm welcome. But two of her aunts came, crying, and the Rev. Henry Farmer, her uncle, the man who had married us, and begged me to go; that they would take care of my wife and baby, three months old; that I would get killed if I stayed, and that it would get them all into trouble; that they had always liked me, but could n't save me now, and that they wished me to go for their sakes. So I said I would go; but my wife said if I went she was going, too. I had three horses and a mule in the barn. We backed the wagon up to the house, and they loaded in some things, and hitched the four to the wagon. I intended to go one mile south on the Harrisonville road and then through the prairie west to Aubrey, Kan., but just as I was about to start a little boy that played at our house a good deal, and always seemed to like to come, came along on a pony. He was crying, and said: "Don't go that way, Mr. Hougland; four men have gone that way and they are going to kill you out on the prairie. I heard them say so." I then turned and took the road toward Pleasant Hill, then an old-time timber road across Big creek, and came out on the Kansas City road at the old Union Baptist church west of Pleasant Hill. I drove off of the road that night east of the Little Blue,

and got to stay with a Covenanter. He seemed kind of curious about me, and finally asked if my name was Hougland. I thought he was all right, and I said "Yes." He said he kept sweet-potato plants for sale at the Hill, and "I heard about you and thought you would have to leave. Our denomination don't take any part in politics." I thought: "Well, if you think slavery wrong you should take part."

The next night we camped on Tomahawk creek, five or six miles east of Olathe. We fixed to sleep under the wagon the best we could. It had no cover. In the night a thunder-storm came up and the rain poured down. In the morning everything was drenched through. The Bible says: "Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord." I believe that, but I felt that morning that I would give a good deal to do some of the repaying myself, there and then.

In the morning we drove on about two miles and came to a house. I went in and asked if we could get breakfast and do up some washing. They said: "Yes; come right in." When they saw the fix we were in, the woman said: "You must have been run out of Missouri." I replied, "That is what 's the matter." I will never forget their kindness to us. We stayed till the next day, in time to drive to Olathe.

When we drove into Olathe we must have looked like 'way-backers. I stopped on the south side of the square and inquired for a house. There seemed to be none to let. A man by the name of F. S. Hill was interested in the looks of things, and came out to the wagon and asked me what was the matter—how did I come to be in that shape? I told him I had voted for Lincoln in Missouri, and that was all the matter. He said: "Drive into my barn; there is room for your horses and wagon, and I will see if I can't get a house for you in the morning." I will never forget him, for he was a man.

The next day John Judy heard of my being in town and came to see me. He said his father had told him about me, and thought that I would have to leave Missouri; that Mr. J. E. Hayes, their representative, would be home soon, and he thought he could let me have some rooms. Mr. Hayes came in a day or two and Judy came up and introduced me to him, and told him what he had heard from his father. Hayes, afterwards colonel and state treasurer, told me I could have two rooms up-stairs in his house, the stone hotel in Olathe, and that my wife could cook on their stove; so there was a friend in need. When we got fixed in our rooms, and sat down to supper on an improvised table, and the baby looking as though there was no trouble in the world, my wife actually kissed me, and said she felt better than she had for a year. She felt as though she could get up and shout, she was so relieved.

After that Colonel Hayes got up a company, and told me if I would help recruit it he thought he could get a lieutenancy for me. He got the company recruited, and I got word from friends at Pleasant Hill that they thought my wife could come back and look after things. She concluded she would go, as they would n't molest a woman; so I fixed up to take her back. Mr. Thavis, father of the Washington correspondent, said he would go with me and see what they looked like down there. We got there about night and met no one near home.

Thavis and I started back the next morning; drove close by Sam Beard's, and saw three or four men standing around. Thavis said: "I will make them think I am Jennison, and they will keep quiet." I spoke pleasantly to them, but Thavis sat up straight and looked as though he was ready to shoot

with both hands at once. Sure enough, they did take him for Jennison, and sent my wife back to Olathe the next day. They told her I had brought Jennison down to spy out the land and get revenge, and she would have to go with me. They would n't have me coming back there. I told Hayes I could n't go in his company and leave my wife that way.

Some time in the summer or fall I heard that Col. Andrew G. Nugent and Major Dean had formed a company of home guards at Austin, Cass county, and that the rebels had them surrounded west of Harrisonville, and that Colonels Weer and Van Horn were on the way through Aubrey to relieve them. I thought I would overtake them and help if I could, and might get some stock or stuff I had down there brought out. I overtook a squad of our men at the crossing of the Mormon fork of Grand river, where they halted. One of them, a tall, fine-looking fellow, except that his eyes were a cold, cruel, steel-blue gray, rode up to me and asked where I was going. I said: "To see Colonel Weer or Van Horn." He inquired: "Do you know either of them?" I replied: "I know Van Horn." We rode to the front and up to Van Horn, who recognized me. After chatting a little, Van Horn asked me if I belonged to any of the companies. I told him "No"; that I had just overtaken them to see if I could do them any good. He called the man up and said: "He is all O. K. Give him a Sharp's rifle, and keep him with you." That man was Cleveland, a captain under Jennison. I made up my mind when I got through that trip that they both deserved shooting. I have heard Jennison lauded above Montgomery. I afterwards met and had some transactions with Montgomery. He was a noble, big-minded man; of the other, I have said all that is necessary.

In January, 1862, I got a letter from Colonel Nugent, saying he had authority to raise a battalion of state militia that would be well armed, and would be kept on the border to protect our homes, and wanted I should join them. I went to Harrisonville and enlisted, the 12th day of February, 1862. Shortly afterwards some wagons that were bringing us some supplies from Kansas City were captured and some of the men killed at the crossing of the Little Blue. Nugent called me into his office and wanted I should take a dispatch to the city, and go to Quindaro and recruit some men that were to be mustered out of the three months' Kansas regiment. We furnished our own horses, and I had a good one. Nugent thought I knew the lay of the land as well or better than any of them; so the next morning I started early. I kept on the prairie all I could and away from the road; left the Little Blue to my right, and aimed for a crossing of the Big Blue that I knew of, at a distance from any road. This took me a little nearer a grove on the high prairie which had surrounded the house of Dick Berry than I wished to go. This house had been burned by Jennison. I scanned the grove well and, seeing no one, thought I would follow up a swale in the prairie till I got a little beyond it before crossing the ridge. When I came upon the ridge I was a little closer than I had expected. I kept on the lookout and bore away from the grove, but soon saw four men lead out their horses and start toward me on the jump. I concluded to go on the jump also, and outjumped them, their shots falling wild. I had to angle toward Aubrey to get away; so I made for Olathe, thinking the road from Olathe the safest to go to the city.

I stayed at Olathe that night, and started to the city in the morning. A heavy sleet had fallen in the night and the road was covered with ice. I

had no gloves, my hands got cold, and I hung the rein over the horn of the saddle. I had gone but a little way when my horse slipped and seemed to catch her hind shoe on her front one, for she came down like she had been shot, falling on my right leg and breaking it in three places. Oliver Gregg found me, got a team and helped me to Olathe, where my wife was.

I afterwards joined the command, and was mustered out at St. Louis. The government sent us to Leavenworth over the Hannibal & St. Joseph railroad. I met my wife there. I rented Judge Delahay's farm, on the Big Stranger, and was living there at the time of the Lawrence massacre—the most ungodly crime ever committed by white men. One little incident happened here that kind of amused me. A man lived on the Stranger, close by me, who always had a doleful victory for the rebels—he was so sorry the Union men were all cut to pieces. He was from Johnson county, Missouri, and I thought he would bear watching. He happened to go to Lawrence the day before the night of the massacre, and put up at the Whitney House. He awoke at the noise, and looked out of the front window. Seeing men being shot down on the street, he jumped out of the back window onto the lean-to part of the house, and from there to the ground, and made for the river-bank. Some one saw him and shot at him, and took his thumb off. He got home the next day afoot, and thought "that was no way to do; that they were as liable to shoot a friend as a foe."

I had bought 200 acres of Indian land in 1861, in Johnson county, Kansas, my present home. As there were so many troops on the border in the spring of 1864, I thought I would move onto it and begin its improvement. But we found it quite shaky, as some one was reported raided or killed every once in awhile along the border, and my wife began to wish we had stayed on the Delahay place till the war was over.

I was living one mile west of Olathe at the time of Quantrill's raid, in September, 1862, and still confined to the house with a broken leg. Mrs. Judy told my wife that Quantrill's men inquired for me when they took John and Jim off and shot them; that my living a mile west instead of a mile east of town was all that saved me; all of which made my wife somewhat uneasy.

In the fall of 1864 I had my nerves shaken up somewhat one night. We had an old cow that would get into the yard sometimes and play hookey. One bright, moonlight night I heard a noise in the yard and, supposing it was the cow, I jumped out of bed, rushed out of doors, and ran into a squad of men with "Present arms!" and an order to halt, which I did, thinking my time had come. They inquired for a man who was stopping there, and ordered me to go in and bring him out. I told them I was the only man there. They said they knew better, for a man wearing a soft, black hat over a straw hat had been seen to stop there just at night, and they wanted him. I told them that was Dr. Wm. M. Shean, of Gardner, who had come to see a sick child just at night and had on that kind of a hat. They apologized for disturbing me, and I found they were Union soldiers, to my great relief.

Some time in May of 1864,[2] I think it was the 24th or 25th, a cyclone completely demolished the house I was living in, and destroyed most everything in it, which seemed a good deal to me at that time, as I had just gotten back from Kansas City the night before with provisions to do half the

NOTE 2.—Dr. Hugh D. Fisher, in his volume "The Gun and the Gospel," page 220, tells of another cyclone which occurred in Atchison county during his ministry there in 1859–'61, which demolished his farmhouse without seriously injuring any of the six occupants.

summer. One thing that was destroyed I have missed ever since, and that was a pocket diary. I had kept one written up every night since I was twenty years old. I had commenced keeping one for the express purpose of seeing how I spent my money, and if there was any way of curtailing expenses that would be of no profit or honor, and had noted anything I thought of interest at the time. I could fix the dates of many things positively if I had it, that now I can only guess at. After the storm I put up a frame of three rooms, enclosed one room, laid down a loose floor, and my wife and baby moved in. I finished up the house that summer.

One little incident occurred some time that summer or fall which I often recall, and always come to the conclusion that it is a good thing for a man to have a wife that is smarter than himself. One bright, moonlight night some time after midnight, some one hallooed in front of the house. I jumped up and started to go to the door. My wife jumped out and grabbed me, and whispered to me not to go to the door without a pistol. I picked up a Colt's navy and, peeking through the window-curtains, saw a man on a big gray horse just in front of the door with a pistol in his hand. I went to the door quietly, opened it a little way, and thrust my right arm out with the pistol in my hand, full cocked, pointed straight at him, and said: "What do you want?" He laughed aloud and said: "You don't calculate to be taken unawares, do you?" I said: "No, I don't." He asked how far it was to Olathe, and if there were any troops there. I saw another man a short distance behind him on a fine-looking black horse. As they rode off they both seemed to be superbly mounted. In a day or two I heard there had been some robbing done and a man or two killed somewhere west on the Santa Fe road that night. I lived on that road.

Everything went on smoothly and peaceably that summer till some time in the fall. I had leased some grass land of an Indian south of the mission, and had an agreement with Col Kersey Coates to take what hay I could cut at seven dollars a ton in the bunch or cock on the prairie. I had cut long enough to get my machines paid for, and thought I was in good shape to make some money, when a deputy sheriff came and notified me that I must go to Olathe and enroll in the militia instanter, or Price would get there before I did. That put an end to the hay profits. When I got to Olathe the bees were swarming. I saw quite a number of queens around, but not much appearance of a king about; but after a while they got me into a Captain Dowdell's company. Occasionally a man would come in from towards the line with his hat gone (supposed to have been shot off) and a fearful report of what was coming.

On a Sunday morning, I think about the 20th or 23d of October, Captain Dowdell was ordered to take some men and get as near the enemy as possible, and watch their movements and send back word. I think he took about twelve men, and of them I was one. He took us about three miles towards the Missouri line and stopped by the side of a stone fence on the high prairie. He then ordered one of the men to climb on top of an old shed or barn and report what he could see. The man reported that he could see smoke towards Westport. A young man and myself wanted we should go on till we could see what was doing. He said he was responsible for his men and he didn't think it right for him to take them any further. We asked him to let us two go and we would report back. He finally let us go. We went till we saw they were fighting south of Westport. We climbed a tree and

watched. I soon saw a cloud of dust rising east of the Blue, towards Hickman's Mills. I watched it a little while, and learned it was going rapidly towards the south. I told the fellow they were retreating as fast as possible; for us to hurry to Olathe that word might be sent to Fort Scott, and they be headed off and got between two fires.

We went back as fast as our horses would carry us, but our squad was gone when we got there, and we asked ourselves, "Where are all our men gone?" and echo answered, "Where?" In the course of the day they began to come straggling in. Word had gotten around that Price was on the retreat, and that some of the militia had gone in pursuit. A soldier I was acquainted with, that belonged to Colonel Cloud's regiment, came into Olathe in the afternoon on his way from Leavenworth to Fort Scott. He said Cloud had sent him to Leavenworth with a dispatch. I know he thought Cloud the best fighter in the army. He wished Cloud was there with 5000 or 6000 men, and they would lick the whole posse of them. He thought it best for us to overtake the army in pursuit; so I went with him. We caught up with the rear end of the army before we got to Trading Post. We slept in a fence corner part of the night. In the morning we passed a man hanging to a log sticking out of an old building. At Trading Post I came across Colonel Keeler, Mr. Cramer and one or two others that belonged to the militia at Olathe. They were fighting at Mine creek. We got there in time to see Marmaduke and a squad of rebels in the bull pen. They were certainly good goers. I followed till south of Fort Scott, and my horse was about played out, and I thought I could do no good and turned back.

I finally got home, and found my wife glad to see me. We lived happily together till she died, June 8, 1878. She was generous to a fault; one of God's noble women, if she was born in Tennessee and raised in Missouri. I have a warm side for the South with all her faults. Slavery was a cornerstone of dynamite to build a state or nation on.

I have always been glad that I cast my first vote for a Republican president. The history of the Republican party is one that any American might be proud of; but the first and the last president elected by the party hold rather the highest niche in my dome, as men. I am sorry to say that all Republican candidates, and some that get the nomination and even are elected on the strength of the "grand old party," don't deserve a niche in the basement.

KAW AND KANSAS: A MONOGRAPH ON THE NAME OF THE STATE.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by ROBERT HAY, in 1882.

SOME months ago the attention of the writer was called to some notes prepared by the esteemed secretary of the Historical Society, Franklin G. Adams, on the subject of the various orthography of the name of the river and Indian tribe from which our state derives its name, and, at his request, promised some time to take up the investigation and complete it. He (the writer) has been enabled to devote some time to it this month, and by the kind assistance of Judge Adams and that of Mr. Dennis, the state librarian, he has been enabled to collect a mass of evidence which, while it does not pretend to include every work which has mentioned the name of our state or river—which would be an impossibility—does include every variety of literary work likely to bear on the subject at all, viz., history, travels, biography, acts of Congress and acts of legislatures, fiction, treaties, original documents, and compiled works, the latter including encyclopedias and gazetteers.

From a careful reduction of the evidence used, I am enabled definitely to say what is the usage of the writers consulted, not only individually but in periods, and generally usage decides all questions of orthography and pronunciation.

The orthography of the name of the state as we now have it is settled by law. The act of Congress of 1861 admitting this territory into the roll of the states spells the name Kansas. Seven years earlier, the act creating our territorial government has the same orthography. Territorial laws (*e. g.*, those of 1858) have the same spelling for our river Kansas; and state laws (1861) also repeat this name, "the Kansas river." The United States Congress has also named the river Kansas as far back as 1820, in the act admitting the state of Missouri (approved March 6 of that year), in which the meridian of the mouth of the Kansas river is declared to be the western boundary of that state. For the river, however, the shorter name Kaw is much used by modern writers, and for reasons to be afterwards mentioned it might be desirable if that designation (Kaw) were retained permanently, and if necessary made the legal designation of our noble stream.

The state derived its name from the river; the river, from the tribe of Indians that for ages has lived on its banks and between it and that part of the Missouri river which forms the northeast boundary of our state. This tribe, which at the beginning of this century had by an apparently carefully made census 1565 persons, has now dwindled to about 300. Writers of from thirty to fifty years ago describe them as amongst the most miserable and degraded of the Indian tribes. Recent reports of the Indian agents speak of them as having made decided improvements in agriculture and other arts of civilization, but it is hardly likely that they will long be able to preserve their tribal identity, if even they do not become utterly extinct. In official documents (treaties) as far back as 1815 they are designated Kansas Indians, and the name similarly spelt is used in the Indian

commissioner's report to secretary of the interior for 1861. But since the last date a new custom has grown up, for in the reports of 1871, 1873, 1875 and 1880 the name Kaw and its plural, Kaws, are used constantly, and the longer name, Kansas, is only used occasionally; thus, "Kaws or Kansas Indians." The name Kaw appears to be a legitimate abbreviation of the tribal name as pronounced by the Indians themselves. It would seem, therefore, the best name to be recognized legally, and we therefore commend the action of Agent Mahlon Stubbs, who always dates his reports from the "Kaw Indian Agency."

But if the tribe is doomed to extinction, the name Kaw will go with it, unless applied to something else. I therefore suggest that the Historical Society, public corporations, the state press and the legislature do uniformly use the name K-a-w (Kaw) for the stream which from Fort Riley to the Missouri turns the mills, drains the fields and gladdens the eye of the sons of sunny Kansas.

The French explorer, Marquette, about the year 1673, appears to have been the first to hear of the tribe of Indians of whom we have been writing; but not having access to original accounts of his journey, we are not able to give the orthography he uses. In 1682 La Salle visited a tribe down the Mississippi, of whom he had heard before, whom he calls the Akansa (using this word as the plural). We afterwards get *s* added for the plural and cedilla *c* for the initial of the last syllable. Hennepin, about the time of La Salle, saw the same people and used similar orthography. These are the tribes of the Arkansas or Arkansaw Indians whom the Spanish explorer, De Soto, called Kappaws, and the Sieur de Tonty, a companion of La Salle, called Cappas, and whom we now call Quapaws. The orthography for our river tribe, among the French explorers, varies. We have both Kanzas and Canceas. We have various authorities about 1720 to 1760, many of which are cited in Paris documents published to illustrate New York colonial history, and we have translations of De Bourgmont and Charlevoix, both of the first quarter of the eighteenth century. It appears from some of these documents that the French of Canada did not always distinguish between the two tribes whose names they knew as those of "very distant nations." From the documents of which we have translations we are not always sure that we have the orthography used by the explorers themselves. The poet Bryant judiciously remarks on this in his history, that such was their spelling "or that of their French printers." But allowing for this source of error, we find that there was wide latitude of orthography, and sometimes we see how copyists increased the number of ways of spelling through sheer blundering. For instance, La Salle is credited with the two words Akansea and Dakansea. The latter is manifestly nothing but the French genitive case for the former, with the apostrophe omitted. This fact puts us on the track of understanding why the French of Canada sometimes confused the names of the two tribes. One of the oldest maps names our river as "R. of the Cansez." This phrase "of the Cansez," is a translation of the French "des Cansez," which careless chirography might easily make something like La Salle's "Dakansea."

There can be no doubt that Kauzau is the way our tribe pronounced their own name. How the *n* came in the first syllable in our modern name is not very easy to see. It possibly entered the spelling of the French explorers

and writers, owing to the ease with which their nasal *n* combines with the broad vowel represented in our language by *au*.[1]

In the spelling of eighty years ago, we have manifestly attempts to keep the broad vowel sound in both syllables. We have Konza and Conzon. It is worthy of remark that Pike of Pike's Peak always spells it Kans—or was it his printer? The same explorer gives Tetau for Teton.

Our river has, however, had one other name not belonging to the name of the Kaw tribe. Charlevoix, whose letters to a French lady began to be written from Canada in 1720, locates the tribe of Paducas near the head waters of the Smoky and Republican, and his map names our stream the "Paducas" river. The year that Charlevoix began to write, another Frenchman, Du Tisne, actually passed up our river, and was probably the first white man who saw its waters or marveled at its beauty. De Bourgmont, who saw it four years later, was enraptured with it; and his English translator of 1763 has this passage: "The 10th, they continued to pass over a similar landskip, the beauties of which were never cloying." In our time "the winding Kaw" has been the theme of eloquent description and the burden of poetic measure.

Schoolcraft, with others, says the Kaws are related to the Osages and derived from them. It is claimed, also, that their name should be pronounced Wausache. There is one name, formerly applied to the Kaws, that may have in it something of the history of this connection. It is Okanis. We also stumble across the name Ozaws, but the identity of this tribe is doubtful. Schoolcraft, while generally calling our tribe Kansas, once has it Kasas, which shows his appreciation of the correct pronunciation.

The term Kaw as an abbreviation is modern, unless Pike's "Kans" was meant for it. It is, however, largely used by the travelers who visited the territory during the decade of the Kansas troubles. Horace Greeley used it, as also did Richardson, Gladstone, Tomlinson, Mrs. Robinson, Mrs. Roper, Holloway, and Doctor Gihon. The form "Konza" is used by Major Long and George Catlin.

I have found twenty-four forms of the word applied to the Indians, or to the river, or to both, and ten forms of Arkansas, as follows, nearly in chronological order:[2]

1. Kanzas.
2. Canceas.
3. Cansez.
4. Kansez.
5. Acansias.
6. Canzas.
7. Canzés.
8. Okanis.
9. Kansies.
10. Cansés.
11. Canzon.
12. Kanzon.
13. Kans.
14. Kansès.
15. Konza.
16. Konzas.
17. Kasas.
18. Kauzau.
19. Kauzaus.
20. Kansaws.
21. Kaws.
22. Kaw.
23. Kanzan.
24. Canzan.

NOTE 1.— It might also be suggested that the first *u* in Kauzau might have been mistaken for an *n* by some early printer, and the name became popularized in that form.

NOTE 2.— Mr. Hay has given no authority for these various spellings; a limited search reveals the following: 1, Morse's Report on Indian Affairs, 1822, p. 203; American State Papers, vol. 2, p. 588; De Smet's Indian Sketches, 1843, p. 64; Shea's Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi, 1903, p. 268. 2, Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, 1855, vol. 9, p. 673. 3, Delisle's map in French's History of Louisiana, vol. 2. 4, Map in Charlevoix's America, 1763. 5, Probably the Arkansas; Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, 1855, vol. 5, p. 622. 7, Margry, vol. 6, pp. 387 and 419; also written with *grave* accent, see Margry, vol. 6, p. 456. 10, Margry, vol. 6, p. 290; Shea, in his Charlevoix's History of New France, vol. 5, p. 142, uses *grave* accent. 13, Pike's Expedition, 1805–'07, 1810. 14, Margry, vol. 6, pp. v and vi. 15 and 16, Long's Expedition, vol. 1, p. 108. 18 and 19, Isaac McCoy, Register of Indian

1. Arkansa.
2. Akansea.
3. Dakansea.
4. Akansas.
5. Akancas.
6. Arkansas.
7. Arkansaw.
8. Acansa.
9. Ah Kan Zau.
10. Akamsea.

Some of these forms are merely the plurals of others. The *z* sound of the fourth letter of the modern name is certainly correct, and Edward Everett Hale sought to retain it in the spelling, in spite of the authority of Congress, for in his book he prints the act organizing the territory and inserts *z* for the fourth letter.

The writer has consulted nearly eighty different authors, including a few modern French and English. Out of this number very few think it worth while to dwell on the matter of orthography. These few are, however, of authority, and we shall quote from them in the order of their dates, and then conclude.

In 1828 Isaac McCoy, a Baptist missionary to the Indians, was in this region, and in a series of letters to the government described the condition of the various tribes. These letters, or reports, were published in 1840. He spells the name of our tribe Kauzau, and Kauzaus for the plural, using also the singular form for the name of the river and of the language. In 1835 Mr. McCoy published an "Annual Register," in which he uses the same name, and has this note: "Different persons have, at various times, written the name of this tribe differently, as suited the fancy of each. We have chosen to adhere to the pronunciation of the natives themselves, which is Kau-zau. We have been the more inclined to do this from the supposition that its resemblance to the name of the Southern tribe (supposed to have been exterminated), from which Arkansas river derived its name, the proper pronunciation of which is Ah-kau-zau, might lead to a development of facts relative to the origin of these people which would be a benefit to the future historian." Notwithstanding its defective grammar, this is valuable evidence, for Mr. McCoy knew whereof he affirmed, and Judge Adams informs me that a member of the Chouteau family, whose long residence on the border enabled him to know personally, confirmed the statement of McCoy.

Edward E. Hale, in 1854, refers to several of the old methods of spelling the name, and then adheres to Kanzas.

Richardson, in "Beyond the Mississippi," page 29, under date of 1857, has the following:

"A morning walk of two miles . . . brought me to the Kansas, or Kaw

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Affairs, 1835, p. 27. 21 and 22, Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties, vol. I, p. 1121. 24, Patrick Gass, Journal, 1807, p. 19. To Mr. Hay's list can also be added: Kansa (Marquette's map of the Mississippi river; Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties, vol. 2, p. 919; W. J. McGee, Fifteenth Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology, p. 162). Kansè (Margry, vol. 6, p. 365). Kanzes, Karsea, Cancez, Kah, Kances (Thwaites' Lewis and Clark, 1905, p. 480). Kanees (Perrin du Lac, Travels Through the Two Louisianas, pp. 56 and 57). Cancés (Margry, vol. 6, p. 457). Kansea (French's Louisiana, vol. 2, p. 228). Chanzes (Joutel's Journal of La Salle's Last Voyage, 1684-'87, 1906, p. 127). Kansas (Margry, vol. 6, p. vi; Morse's Report on Indian Affairs, 1822, p. 203; Brackenridge, Views of Louisiana, 1814, p. 5; Thwaites' Lewis and Clarke, 1905, p. 480). Quans (Margry, vol. 6, p. 393). J. V. Brower, in his Missouri River and its Utmost Source, 1897, p. 165, gives, besides some above mentioned, the following list of names and authorities: Canchez (Le Page du Pratz, Hist. Louisiana, vol. II, p. 251, 1758). Cansa (Harris, Collection of Voyages and Travels [map], 1705). Canse (Iberville [1702], in Margry's Decouvertes, vol. IV, p. 601, 1880). Canze (Bienville [1722], in Margry, vol. VI, p. 387). Kamse (N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. IX, p. 1057 [Doc. of 1736]). Kancas (La Potherie, Hist. Amerique, vol. II, p. 271, 1753). Kansae (Coxe, Carolana, p. 11, 1741). Kanses (Iberville [1702], in Margry, vol. IV, p. 599, 1880). Kaus (Johnson and Winter, Route across Rocky Mountains, p. 13, 1846). Konzo (Long's Expedition [James' ed.], vol. I, p. 111, 1823).

river. Kansas, signifying 'smoky,'[3] is the name of a degraded and nearly extinct Indian tribe. Lewis and Clark, and all other early explorers, spelled it as pronounced, with a 'z.' It was first familiarized to American ears by the bill of Senator Douglas repealing the Missouri compromise—that little fire which kindled so vast a conflagration. Then many official documents and newspapers followed the early orthography, and to this day a few journals spell it 'Kanzas,' but the later mode is irrevocably established."

J. N. Holloway, in his history bearing date 1868, uses the usual spelling, Kansas, and on page 87 has these words:

"The name Kansas, signifying 'smoky,' is derived from the chief river running from the east through the center of the state, the name of the river, having been derived from that of the tribe of Indians inhabiting its borders towards its mouth. It is variously spelled by early writers Cansan, Kanson, and Kanzas, but since the organization of the territory it has been written Kansas. The Kansas Indians are sometimes called Kaws—a nickname given them by the French."

This hint about a nickname corroborates the evidence of McCoy, and doubtless points to the origin of the abbreviation, for from the unaccented Kauzau nothing would be easier for a French trader than to drop off the last syllable, and the degraded Kaws would accept it, as the writer has evidence to show they did.

In pursuing this investigation the writer has found much interesting matter on the customs and migrations of this Indian tribe, and on the geography of our river, but this must be omitted, as well as information respecting books that would be desirable to have in our libraries; but he would remark that though originally the name Kansez (or other form) was applied to the entire length of the stream from the head waters of the Smoky, and the Saline and Solomon were spoken of as forks of the Cansez, yet it is to be regretted that such a work as Johnson's Cyclopedia should not have recognized that, at least since the time of Richardson, the Kaw river commences at the junction of the Republican and Smoky Hill rivers, at Fort Riley.

In 1873 a poem was written which interwove the flow of our river with the flow of its numbers. It appeared in the *Kansas Farmer*, October 13, 1875. It may have little merit as a poem, but it will not be an inappropriate thing to introduce here a few lines to close our article on the Kaw, Kaws, and Kansas. This poem has nine stanzas of unequal length. It is entitled an "Epithalanium," an imitation of the style of Spenser. We give the fifth, seventh and part of the ninth verses:

V.

"And though I cannot sing as Spenser sang
And armed knights have not to praise,
Yet she who weds to-day, the fair among
Is of the fairest, and my most gentle lays
Shall speak her gentle; and her knight
Is like my Sidney, for he has fought for men,
And. like the thrice great Roman, his sword has made a plow,
And as I meditate their praise upon their banks, do thou
Help me to sweetness, fulness, fervor, as I stroll along
And murmur music, Kaw, until I end my song.

Note 3.—The meaning of Kansas is given Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 8, p. 173.

VII.

"Broad Kaw, from sunset lands thou comest,
And eastward still dost go,
Seeking the morning dawn
With never-ceasing flow;
And in the great Missouri downward,
Going still thou loses self, and noonward,
Going still, the Father of Waters in his breast
Enfolds thee, and with thee goes to rest
Where the ocean ever gleameth the isles of Ind among
So smoothly flow, broad Kaw, until I end my song.

IX.

"But for the twain made one
Old time move gently on,
Still brightly shine, fair sun,
Fringe all their grief with gladness,
And if there must be sadness
Let it be all on earth and so be ended,
And then eternally their bliss prolong—
Broad Kaw, flow grandly on, for now I end my song."

TWO CITY MARSHALS.

THOMAS JAMES SMITH, OF ABILENE.

TOM SMITH, the marshal who conquered the cowboys, was fittingly honored by the people of Abilene on Memorial day, May 30, 1904. He was marshal from May until November, 1870, and received the largest salary ever paid to an Abilene officer—$225 a month and half of the fines—all of which he earned. He was murdered while making an arrest and laid away in an obscure part of what is now the Abilene cemetery. Under the leadership of J. B. Edwards, the movement was started to erect a monument to his memory. Mr. Edwards secured, in Oklahoma, a natural boulder and had it shipped to Abilene and placed on the new lot given by the city, in a more prominent part of the cemetery, to which the marshal's body had been lately removed. Through the glass in the metal casket, Smith's features were as distinct as when he died. On the monument is a bronze plate reading:

"Thomas J. Smith, marshal of Abilene, 1870. Died a martyr to duty, November 2, 1870; a fearless hero of frontier days, who in cowboy chaos established the supremacy of law."

Early in the day the public gathered about the monument, and, after some ceremony, William S. Stambaugh, in behalf of the committee, presented the stone to the city.

Mayor S. R. Cowan accepted the monument in the following words:

"On behalf of the citizens of Abilene, I most gladly accept this trust, and pledge the good name of the city that henceforth this stone shall be preserved and kept sacred to the memory of our pioneer citizen and benefactor, Thomas J. Smith, who died a martyr to the establishment of law and order in the early days of our fair city.

"We recognize law as a divine institution, and he who dies in its defense dies for God. This tribute to the worth of one of the law's defenders is tardily paid, but it is far better to be late in expressing our gratitude than

to shirk its acknowledgment entirely. His life was eloquent with courage. We boast of it to-day. He impressively illustrated courage, that cardinal virtue that constitutes one of the foundation stones upon which the grand superstructure of our republic stands. He is one of the uncrowned heroes. He never feared to meet his enemies face to face; their number and the strength of their position never disturbed him. He had confidence in himself and in his cause. He hazarded everything in defense of what he thought was right, and was bent on doing his duty or finding his grave in the attempt. Never before or since have we had an officer of the law more valuable or more efficient. He contributed his full share to the establishment of decency and order in our city, and we are the beneficiaries of his work. Abilene is a clean town, a law-abiding town, largely because of what this man accomplished. To-day the city expresses its deep and sincere regard for the man and his work.

"As the mayor of the city, and in the name of the city, I thank you, one and all. who have contributed to the erection of this stone. The stone's very ruggedness speaks eloquently of him who, in his rough, rugged, honest way helped so largely in rescuing our city from the distempers and griefs of a frontier settlement. Your appreciation is timely. Your money has been generously and wisely expended."

By two o'clock P. M. the people had filled Seelye's theater. About 100 old soldiers sat on the stage, which was ornamented with flags and bunting. In the audience were scores of old settlers who had come from all parts of the county to hear about the frontier days. John Johntz presided, and a double quartette furnished music. T. C. Henry, of Denver, the first mayor of Abilene, and holding that office when Smith was marshal, was the first speaker, and devoted his address chiefly to Smith's employment and his service. He said:

"Again we assemble to renew our tribute to the heroes, living and dead, by whose valor the integrity of this republic exists unimpaired. Lips far more eloquent than mine have many times before told the story of the struggle out of which has grown a political entity whose grandeur is unrivaled in all the history of nations. No words I can summon are adequate to tell the heroism or measure the services which saved the sacred cause of human liberty. Nor, soldiers of the Grand Army of the Republic, can I voice the unfathomable gratitude we cherish for your preservation of that glorious flag which symbolizes, we trust, the everlasting principles of Christian government. May the generations following you ever espouse with like ardor, and prowess, if need be, the cause of right, of justice, and of humanity, and thereby righteously merit the imperishable heritage won for them by your patriotism, by your sacrifices, and by your courage.

"But 'peace hath her victories no less renowned than war.' It is our privilege this day and here to pay double honor—honor to those who preserved the institutions of liberty planted by our forefathers; and honor to one whose unsurpassed bravery subdued disorder, conquered lawlessness, and made clear the way for the blessings of peace and prosperity, whose fruition you people of Abilene the beautiful, and Dickinson the grand, enjoy.

"Thomas James Smith was born in New York city about the year 1840. His parents were of Irish birth. His Celtic origin showed in physiognomy and build. In temperament, character and bearing he was thoroughly American. He was nearly five feet and eleven inches in height, weighed 170 pounds, was broad-shouldered, erect, athletic—physically superb. Of fair complexion, auburn hair, and light mustache, his gray eyes of a bluish tint were his most expressive feature when aroused. His manners were gentle, unobtrusive, and simple, his voice low-toned and evenly modulated, and his language plain and direct. In the presence of his official superiors he was deferential, almost diffident.

"He was fairly well educated, reared a Catholic, and was clean of speech. I never heard him utter a profane word or employ a vulgar phrase. He neither gambled, drank, nor was in the least dissolute otherwise. He

was singularly, and perhaps significantly, reticent as to his early life. I cannot learn that he ever mentioned his family; nor was it ever known that he had any living relatives. He had been well bred, and good blood coursed in his veins. Some sorrow or tragedy, mayhap, early drove him from home and friends, out alone into the far West. It is nearly authenticated that he was a victim in the Mountain Meadow massacre, in Utah, in 1857, and left for dead. Certainly, a little later he was in western Utah and Nevada.

"Perhaps, in a general way, I should here briefly refer to the Texas cattle trade, and its relation to Abilene. The eloquent speaker who is to follow will detail more vividly than I can the scenes and events which made Abilene the most famed and godless little city on this continent a third of a century ago.

"Among the numerous trans-Missouri railroads projected was the line, now known as the Union Pacific, which was built to and passed beyond Abilene in the spring of 1867—the first to penetrate Kansas. There were then practically no railroads west of the Mississippi south of the Missouri, save the Missouri Pacific; not a single mile in all Texas. Isolated and remote from markets, that state from the first had made cattle-raising its chief industry. Federal possession of the Mississippi during the war had shut in Texas, and an enormous cattle-holding had accumulated there. The genius, foresight and enterprise of one man, Joseph G. McCoy, of Springfield, Ill., conceived the idea of trailing those cattle to the nearest railway available, and thence, by shipment, placing them on the markets of the East. Accordingly, the 'Chisholm'[1] trail, from the Rio Grande, was extended from Oklahoma to Abilene. Here were built by the McCoy brothers the shipping yards, and the traffic opened in the fall of 1867.[2]

"The first two seasons no effort was made to control the disorder and suppress the brazen lawlessness of the rough element gathered here. On September 6, 1869, the probate court of Dickinson county granted a petition to incorporate Abilene, and named J. B. Shane, T. C. Henry, Thos. Sherran, Timothy F. Hersey and J. G. McCoy as trustees. The board organized, and I was chosen chairman, with the duties corresponding to mayor. We adopted ordinances, but the season was so nearly closed by that time that active government was not attemped. The spring following the board reorganized, myself again chairman and W. Fancher secretary. Thirty-two saloons were licensed, closing hours were enforced, dives and inmates forced out and back from the business center, and the more flagrant crimes punished. Gambling and minor vices were disregarded, for at best barely more than a semblance of decency was hoped for.

"Such laws as were half tentatively ventured, of course, required executive enforcement. The office of town marshal was created, charged with that function. The ordinances were published, and the fact proclaimed that law and order thereafter should govern. The usual ordinance prohibiting the carrying of firearms within the town limits was adopted, and large bulletin-boards were erected at the main roadways entering the town, upon which it was conspicuously lettered. That Abilene was to be reduced to a 'peace footing' was heralded from the mountains to the Gulf.

Nearly the very first applicant for the marshalship was Tom Smith himself. He came down from Kit Carson, Colo. He was indorsed by a reputable citizen of Abilene, who knew of him as the accredited leader of the famed Bear River riot, in Wyoming. Although Smith's personal appearance belied his reputation, and his credentials were acceptable, the idea of inaugurating the reign of good government through the agency of such a person seemed inconsistent and objectionable. His application was rejected, and our choice was made from home talent. It was truly surprising what a supply of self-proclaimed material was ready at hand! One after another was appointed and successively failed us. Conditions grew steadily worse. Disdain for the law and its officers increased. As the active executive head of the town government, I was the recipient of ridicule and

NOTE 1.—A sketch of this trail is given in Kansas Historical Society Collections, vol. 8, p. 176.

NOTE 2.—"Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest," by Joseph G. McCoy, Kansas City, Mo., 1874. James Parkinson McCoy was the name of the second member of the firm.

abuse. Threatening letters were sent me anonymously. The blinds protecting my office windows were torn and broken. My business associate, Captain Shane, an ex-Kentucky Union officer, a fearlessly resolute man, was particularly outraged by slurs and threats, presumably emanating fron those who had been 'on the other side.'

"Growing cowboy insolence was exhibited in various ways—some ludicrous and laughable. The posted ordinances were viewed with a mixture of awe and curiosity at the outset, and gradually their significance and purpose were comprehended. Finally our failure to enforce order was contemptuously and concretely celebrated by the cowboy horsemen taking shots at the abortive fire-arms ordinance as they galloped by, until the city fathers themselves could not have retraced the lineaments of this municipal offspring.

"Of course, we had to provide a calaboose. A central site was chosen and we began to build of stone. When the walls were nearly up, the cowboys made a raid and tore it down. By the aid of a guard day and night, we repaired it and bolted on the roof. The first occupant was a colored boy cook from one of the cattle camps up on Mud creek, eight or ten miles out. He was disorderly, firing off his pistol, etc. His camp companions, learning of this affront, rushed to town, frightened away the marshal, or marshals, perhaps, blew off the jail lock, opened the door, and freed their greatly wronged prisoner friend. The band, pretendingly outraged by such official pusillanimity and insult, then directed the business houses to close, in some instances enforcing the mandate by mounted invasion of the premises. This laudable performance accomplished, the squad, yelling and shooting their pistols in the air, rode past the little office on Buckeye street, opposite the present site of the Union Pacific hotel, occupied by Captain Shane and myself, and on to the stock-yards half a mile east. We hurriedly gathered an armed posse of citizens at our office, and awaited the expected return of the outlaws, fully determined to call their halt. Fortunately they took another route to camp. We then mounted horses and started out to capture the gang. Word of our purpose was sent ahead by some confederate, but we brought back several of them. The negro cook and the ringleader escaped and never reappeared in Abilene. The proposition to hang our captives was finally voted down.

"The episode, however, was soon forgotten and disorder resumed its sway. Successive marshals were tried, failed, and in turn resigned. The chief of police of St. Louis was implored to send us a couple of men competent to run the town for us. In a few days they appeared, vouched for, to fill our order. Their identity and mission were soon known over town. Every device lawless deviltry could contrive was let loose that day. The brace of 'tenderfeet,' without tendering their farewell compliments, took the return midnight train for Missouri!

"It had become evident by this time that neither the home brand nor the imported Eastern article was adapted to our stress. We had been foiled by our prerequisite standard of moral and personal worth demanded. Our primal instincts, instead of 'turning the other cheek,' etc., etc., now craved a couple of eyes for one eye; several teeth for one tooth. We hungered for some one who could, to paraphrase a rule of David Harum's ethics, do to others what was doing to us, and to do them *first*. Therefore, I wired Tom Smith to come.

It was one Saturday morning, late in May, 1870, that Smith reappeared at my office. I related briefly the story of our troubles, and intimated that he had better first look over the situation, for possibly he might not care to undertake the job. He smiled rather grimly, but without a word proceeded on my hint.

"It was nearly sundown when I saw Smith coming back. I stood bareheaded in my office doorway as he approached. He declined to come in, and remained outside, but removed his hat. I inquired what he thought. He said he believed he could handle the town. 'What plans do you propose to accomplish that?' I asked, curious to get his ideas and to size him up. He replied that firearms must be given up; that whisky and pistols were a combination beyond control; 'As well contend,' he said, 'with a frenzied maniac as an armed and drunken cowboy.' His logic was well grounded,

but the image of that ordinance obliterated by bullets was equally impressive; besides, my recent study of cowboy nature and training had matured my convictions respecting the inherent difficulty of determining whether a cowboy and his gun were separate elements even under normal conditions. But I mastered my rising skepticism, and inquired if he really thought he could enforce that ordinance. 'Yes,' he said, 'I think I can.' 'When do you want to begin?' 'As well at once,' he quickly replied.

"Then I recited the oath of office to him as we stood there alone. How well I recall the scene at that moment! I was about a foot above the ground, facing northwesterly. The bright gleams of the setting sun athwart Smith's square right shoulder, struck me in the face. As he raised his hand for the oath in response to my own, the blinding glimmer of the rays made me lift my other to shield my eyes as I peered searchingly into his own. If I could but picture vividly as the kinetograph the full perspective spread before my vision then, what a priceless treasure for your archives it would be!

"Silently he moved off, and I watched him with misgivings disappear down town, a third of a mile away.

"Almost immediately he encountered 'Big Hank,' a cowboy desperado, who had made himself particularly obnoxious to former marshals, and was loudest in his boast that no one could disarm him. Wearing a belted revolver, he approached Smith and tauntingly asked him if he was the man who proposed to run the town. Smith said he was employed as marshal and that he should try to maintain order and enforce the law. 'What are you going to do about that gun ordinance?' 'See that it is obeyed,' replied Smith; and then quietly added: 'I must trouble you to hand me yours.'

"With a coarse oath this was refused. Characteristically cool, Smith again made the demand and again was met with profanity and abuse. Instantly he sprang forward and landed a terrible blow which placed 'Big Hank' *hors de combat*. The marshal took away the pistol and ordered its owner at once to leave for camp, a command heeded with crestfallen alacrity.

"The news of this encounter before midnight was heralded over a radius of many miles. The unique punishment employed was wholly new to cowboy warfare, and every phase of the combat was debated. In a camp out on a branch of Chapman creek a wager was laid by a big, burly brute, that he could go to town and defy the surrender of his gun. Promptly next morning, Sunday, 'Wyoming Frank' was on hand to fulfil his boast. Smith was rather late in appearing. The desparado, impatient and drinking, began vaunting that the marshal had probably heard that he was in town and he 'reckoned that he had lighted out.' Finally Smith came quietly down the middle of the street, as was his wont, and presently confronted the advancing bully. Like Big Hank the evening before, he began chaffing insolently, with the idea of involving Smith in a quarrel as an excuse for resisting the demand he knew would be made. Divining his purpose, Smith guardedly requested the surrender of the gun purposely displayed. Of course this was refused, but somewhat daunted by the peculiar steely glint of Smith's eye Frank began backing as Smith advanced quietly calling for his gun. Frank steadily retired, maneuvering for time and space in which to draw his pistol, and thus have the drop on Smith. But he was balked by the latter's close reach. Finally they backed into a large saloon, where the crowd attracted gathered around them. In the center Frank came to a stand facing Smith. To his courteous but firm demand, Frank exploded an insulting oath and vile epithet. Quick as a flash Smith vaulted, and with a terrific double blow sent his antagonist prone to the floor, and with the unbelted pistol vigorously belabored the brute's body. Then, standing over him, he said: 'I give you five minutes to get out of this town, and don't you ever again let me set eyes on you.' The latent demon in Smith blazed defiance, and every spectator saw why Tom Smith was leader in the bloody Bear River riot.

"For an instant all stood dazed and speechless, whereupon the saloon proprietor stepped from behind the bar and said to Smith: 'That was the nerviest act I ever saw. You did your duty, and that coward got what he deserved. Here is my gun. I reckon I'll not need it so long as you are

marshal of this town.' That was a signal. Every one pushed forward proffering Smith pistols and overwhelming him with a profusion of compliments, expressions of admiration, etc. He quietly thanked them and said: 'Hand your guns to the bartender to keep until you want to go out to camp.' From that moment Tom Smith was master. The cowboys, as a tribute to his marvelous nerve and gentlemanly self-command, were his allies and loyal friends. No guns thereafter were openly worn on the streets of Abilene, nor was Smith ever again publicly affronted. Of course, there were drunkenness and quarreling; dens of iniquity flourished and some murders even occurred; but his tact, courage and good judgment were always adequate to minimize consequences, and without resistence. Smith was alike popular with merchants, gamblers, citizens, and saloon-keepers. In a short time he ruled practically without oversight.

"Sunday, October 23, 1870, on Chapman creek, Andrew McConnell shot and killed John Shea. Shea snapped a pistol twice at McConnell, and while attempting to cock it for the third time McConnell shot and killed him. An investigation resulted in the discharge of McConnell on the plea of self-defense. But the neighbors were not satisfied, and legal measures of a different character were instituted, and warrants for the arrest of McConnell and another man, named Miles, were given to Marshal Smith to serve. Wednesday, the 2d day of November, accompanied by a deputy named McDonald, Marshal Smith went to the dugout on Chapman to make the arrest. McConnell was informed that he was under arrest, when he instantly shot at Smith. A scuffle ensued, and Smith was killed. A vigorous fusillade followed between McConnell and Miles and Deputy McDonald. The murderers secured the horses of the officers and started off, but while McDonald went to arouse the neighbors they returned to the dugout and with an ax severed Smith's head from the body. For this crime McConnell and Miles served fourteen years in the penitentiary.[3]

"The members of the town government convened the next morning after his death and adopted resolutions of esteem for our 'valued citizen, esteemed friend, and brave executive officer, Thomas J. Smith.' November 4 a public funeral took place. Business was entirely suspended, and every manifestation of profound grief was exhibited. Slowly the long concourse of citizens, led by 'Silverheels,' Smith's favorite saddle-horse, followed the remains to the spot which this occasion consecrates.

"Smith served at one time on the police force of New York. I have shadowy details of his wanderings over Utah and Nevada. Thence he returned to Iowa with wagon-trains, hauling railroad material westward. Next he appears on the frontier of Nebraska, employed in various capacities, following the Union Pacific construction. What a world of experience such rugged schooling brought him! Finally, and authentically, he was engaged with a large contracting firm whose headquarters in 1868 were at Bear river, Wyoming, where many hundred employes were congregated. The business men there had organized a 'town' government, so called, adopted laws of their own and appointed a marshal. Naturally, many outlaws and desperate characters collected and crime and lawlessness abounded.

"A young man from Smith's camp, his friend, merely disorderly under the influence of liquor, was placed in jail where there were three others who had just before garroted and robbed a couple of men in open day. The exasperated citizens incited by a fugitive newspaper, housed in a tent on the

NOTE 3.—W. S. Stambaugh, a prominent lawyer in Dickinson county at that time, but now living in Fargo, N. Dak., said that Smith rode through Detroit and asked him the way to McConnell's dugout. Mr. Stambaugh had eaten dinner with McConnell a few days before at the Detroit hotel, and he warned Smith of the mood of the murderer. "Smith," said Stambaugh, "rode on to the dugout. In an hour a young man rode into Detroit, saying that McConnell had murdered him. I jumped on a horse and rode to the McConnell dugout. It was built into a hillside, and the door was at the end of a sort of ditch. Smith entered alone and what happened no one knows. Two shots were heard; McConnell was shot through the hand, Smith in the breast. They grappled and struggled into the open air, Smith, with a mortal wound, giving McConnell a fearful battle. Smith got McConnell down and was either getting the handcuffs out of his pocket or attempting to put them on his prisoner, when Miles, who was McConnell's partner, came up behind and taking an ax buried its blade in Smith's head, striking three blows, and almost severing the head from the body. The two men, Miles and McConnell, then fled. Smith's assistant, named McDonald, had exchanged shots with Miles on the outside of the dugout, and McDonald fled to Abilene for reinforcements."

outskirts of the town, organized a vigilance committee, made wholesale arrests and locked the prisoners in jail. Smith's camp companions invaded the town, destroyed the newspaper plant, and, after releasing the prisoners, proceeded to burn the jail, when Smith himself came on the scene.

"The vigilance committee had, in the meantime, armed and gathered in a log storeroom, about fifty yards away. Smith, roused to fury, ran to the very front of the store, and emptied both his revolvers into the barricaded vigilantes, but fortunately killed no one, although he received several shots from the vigilantes. Despite several fearful wounds, he coolly marched off to a friend's house, a block or so away, where for a time his life hung in the balance. Troops from Fort Bridger were summoned, and the town itself was soon abandoned, as the road moved on.[4]

"That Smith's motives and conduct in the premises were generally justified is evidenced by the fact that quickly upon his recovery he was chosen marshal of the next town, and so on continuously as towns were successively located and abandoned, as the Union Pacific progressed, until it was completed, the following year.

"The life and character of Tom Smith typify the virtue near at hand. He instinctively trusted that. It is doubtful, in the presence of danger, if his thoughts turned to his weapons. Indeed, I never saw them while he was on duty. 'Wild Bill,' his successor, on the contrary never forgot that he was armed and could shoot first. The latter's bearing and bravery were of a far lower type.

"Early in February, 1872, the following circular, indited by myself, was signed by four-fifths of the citizens and sent out broadcast over Texas and the West:

"'We, the undersigned, members of the Farmers' Protective Association, and officers and citizens of Dickinson county, Kansas, most respectfully request all who have contemplated driving Texas cattle to Abilene the coming season to seek some other point for shipment, as the inhabitants of Dickinson will no longer submit to the evils of the trade.'

"Not another herd was driven into the county. Abilene became quiet,—painfully quiet. Its mortuary fame was nearly as celebrated as its 'live' infamy had been before.

"What a transformation of these broad prairies and fertile plains since then! What an empire one generation of men has already built here! What grand institutions have been reared! The innumerable churches and schoolhouses are evidence that this magnificent development has been more than merely industrial and material—the moral forces have played a prominent part. And, moreover, you are a homogeneous people all the way to the Rio Grande. Change raiment, and the Texan might be taken for a Kansan now. Texas is the Kansas of the South; and Kansas typifies the loftiest Americanism."

THOMAS ALLEN CULLINAN, OF JUNCTION CITY.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by GEO. W. MARTIN, Secretary.

I AM annoyed because I did not learn of the death of Thomas Allen Cullinan, marshal of Junction City, until the morning after his burial, and I am still more annoyed that I did not get a complete write-up of his life, an intention that has been in my mind for a year or two past. A most remarkable story of a turbulent and useful life has been lost. Periodically we read the stories of extraordinary public officials in the tough and riotous days of frontier development, but none exceed that which might be told of "Tom Allen," as he was generally known. He died in a hospital at Kansas City, Mo., Saturday, June 18, 1904.

I have observed, as secretary of the State Historical Society, that it is a common failing for men to defer things just as though death was not a defi-

NOTE 4.—C. G. Coutant's History of Wyoming, 1889, p. 683, gives an account of this affair.

nition or synonym of certainty. Procrastination is not only the thief of time, but it steals also many good purposes. I have in mind a dozen men, old-timers in Kansas, now tottering on the edge of the grave, who have assured me that they would deposit with the State Historical Society articles of value and great historical significance, but who defer doing so just as though they owned all time. They will drop some day. Their descendants may not know of their purpose; they may not know or appreciate the value or significance of the articles desired to be preserved from extinction or oblivion, and the identity of the treasures may be lost, and thus the desire of a lifetime, instead of being gratified for ages in the inspiration of others, will go into the grave.

And now, through my carelessness, Tom Allen will not get a proper tribute. What I may say is from memory and not from definite data, but is inspired by a thirty-five-year acquaintance, and two years' very intimate connection with Tom while he was marshal and I was mayor of the town. His wonderful power and judgment as an officer, the unlimited trust reposed in him by the property-owners of Junction City, and the absolute and unquestioned sway given him by the city officers backed by public sentiment, so many years, in his peculiar administration of the duties of his office, strongly attest the force born in him. The fact that, after more than fifty years of as tough a life as was ever allotted to man, he ended his days without a scratch, and without having met a man to "down him," pictures Tom as an extremely exceptional case, in these days of lurid literature.

Tom by no means made his way on his modesty, yet he never made a threat or a promise or had a duty that he did not perform to the letter. He never had a single trouble of his own seeking, and very rarely were those he had on his own account. I think his success or good fortune in escaping trouble was due to his extraordinary judgment, his total and complete ignorance of what fear was, and his sense of fairness, right, and justice.

At the time of his death he had been marshal of Junction City, excepting a few years on a farm and in the service of the Metropolitan Street Railway Company in Kansas City, since 1871, being either elected by the people or appointed. During this time he served under some sixteen or eighteen different mayors, representing all sorts of political sentiment, and by the common consent of the people was trusted to do all police duty in his own way.

Several times during his career the city council was pestered with propositions to perform the duties of marshal for a nominal figure, but the business men always petitioned that Tom be retained at a good salary.

There has never been any petty pilfering or house-breaking in Junction City—this class of gentlemen usually resumed their travels on the first train; while no man or dozen men have ever painted the town. Every town has its peculiarities, and a town adjoining a military post enjoys some special peculiarities in its police affairs.

Thomas Allen Cullinan, more generally known as Tom Allen, left Kilrush, county Clare, Ireland, in 1849, aged eleven years, to go to sea. His family were well fixed, and all the boy had to do was to go to school. He served three years in the English revenue service, doing duty along the coasts of France and the British Isles, and in the Mediterranean. He visited all the seaport towns of England, Ireland, and Wales, and made several trips to

Hamburg, and voyages to the East and West Indies and South America. He was in the Crimea in 1854. The captain with whom he first went to sea offered him a course in navigation at Ipswich, and afterwards to give him charge of his vessel.

In 1855 he became engaged on a passenger vessel between Liverpool and New York, and, after his second voyage, concluded to locate in this country. He made two trips to Wisconsin, *via* the lakes, and was shipwrecked on Lake Erie. He engaged in lumbering on the Mississippi river, and in 1856 was a pilot at $150 per month. That year he came to Kansas, stopping at White Cloud and Atchison. In 1857 he went to the Rocky Mountains in the employ of the American Fur Company, ranging from the Yellowstone on the north to Taos valley on the south. He turned up next at the ranch of Lucius Maxwell, on the Cimarron, where he spent the summer of 1858. Maxwell and Kit Carson offered him 500 cows if he would remain with them, they at the end of five years to have 500 cows back. In the fall of that year he moved north, locating where Denver now is.

His career in Colorado was unusually active, and whether as a miner, explorer, or pugnacious gentleman taking care of his own rights, always universally successful. In the early history of Denver he became involved with the town company in a contest over a quarter-section of land. Three others were interested. The four built a log house with port-holes on four sides.

A company of eighty men one day rode up to dislodge them. One of their number was permitted to approach for talk. He inspected the inside and reported to the "command" that the boys were so well fixed and armed that if they made an attack not one of them would be left to tell the tale. Several public meetings were held and great excitement prevailed, during which the boys were offered $3000 for their claim, but it all collapsed, and Tom disposed of the land for a trifle to Francis J. Marshall, of Kansas territorial fame, after whom Marshall county in this state was named. Those familiar with Denver may know where this tract is when we say that the Central Presbyterian Church is located near the center of it.

While in Denver Tom became involved in a row with a bully who had slapped a woman. He had no knowledge of the affair or the parties, but shortly after the slap came across the woman crying and the bully blustering. It was a rough and tumble fight, lasting one hour and twenty minutes. A similar instance in the mines gave him the sobriquet of "Yellow Tom." He was never very dudish, but his buckskin suit becoming dirty, he obtained some yellow ocher and painted it. As he never made a mark on dress parade this attire failed of attention until the "Terror of the Gulch" opened his sluice and took his water. He tried reason with the "Terror," and the "Terror" indulged in a bluff. Tom told him it would therefore have to be settled in a rough and tumble, or according to the rules of the ring. The inhabitants of the gulch were amazed at the temerity of the Irishman, and the excitement reached the remotest settler. He gave the "Terror" such a drubbing that he left the settlement in the night.

In the summer of 1860, accompanied by David Thompson and Jack Menzies, two of his companions in the stockade on the Denver town site, he explored the Colorado river eight years before Major Powell. They were in the employ of the merchants of Denver, and by them furnished letters of credit sufficient to convey the party through to California and around by

New York and return. They followed the river 250 miles, when they were taken in by the Utes.[1]

Here occurred one of those instances illustrating his judgment and coolness in the face of danger. An Indian pulled Tom's ear, and Tom knocked him over. It was his time now to bluff. He approached the chief and told him in Spanish of his acquaintance with the prairie Indians; how he had heard that the Utes could whip the prairie Indians three to one, but he thought the Utes were cowards, and that he could whip the best Indian of the tribe. It won. The chief was pleased, and turned the party loose the second day. In the winter of 1860 he returned from Colorado to Leavenworth.

When the war broke out he became a scout, serving with St. Clair and "Red" Clark in Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, and Kansas. In 1862 or 1863, during the administration of H. B. Denman as mayor, the redlegs took the town of Leavenworth, overpowering the police. The marshal was run out and two policemen shot. The authorities urged Tom to take the position of chief of police. He did so, and in thirty days cleared the town, resigning as soon as quiet was restored.

In 1866 he had charge of an Indian contract at Fort Laramie for Mat Ryan and Chester Thomas. He came to Junction City in the fall of 1866, and was a partner with H. D. McMeekin in a beef contract at Fort Riley. In 1867 and 1868 he had the contract himself. In 1869 and 1870 he supplied with meat the camps engaged in the construction of the M. K. & T. railroad. In the fall of 1870 he had a subcontract to supply the troops at Wallace with beef. In November, 1871, he returned to Junction City, where he remained until his death, with the exception of a couple of years in Kansas City.

It is hardly necessary to say that the marshalship of Junction City has not been a sinecure. The proximity of Fort Riley, with the constant changes

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NOTE 1.— Maj. J. W. Powell made his trip of exploration down the Colorado river in August, 1869. But for the Ute Indians, Thomas Allen Cullinan would have been the first exploror of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. In the December number of *Lippincott's Magazine*, 1868, page 588, there is a story entitled "A Terrible Voyage," giving an account of a trip through the Grand Canyon, by James White, in August, 1867, two years before Powell. The article was written in the Junction City *Union* office by a tramp printer named William J. Beggs. In the month of April, 1867, three men, Capt. Charles Baker, formerly of St. Louis, George Strobe, also from St. Louis, and James White, of Kenosha, Wis., determined to make the trip down the Colorado. White had been a gold-miner in California and a soldier in the Fifth California cavalry. They started on the river August 24, 1867. Captain Baker was killed by the Indians on the 25th of August. At sunrise the next morning Strobe and White resumed the trip down the river. In going through the Grand Canyon Strobe lost his life. White floated over a succession of cascades and cataracts for 500 miles, emerging from the canyon on the evening of September 6. He was rescued by Captain Wilburn, in command of a barge. Upon recovering from a delirium, White gave a detailed account of his wonderful voyage to James Ferry, United States quartermaster's agent at Colville. White became a mail-carrier in the neighborhood of Fort Mohave. William J. Palmer, of Colorado Springs, is mentioned as having heard his story. William J. Beggs wrote considerable for the magazines over the *nom de plume* of John Clerke. He walked into Junction City from the West, and was about the most ragged and dirty fellow on the road. The writer put him at work, and in half an hour the sheriff arrested him on a telegram from Salina for stealing a horse. No one coming for him on the first train, I interceded and put him to work again. Saturday night I took him into a store and clothed him from head to foot, which put him about thirty-six dollars ahead. Monday morning he was about the drunkest man I had seen for years. He remained several months, worked out his indebtedness, was a fine printer, a smart man, and afforded much amusement to the town. I knew he received a check occasionally for magazine articles and correspondence, which only increased his libations. But another printer in the office, William L. Snyder, now a prominent lawyer and literary man in New York, knew the nature of Beggs's work and gave years to searching for his Colorado river article. He found it in the Astor library, New York, and called my attention to it last January. Beggs, or "John Clerke," says the "article is written in the frontier town which is my present temporary abiding-place." Beggs edited a paper in the territory of Washington, and, for criticizing Indian affairs, was challenged by an army officer to fight a duel. He went to a drug-store, obtained a dose of strychnine, and enclosed it in an envelope, with a note, saying: "If this will not answer your purpose, I will hire an Indian."— SECRETARY.

of troops, the irresponsibility of many private soldiers, the buzzards and loose women who flock around on pay-days, and the fact that the cross railroads make a dumping-ground of Junction City for tramps, has called for the very best police duty. The residents may be managed by a very effeminate service, but no tenderfoot can deal with troublesome soldiery. I never heard of another single officer who could corral or lock up a gang of six or seven men at once without aid. Tom Allen did it frequently.

One evening, a number of years ago, six men came from a hay camp at Riley for the purpose of having a time. The marshal warned them not to attempt it. They started along the street overturning boxes and disturbing everybody. He overtook them, and in less time than I can tell it, four of them lay on the ground. Another time he took without assistance six soldiers out of a gang of eight, shooting two of them slightly. In all this service he never killed a man, although suffering at times great aggravation and taking desperate chances. A great many funny stories might be told illustrating Tom's idea of dealing with the cattle for whom policemen are provided. Loaded with budge, a certain individual once cleaned out a house, and was out in the street with a rock in each hand when Tom arrived. "Looking for a fight, are you?" remarked the peace officer, as he gave him a swipe on the jaw, knocking him down and punishing him severely. This individual has never drank a drop since, and he has thanked Tom repeatedly for that thrashing. Tom had previously loaded this man in a wagon and sent him home; he had locked him up and fined him; and his judgment that the fellow needed only a licking was confirmed.

A "bad man," a recruit in one of the troops at Riley, once came over to lick the marshal. He was accompanied by some twelve or fifteen soldiers. The "bad man" went home in an ambulance, the affair occurring in the midst of his friends. About the first thing of this kind happening to Tom was in a saloon under Brown's hall, on Sixth street. Eight soldiers were having a great time when Tom entered. He knocked seven of them down and dragged them off one at a time, and the next morning went over to Riley and got the eighth. The sergeant reported to the captain in command that the marshal of Junction City wanted a man. When Tom was presented the captain exclaimed: "Great Scott, that's the man who licked my sergeant at Wallace; he can have him."

In the '70's and the '80's, when the town was more turbulent than it has been of late years—although it was but a year or two ago when a crazy or drunken soldier killed two policemen in a few minutes, it being Tom's fortune to be off duty—he enforced the law in his own way, with the hearty approval of the entire population. That is, if Tom deemed it proper, he could take a man before the police court, or lock him up, and it was all right; if he deemed it proper to administer the law by walloping the earth with a loafer, that too was deemed all right. He could smell a criminal the moment he touched the town site, and he had a remarkably effective way of telling them to leave town, and the order of their going was the first train out.

He was sent for by some women one day in a hurry. He arrived in time to see, with his own eyes, a six-foot tramp offer a beastly offense to a little girl. He addressed the tramp in his own vernacular and in his gentlest tone (which was something like a cyclone). The sum and substance of his

remarks were that if he took him before the police court, he would have to take some of the women and children along to testify; that he would probably be fined ten dollars; that he would no doubt not have the ten dollars, and that the city would have to lock him up and feed him; and the result of the argument was, that Tom gave him a tremendous thrashing. The dignity of the law was vindicated without poppycock or sensation, and with no humiliation for the women.

One day, while mayor, I was standing on the street corner, with a stranger near by. Tom came trotting across the street toward us, I supposed on some business with myself. He stuck his index finger in the stranger's face and said: "I want you to get out of town on the first train." "What do you mean?" "I mean just what I say." "You must be mistaken." "No, I am not mistaken," replied Tom; I know who you are, and you will get hurt if you remain here after the first train goes." The stranger departed, and he is now in the Penitentiary for a murder committed a few weeks after Tom told him to move on.

Tom's reputation as a fighting man was quite extended. If he had entered the prize ring he would have made a great record. He had a fist with which he could split an inch board, and he always gave a lick under the left jaw which never failed to lay a man out. While he always carried a gun, he preferred to use his fist. He was afraid of the gun, because he never wanted to kill, or to take the chance there was in a gun. In his early days as marshal, bullies frequently visited Junction City to test him, and they invariably departed with a good licking.

One Saturday noon, in 1884, a fine-looking, six-foot, red-headed man came to town from the direction of Clay Center. Tom knew he was a fighter, and that he came to pick a quarrel. In the afternoon he made a row in a store, brandishing a pistol, and frightening people. Tom, being called, told the fellow when the next train left town, and that he must go, and save trouble. In the night he made another racket, and the people called for Tom, who gave him a second warning that a train was about to leave, and if he remained he would surely get hurt. Sunday noon Tom was wanted badly at the Bartel House, and here was his friend again, making a rough house. He was warned that a train passed, going east, in thirty minutes, and that he must go or take the consequences. Instead of going to the depot, he turned up at the Pacific House, and the marshal was again called. "Now," said Tom, "I will take you in." On their way to the old city jail, at the corner of Ninth and Washington streets, the fellow stopped and told Tom he was n't man enough to take him, and slapped Tom in the mouth. Tom pulled his gun and cut that fellow's scalp over the front of his head in tatters. A couple of hours later, in time for the train going west, I was called to the jail. Tom told me he had a fellow who was no good; he had no money; it was useless to feed him, and he wanted me to authorize him to turn the fellow loose so that he could ship him out of town. I replied that if that was his judgment he could do so. The bully came out. I never saw such a sight. He was a mass of dried and clotted blood from the top of his head to his waist. There was some loose cement in the jail, and he had some of that in his ornamentation. The man said he would like to go somewhere and clean up. Tom replied that he could not clean up in the town—that he must get on the train just as he was—and he did. I think this was his last experience with amateur prize-fighters who came to test his mettle.

In those days Junction City was noted for the famous hostelry of Madam Blue, who had statesmen do her homage—she was a Swede, smart, and a "beaut"—and her name appeared in fifth district and legislative politics. To all appearances the house was as quiet and orderly as a house could be. Tom was mighty particular in suppressing signs of lewdness on the streets. His watch-tower was generally in front of the Bartell House, while south, on the opposite side, in the next block, was the madam's resort. A fresh or green girl came to town and put up at the madam's. In the evening she was out swinging on the front gate. Tom walked over and informed her that that was not allowed; that if she wanted to play she must go in the back yard. She did it a second night and he stopped her; she did it a third night, when Tom went into the house, found her trunk in a second-story room, threw it through the window, sash and glass, into the street, and made her go down to the depot and wait for a train.

About 1884 there was a shortage in the accounts of the quartermaster at Fort Riley, which was occasioned by the pilfering of a sergeant, who subsequently deserted. Tom Allen was charged with having purchased a few yards of government cloth, a bridle, some rope and overshoes from this sergeant. The offense is a very serious one, and the United States grand jury indicted him. Tom was deputy United States marshal, and the marshal sent the warrant to Tom to serve on himself, and a subpœna for all the government witnesses. A dozen of the best citizens went to Topeka to swear to Tom's character. An examination developed the fact that the bridle was his own property, used in taking to the fort a stolen horse he had recaptured. The rope was borrowed to move a corn-crib, and returned without use, because it was too small. The overshoes proved to be a myth, and the story simmered down to the purchase of three yards of cloth, which was admitted, the sergeant assuring Tom that he had authority to sell. It was shown that the negro soldier who made the complaint, and who was the only one who knew of the overshoe transaction, boasted that he had Tom Allen in a tight place and would "swear him into hell," because, as marshal, he had frequently pulled a couple of prostitutes, whose fines, it seemed, were coming out of the soldiers. The jury was out just seven minutes, when they returned a verdict of not guilty. And thus ended the only complaint lodged against Tom Allen in a court of record in over fifty years of such a tumultuous life.

During his residence in Kansas City he was constantly beseeched by the people of Junction City to return and be their marshal. He came over to Kansas City, Kan., to talk with me about it. I urged him all I could not to go back—that in such a life as that it was only a question of time when he would die with his boots on. He returned to the old job, and, thank God, he died in bed of a natural cause. But while in Kansas City he was not out of service. The Metropolitan company was troubled with a bully who terrorized motormen and conductors, never paying his fare, and raising a rough time every time he got on a car. Tom was handling transfers at Fifteenth and Grand avenue. Hearing much talk one day about the fellow, Tom remarked: "Steer him up against me and let me size him up." He beat the cussedness out of that fellow, and the Holmes boys raised his salary.

At the presidential election of 1856, when he was only eighteen years

old, Tom voted for John C. Fremont, at a town on the Mississippi river, in Iowa. He was on a raft of logs going down the river with a large gang of men, all foreigners. They were continually abusing the government of the United States, and all voted the Democratic ticket. Tom thought it monstrous that a lot of foreigners should indulge in such abuse and at the same time have a vote to control. He urged them all to go back to Germany or Ireland, and from their actions he reasoned that all the friends of the government were on the other side, and so he began with Fremont to vote the Republican ticket. There was not a legal vote in the bunch. Tom was among the first Know Nothings.

Tom was a true joker, willing to take as well as give. Another historic character in the town was G. F. Gordon—who was nearly always a justice of the peace and police judge. Gordon was a first-class, good and true man, but about as peculiar as they make them. The colored people had a revival meeting, and they had some trouble, requiring the services of the marshal. Tom was at the front with the minister, and Gordon was sitting on a pile of wood at the rear. In the course of the services the minister called for some one to lead in prayer. No one responded. Tom whispered: "Call on Brother Gordon." The minister did so, but Gordon failed. "He is hard of hearing; call louder," suggested Tom. The minister did so, but Gordon's wrath precluded any possibility of prayer. Tom had the minister call with greater voice, a third time, and Gordon's nervousness caused him to twist around a little, when he upset the wood-pile and rolled down on the floor. He threatened to have Tom arrested for disturbing a religious meeting.

But Gordon's chance came in a short time. Tom was chasing a tramp, and the tramp shot at him, the ball grazing his head. Tom got his lick in before a second shot, and marched his man before Police Judge Gordon. Complaint was made, Tom told the story, and the prisoner made his statement. The court said: "I will fine you one dollar and costs, and I will throw off my costs." Tom jumped up and said: "I will be as clever as you, and throw off my costs." The fellow paid his dollar and walked out. Tom remarked that that was pretty tough to fine a man a dollar for shooting at an officer, and Gordon replied: "I think a dollar enough for missing a damned Irishman." The humor then was as strenuous as the service. These two men now lie beside each other in the Odd Fellows' plat, in Highland cemetery.

From this sketch it will be seen that Tom Allen was not the policeman to whom the traditional joke might apply that he was never around when there was a row. In my time he was absolutely the guardian of the town, not alone preserving order, enforcing the law, and all that, but I have known him to advise families about their boys and girls, with great advantage in some instances. He did everything for the good and for the best, and he succeeded in doing lots of good where men without his roughness would have failed.

Of course, no one need get the impression from this sketch that Tom was an angel, and yet he had an abundance of the finest qualities of the heart. He was wholly and absolutely trustworthy under all circumstances and at all times; he was genial, pleasant and useful to his neighbors and fellow men; a "stayer" with all his friends, and frank and outspoken, without the slightest guile or hypocrisy. He had not drunk a drop of spirits, not even

cider, since 1870, and outside of the line of duty he had had a quarrel with but one man since he married, and that was at Fort Wallace. He had the utmost confidence in his ability to take care of himself in any sort of quarters, and yet when we remember his exploits with bushwhackers in Missouri while a scout, and his Indian experience on the plains, all far exceeding the gory heroes of border literature, his modesty is apparent in the fact that he had but little newspaper mention during his surprising career.

I have sometimes thought there was a vein of higher law running through Allen's make-up. As an officer he trusted a great deal to his judgment and sense, and took responsibilities and administered justice frequently regardless of either the letter or the spirit of the law; and yet again he was very scrupulous in following both. When the United States marshal, through unbounded confidence, sent him a warrant for his own arrest, and subpœnas for the witnesses against him, he would have served them if the Penitentiary door was open before him.

On the other hand, I might instance his first duty as a marshal in 1871. He had been mainly responsible for the election of an easy-going old granny to the office of marshal. The marshal was soon in trouble and Tom volunteered to straighten things up if the marshal would deputize him. He was deputized, and his first duty was to subpœna witnesses in impeachment proceedings before the council against the marshal. He had sacrificed all claims on Tom's friendship, but Tom thought of his wife and daughter. He drove all the witnesses out of town, and by night had the marshal's resignation. He saw no public good or justice sufficient to prevent him from protecting his friend's family from scandal and humiliation.

Tom's life will never be used for Sunday-school purposes; and yet his life was given him with all its strangeness and power. No man can say that he ever pretended to be what he was not, or that he did not use his clear brain and wonderful will and physical power in behalf of the good. With many his life will always be appreciated; but there are others who could not see, beyond his roughness, his sacrificing devotion to duty and his interest in that which was fair and good to all men.

DISPERSION OF THE TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE OF 1856.

Talk given by ABBY HUNTINGTON WARE,[1] before the State Federation of Women's Clubs, held in Topeka, May, 1905.

IN every romance there are two elements, one leading toward the goal, the other away from it; and it is the struggle between these two opposing forces that makes the story and commands our interest and attention. The novelist keeps us carefully in suspense as to which force will be victorious; whether or not the hero will win the heroine, or the knight will kill the dragon. If the goal is reached, we call it a romance; if it is not, we call it tragedy. It is the same in real life, and we wait with breathless interest for the climax of events.

These two opposing forces struggled hard and well in the romantic history of Kansas. They were the pro-slavery and free-state elements of the

NOTE 1.— Miss Ware, the daughter of Eugene F. Ware, of Topeka, was married to Dr. Frederick Harold Nies, of Brooklyn, N. Y., June 20, 1906.

territory and nation, and the goal was the winning of the state. The struggle was bitter and to the sword. Within the state and without there was no one who did not feel deeply in the matter. The whole country was watching breathlessly, for here was the beginning of a great conflict which might at any time involve the Union. The pro-slavery element seemed the more powerful. Missourians had come over into the territory and fraudulently carried elections, which resulted in a pro-slavery legislature with stringent pro-slavery laws. The administration at Washington thoroughly sympathized with them, and sent a pro-slavery governor, Wilson Shannon, who would not recognize any opposition to the pro-slavery legislature and laws. The goal of winning the state for slavery seemed near at hand.

The free-state forces, however, had been in the meantime quietly working, and an election was held for a convention to meet in Topeka for the purpose of framing a constitution, preparatory to the admission of Kansas into the Union as a state. Only free-state men participated. In accordance with this constitution the free-state men elected a legislature, which was to convene in Topeka, July 4, 1856. Fearing pro-slavery opposition, some 400 or 500 free-state men gathered in Topeka from various parts of the state for the nominal purpose of "seeing the legislature convene," but in reality to protect the legislature in case of attack. It was rumored that a large mob of border ruffians from Missouri were coming to forcibly disperse the legislature. The day before the convening, July 3, found the city full of guests. A long line of farm wagons, extending from Fifth to Seventh street, on Jackson, were apparently filled with hay and provisions, but underneath these lay arms and ammunition, to be used should emergency arise. The city presented a gala appearance; but back of the smiling faces and friendly greetings were suppressed excitement and anxious hearts.

Late on that memorable 4th of July morning, a large crowd of Topeka and other Kansas citizens assembled in front of Constitution hall, where the legislature was to meet at twelve, ready, if need be, for our guests. I might add that Constitution hall is still standing, no longer isolated in a sparsely settled part of town, but huddled in between stores, making it appear almost insignificant. It is located almost opposite the post-office, on the west side of Kansas avenue, between Fourth and Fifth streets. The cause of the early gathering of the crowd was to listen to a Fourth of July celebration, and witness the presentation of the silk flags made by the ladies of the town to the two companies of Topeka Guards. They had just finished listening to a solo of the "Star Spangled Banner," sung by a young woman who is still a resident of Topeka,[2] when the news spread that Col. E. V. Sumner, afterwards a noted general of the civil war, with orders from President Pierce and Governor Shannon, was coming with a squad of cavalry to disperse the legislature. The colonel's anger ran high, because he had been informed that the Topeka Guards were armed to resist the United States troops, and that the flag presentation ceremonies were merely a subterfuge.

Colonel Sumner was then in camp on the Shunganunga, just north of Tenth street. With his cavalry he dashed across the open country, now the thickly populated district east of the avenue, and halted his men long enough to place two cannon on the spot where Rowley & Snow's drug-store now stands, at the corner of Sixth and Kansas avenues. The cannon were

NOTE 2.— Mrs. Maria Merrill Martin, the wife of Dr. Samuel E. Martin.

pointed down the avenue toward Constitution hall; the gunners were at their posts and the fuse was burning, all ready for firing. With his squad of cavalry, their revolvers in hand, the colonel galloped on to Constitution hall. One division, ordered to "file right," swept the Topeka Guards to the east, past the present post-office. The other advanced and halted in front of the hall, while Colonel Sumner dismounted and proceeded to the assembly-rooms.

He was given a seat on the platform while the house was called to order, and the members responded to the roll-call. Then he delivered his dispersion message. After a deep pause a member asked: "Colonel, are we to understand that the legislature is dispersed at the point of the bayonet?" Colonel Sumner replied: "I shall use all the forces in my command to carry out my orders." At this the members dispersed.

Colonel Sumner then proceeded to the senate, which had not yet been called, although the hour had arrived. He ordered them to disperse without even permitting them to convene. One of the senators broke the embarrassing silence with the dignified response: "Colonel Sumner, we are in no condition to resist the United States troops; and if you order us to disperse, of course we must disperse." This voiced the sentiment of the senate.

As Colonel Sumner mounted his horse to withdraw, three cheers were given for him, and three for John C. Fremont, the then Republican candidate for president of the United States. There also rang into the surprised ears of the departing dragoons three cheers for the Topeka convention and state legislature, and three groans for President Pierce, through whose orders it had been dispersed.

There could be no resistance to the United States army; so the free-state legislature dispersed in a quiet and orderly manner. Had the Missourians come as rumored, a clash of arms would have resulted; but the free-state men could only obey the national government. The pro-slavery adherents half hoped there would be an open conflict with the United States troops; then the free-state men could be treated as in rebellion. But the fortunes of the free-state men were at low enough ebb, and to an observer it would seem that the climax had already passed, and the goal of a pro-slavery state would soon be reached. A free-state historian of that time ends his story here and calls it "The Conquest of Kansas." But the final untying of the knot in the Kansas drama is not what the onlooker expects. It is not a tragedy that he has been witnessing. A year later, when elections occurred, armed guards at the polls kept the Missourians from voting and the elections were carried by free-state men.[3] And from then on the free-state citizens with lessening opposition, tended victoriously toward the free-state goal.

Although the dramatic dispersion of the territorial legislature of 1856 may not have been far-reaching in its political or historical results, yet it may be said to mark the climax in the Kansas drama, when it was impossible to tell which opposing force would win.

NOTE 3.— September 25, 1857, Gen. W. S. Harney issues instructions to troops for guarding polling-places in Kansas territory in the election of October 6, 1857.— Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 5, p. 303.

James Redpath, in Chicago *Tribune:*

TOPEKA, July 4, 1856, eleven P. M.—Naturally a more beautiful, politically a more important, day never rose in Kansas than the present 4th of July. Cannon in the camp of the cavalry announced its advent. Yesterday afternoon and during the night the free-state men received accessions to their strength. About 800 men were in the city this morning. Of this number, 500 at least had arms and were drilled. Flags floated in the breeze from every public building and in front of every tent. Five companies of dragoons, under Colonel Sumner, were encamped southeast of the town, and five companies from Fort Riley, under Major Merrill, on the opposite side of the river, about two miles northwest of Constitution hall.

The mass convention [4] met at eight o'clock. Speeches were delivered by Colonel Phillips, Judge Wakefield, Colonel Allen, Judge Schuyler, Rev. Pardee Butler, Mr. Chapman, Mr. Collyer, Mr. Wm. Hutchinson, Mr. Samuel C. Smith, Mr. Watson, of Leavenworth, and others. The subject of debate was the propriety of the legislature convening, notwithstanding the intimation received from Colonel Sumner that he would disperse that body at all hazards. We had a clique of Buchanan intriguers in the convention, who were endeavoring to induce it to pass resolutions by which the Democracy might be saved from defeat at the approaching presidential election.

. . . . . .

About ten o'clock a gentleman moved that the business of the convention be temporarily suspended for the purpose of listening to a proclamation from Marshal Donaldson. The motion was adopted, and Marshal Donaldson mounted to the platform. He is a tall, lanky gentleman of forty-five or fifty years, with a fair complexion and iron-gray whiskers. He was dressed in jeans pants, vest, and coat, and wore a shocking bad and very dirty straw hat. He said, as any judge of human nature could see, that he was not good at speaking, and called on Judge Elmore to read the proclamation. Judge Elmore arose and took out the official parchment. He read the proclamation of Franklin Pierce, "president of the Southern portion of the United States," issued in February last; then the proclamation of Wilson Shannon; thirdly, another proclamation, dated July 4, issued by Daniel Woodson, secretary of the territory and acting governor; and, lastly, a note from Colonel Sumner, addressed to the legislature, announcing his determination to execute the command of Woodson (for the legislature to disperse) "at all hazards" There was only one copy of Woodson's proclamation and Sumner's note permitted to be taken, and a gentleman carried it off before any of the reporters could transcribe it. It will be published.

As soon as the proclamations were read, the business of the convention was resumed, as if no interruption had occurred. Marshal Donaldson remained. He looked as a countryman looks at a railroad for the first time—utterly amazed, apparently, at the conduct and coolness of the convention. He left. On reaching the camp he told the officers there must be a fight. Colonel Sumner, excited by the news, ordered his men to prepare for battle. Two field-pieces were charged with grape-shot and the dragoons loaded their carbines and revolvers. Shortly afterwards they were ordered to march. The convention was informed of the fact as soon as they began to move, but proceeded quietly with its business and continued to discuss the resolution before it, even after it was surrounded by the troops.

As Colonel Sumner, riding at the head of his men—about 200—turned round the Garvey House and entered Kansas avenue, company G, Topeka Guards, under Messrs. Mitchell and Haynes, were drawn up in front of Constitution hall for the purpose of being presented with a banner by the ladies of the city.

Colonel Sumner, both by his manner and tone, indicated that he was determined to obey orders, and expected to fight. Several of the officers and men have informed us that such was the expectation of every soldier when they entered the town. Colonel Sumner, by a series of rapid movements, stationed his men, with admirable skill, in three divisions—one drawn up in front of Constitution hall; another in line with it, but further up the street; a third several paces back and between the first and third divisions. There was no intention of resisting the United States troops; and, therefore, the colonel could easily station his forces in the most formidable position. If the people had intended to fight him, he never would have been permitted to enter Topeka. The drummer of company G, Topeka Guards, was beating when the troops entered town. He kept on and the company stood firm, even when the dragoons were riding toward them. The drummer plied his sticks regularly until the head of the horse of the first file touched

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NOTE 4.—"As the 4th of July approached, day after day witnessed some new effort of the pro-slavery party to prevent the state legislature from assembling at that time. Several members of that body were languishing in state prisons, and others had to keep in places of concealment to avoid arrest. Governor Robinson, the life and the soul of the free-state men, was in prison. . . . .

"Many active and influential free-state men exerted themselves to induce all the free-state men in the territory to assemble at Topeka on the 3d of July. For this purpose a mass convention of the people was called to deliberate at that time and place on the condition of the territory."—Phillips's Conquest of Kansas, 1856, p. 392.

him. He made one step forward and then stood still. So with the others; none moved till the horses of the troops could go no further without stepping on them, and then they made only one step forward and immediately "dressed left." Colonel Sumner looked at them half angrily, half admiringly. The drummer still kept on, and did not desist until requested to do so by the colonel. On the banner of the company the ladies had inscribed: "Our lives for our rights."

As soon as the troops were stationed, a committee appointed by the convention waited on Colonel Sumner and informed him that the citizens had no intention of resisting the United States troops, and asked him whether he proposed to disarm them or disperse the convention. If he had attempted to do either he would have been resisted by the free-state men. As he was entering the town, some one moved that the companies lay down their arms and parade without them. Mr. Watson, of Leavenworth, said: "Gentlemen, in every city in the United States today companies of armed men are parading. We have the same right to carry arms that they have. If Colonel Sumner attempts to disarm these companies, he supersedes his authority, and does so at his peril. I shall stand among the boys." This brief speech was loudly cheered.

To return: Colonel Sumner replied that he did not intend to break up the convention or disarm the volunters; he had come there to prevent the legislature from convening, and would do so if they attempted to assemble; but if they did not, he would remain in town until after twelve —the hour to which the legislature had adjourned—and then retire to his camp. Three cheers were proposed and given to Colonel Sumner. I did n't see exactly what this waste of breath was for, and proposed three cheers for Governor Robinson, a man, in my opinion, more deserving of the honor. They were given with the wildest enthusiasm, the boys waving their hats and cheering in front of the armed "instruments" of the slave power. One of the officers, a pro-slavery man, looked concentrated razors at me for so doing, but, after casting a few essence-of-meat-ax glances at him, he finally bestowed his eyes on other individuals. Three cheers were proposed and given for freedom in Kansas.

Colonel Sumner dismounted and entered the chamber of the house of representatives. He was very much agitated. The man appeared to be ashamed of the soldier. Colonel Sumner is a true gentleman; but he is the tool of Pierce, and is he not to be pitied? I would have given three tears for him, if I had the feminine accomplishment of producing salt water at pleasure; but to the servant of F. Pierce, No! by Jove, no cheers. Mrs. Gaines, of Lawrence, and another lady went up to Sumner and extended their "snowy digits." "How do you do, Colonel Sumner," said the ladies. He took each of them by the hand and said, in a confused tone: "Ladies, I am sorry to interrupt you, but I must attend to my duty." "Stop, colonel," said one of the ladies, as he was going off, "these gentlemen (pointing to the Topeka Guards) met here to receive a banner from the ladies of Topeka, on the day of our would-be independence." "You shall be independent," said the soldier, as he suddenly left them. I don't see any point in this conversation; but, as conversations with the fair sex are often pointless, I merely state it as one of the incidents of the day.

The colonel entered the chamber of the house of representatives, his sword hanging by his side, with a stern but agitated expression of countenance. He went up to the platform. The chamber was densely crowded. A deep silence ensued, unbroken till the soldier entered into a private conversation with gentlemen around him. At noon Samuel F. Tappan, assistant clerk, in the absence of the speaker and the chief clerk, called the house to order, and proceeded to call the roll of members with as much coolness and regularity as if Colonel Sumner had been at Leavenworth and Franklin Pierce a myth. Twice the roll was called over. Caleb S. Pratt called it the third time. Seventeen members answered to their names. There were thirty-four members in town, and, as the people had decided that the legislature should proceed, Mr. Tappan arose and ordered the sergeant-at-arms to go after absent members.

Colonel Sumner immediately rose from his seat, apparently much affected, and said: "Gentlemen, I am called upon this day to perform the most painful duty of my life. Under the authority of the president's proclamation, I am here to disperse this legislature, and I therefore inform you that you cannot meet. I therefore, in accordance with my orders, command you to disperse. God knows that I have no party feeling in this matter, and will have none as long as I hold my present position in Kansas. I have just returned from the borders, where I have been sending home companies of Missourians, and now I am ordered here to disperse you. Such are my orders, that you must disperse. I repeat, that this is the most painful duty of my life—but you must disperse." Judge Schuyler: "Are we to understand that the legislature is dispersed at the point of the bayonet?" Colonel Sumner: "I shall use all the forces under my command to carry out my orders." Colonel Sumner then sat down and the house and audience dispersed.

After the chamber was cleared, the old soldier went out and mounted his horse. A law-and-order man went up to him and suggested that the senate should also be dispersed. Colonel Sumner dismounted and entered the senate chamber. He delivered nearly the same speech as he addressed to the house of representatives. The senators stood in a semicircle about him, and the

chamber was densely crowded. After Colonel Sumner concluded his remarks an unbroken silence prevailed. Colonel Sumner, feeling the embarrassment, said: "Gentlemen, do I understand that you consider yourselves dispersed?" Mr. Thornton, of Topeka, president of the senate, stepped forward and coolly replied: "I cannot answer, nor can any other member of the senate. The senate is not in session." Colonel Sumner felt that his situation was exceedingly embarrassing. After reflecting for a few moments—his brows knit, his eyes cast on the ground—the senate was addressed by Marshal Donaldson, who said: "Gentlemen, I want a pledge from each of you that you will not assemble again; if you don't give it, I will arrest every member of the senate." This unparalleled impudence on the part of the marshal was received with the silent contempt it deserved. Who ever heard before of a conditional arrest? If the marshal had writs to serve, it was his duty to execute them. He had none, and his threats were at once uncalled for, insulting, and childish.

"Will the colonel," asked Mr. Thornton, "give us time to converse, in order that the decision of the senate may be known?" Sumner answered, "No! my orders command me to prohibit you from convening. I must command you not to assemble, and the senate must consider itself dispersed."

As Colonel Sumner was coming down stairs he recognized Colonel Phillips, of the New York *Tribune*, and nodded to him. "Colonel," said Phillips, "you have robbed Oliver Cromwell of his laurels." Sumner did not speak, but the expression of his eye clearly indicated what he thought. He looked startled at first, then serious, angry, and agitated. He evidently saw at once the full enormity of the orders he had been compelled to obey; and how odious his act, even although unwillingly executed, would appear in the annals of American history. He mounted his horse and gave orders to march. Three cheers were given for Colonel Sumner, as he put his foot in the stirrup, in order to convince him that, although the people allowed the act he had committed, they did not regard him as responsible for it. "Forward, march!" shouted the officer, in a strong, ringing, but agitated, voice. "Three cheers for John C. Fremont!" cried a voice in the crowd. Three loud, prolonged and enthusiastic cheers were given for the Republican candidate. The troops heard it, and I saw the free-state officers smile as they rode along. "Three groans for Franklin Pierce!" cried another squatter. An effort was made to suppress this demonstration of disrespect, lest the officers should suppose, as they were now some distance off, that it was intended for them. But it was too late, and three heartily given groans were heard in the streets.

I had forgotten to add that as Sumner came out of Constitution hall a new American flag was hoisted over it. Three cheers were given for this star-spangled banner.

The mail is preparing to start. I enclose a letter from Colonel Sumner to a committee appointed by the convention; the resolutions adopted by the people; a couple of speeches; a communication from the prisoners at Lecompton; and the memorial to Congress.

The outrage I have endeavored to describe was perpetrated on the 4th of July, by command of the president.

KANSAS EXPERIENCES OF OSCAR G. RICHARDS,[1] OF EUDORA, IN 1856.

Read by O. G. RICHARDS before the Lawrence Annual Convention of "'56ers," October 25, 1902.

I CAME to Kansas territory in the summer of 1856, from Livingston county, Illinois, by what was known as the overland route, through northern Illinois, Iowa, and Nebraska, down to Topeka. Capt. William Strawn, son of Jacob Strawn, of Jacksonville, Ill., organized the company I belonged to, at Ottawa, in that state, in May, 1856, just after the sacking of Lawrence. There were about fifty members of the company. We were furnished with Sharp's rifles and revolvers for firearms, which were purchased by Captain Strawn. Six of our number, including myself, were se-

NOTE 1.—OSCAR GRINMAN RICHARDS was born January 12, 1836, at Napoleon, Jackson county, Michigan. His father was Xenophon Richards, and was prominent in the Indian wars; was a soldier in the Black Hawk war. His mother was Semantha Whaley, daughter of Ohio pioneers. Mr. Richards drove the first team over "Lane's road," and planted the first stakes. He later became a lawyer, and was admitted to the Douglas county bar in 1869. He was elected a member of the house of representatives from that county in 1878, and has held offices in the city of Eudora.

lected to come the overland route, to bring such things as had been donated to the free-state cause, such as provisions, clothing, blankets, farm implements, etc. The rest of our company came by water, by way of St. Louis, and up the Missouri river to Leavenworth. On arriving at Leavenworth the men were taken prisoners by Buford's men, and put on board of a boat and sent back down the river to Alton, Ill., except Captain Strawn, who made his escape by hiding under a bed in a hotel. Later on he went north to Iowa, where he met the free-state party and then came through with us.

Those of us that came the overland route joined Captain Cutter's company, from Massachusetts, at Iowa City and came through with his company to Nebraska City, where we found several other companies. General Lane and John Brown were with us and seemed to have charge of the whole free-state forces from Iowa City to Topeka. Colonel Eldridge, general agent of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, was also with us on the route. He had charge of the commissary and general supply department, and furnished us the sinews of life, and it can be truthfully said of him that he never allowed us to go hungry in camp or on the march. On our arriving in Topeka, our party was immediately ordered to Washington creek, in this county, without waiting hardly long enough to get dinner. At Washington creek we went into camp a day or two, drilling and preparing to capture the pro-slavery men at Fort Saunders. While camping at Washington creek, a party of us drove out to a corn-field near by, and took up the body of Col. David S. Hoyt, who had been killed a few days before by the pro-slavery men. We gave him a more decent interment than those fellows had. After burying Colonel Hoyt we advanced on Fort Saunders, as it was called, August 15, and make an attack on it, but found that all the pro-slavery men had fled, leaving only a colored man to hold the fort. The fort was simply a double log house located on a hill, with port-holes in it, with an embankment of dirt thrown up around the building. After securing provisions and firearms left by the absconding border ruffians, we burned the building. I remember very well of hearing General Lane call out at the top of his voice for us to get away from the building, as there might be a large quantity of powder about the premises and its explosion might kill some of us. He also cautioned us not to drink the water from the well, as it might be poisoned. There was supposed to be about forty or fifty persons in the fort, and perhaps more, but on seeing us coming, which they could some distance away, they all fled to the woods.

General Lane's mode of attacking these log blockhouses used as forts was to put a load of hay on a wagon and back the wagon up to the building, the hay serving as breastworks, and then follow up with another wagon just behind with a barrel of tar or pitch, throw the tar on the hay and then set fire to it and burn them out, without endangering the lives of our men. That was the mode adopted at Fort Saunders, but not carried out, for the reason that our enemies had fled, as I have said before.

After destroying the fort and securing provisions, arms, etc., we returned to camp, cooked and ate our supper, and took up the line of march for Titus's fort, near Lecompton. We marched until some time after midnight, and then went into camp about a mile west of Judge Wakefield's place, on the California road. Just before going into camp we ran into a gang of horse-thieves, who turned out to be some of Titus's men, and captured several of

them. At break of day, August 16, Capt. Henry J. Shombre, who had been with us from Nebraska City, and perhaps longer, came around and awoke us, saying if he could raise sixty cavalrymen he could take Titus's fort. The number of men was soon raised and away they went to Fort Titus, which was about three miles distant, without even waiting for their breakfast. The rest of our men took breakfast and then took up the line of march to Fort Titus, but before we had reached there a messenger on horseback from Shombre's men came back and urged us to hurry up with our cannon, the "Old Sacramento," saying that Captain Shombre and several other men were shot. It seemed, we learned afterwards, that Captain Shombre and others of his men had ridden up in front of the fort and demanded that Titus surrender; but Titus refused, saying he would spill his last drop of blood before he would do that. No sooner had he said this than his men opened up fire through the port-holes, and Captain Shombre, I think, was the first man shot. By the time our main army arrived with "Old Sacramento," there were several of our men lying on the ground wounded, but not dead. "Old Sacramento" was placed on a hill east of the fort about eighty rods, and soon commenced a bombardment of the fort. My recollection now is that it took just thirteen shots from "Old Sacramento" before the white flag went up, the plastering and chinking flying at every shot. When the white flag went up we rushed into the building, and took Titus and his men prisoners, numbering about twenty, all told. After destroying the fort we took Titus and his men to Lawrence.

During the siege and destruction of Titus's fort, a company of United States cavalry troops from Lecompton, which was about one mile north of us, formed in line and watched us all the time, but did not in any way interfere with us. Col. Sam. Walker, I think, had charge of the free-state forces that day. There must have been about 1000 of them. Captain Shombre, who was shot at the capture of Titus, died two days later at Lawrence, which was Monday, August 18, 1856. In a day or two arrangements were made between the pro-slavery and the free-state forces to exchange prisoners, they having some of our men as prisoners at Lecompton, Governor Robinson being among the number. So it was arranged for us to turn over to them the pro-slavery prisoners we had, and they to us the prisoners they held of ours, which was done. I think we also turned over a cannon captured at Franklin by our forces. Wilson Shannon was the territorial governor at that time.

After the border-ruffian war was over I took a claim near Manhattan, built a house, and made other improvements, and late in the fall went back to my old home in Illinois, leaving my claim in the possession of one of my comrades. The next spring I returned with a party of twenty-five, all relatives of mine, who settled in Eudora township, Douglas county, on what was then known as the absentee Shawnee Indian lands. Soon afterwards I sold my claim at Manhattan and moved to Eudora, where I have resided ever since.

There are but a few men in Kansas to-day who realize how much they are indebted to the early settlers for the blessings they enjoy, or who ever consider the hardships and privations endured by the old settlers in the early days.

Nearly half a century has passed since then, and many marvelous

changes have taken place in the state and in the nation. Most of those who took part in those struggles to make Kansas a free state have gone to their reward. The few of us who still remain ought to keep in close touch with each other, until the last one has passed over the silent river and joined that innumerable throng in the bright hereafter.*

REMINISCENCES OF HARTMAN LICHTENHAN.[1]

I WAS born in Saxony, Germany, in 1832, and came to America in 1846, making my home in Philadelphia. December 14, 1852, I enlisted in the Second dragoons, U. S. A., for service on the frontier, under Second Lieut. Alfred Pleasanton. We were at Carlisle barracks for two months; then went to Governor's Island, N. Y., for two weeks, and took a transport to Texas. The third day out, as we struck open water, and lost sight of land, I was placed on guard. I happened to discover with my naked eye a hulk having no mast or sail, and gave the alarm to the mate. He thought I was mistaken, but getting a spy-glass soon made out a wreck, upon which we found five sailors who had been adrift three days. Within twenty minutes after we had rescued them the wreck sunk. The crew had started from Baltimore with a cargo of flour for Mobile, and had been run down in the night by a steamer. The mate, captain and five sailors were lost.

We landed at Indianola, Tex., and signaled the lighthouse. An officer soon came out. We laid by until the next morning, when two steamers came out and pulled us in through the shoal water. We then traveled on foot 500 miles to Fort Graham, now a large city. When we reached Texas there were but sixteen buildings in Waco, and at Fort Worth there was no sign of a settlement. From Fort Graham, Tex., we marched to Fort McKavett, Tex., on the head waters of the San Saba river; from there to Fort Chapman, and then to Fort Riley, Kan. While at Fort Chapman, when part of our men were out on a scout, 1100 Comanche Indians surrounded the fort. We had but forty men inside the enclosure, and could not get out for five days. One man who ventured out during that time was struck by eleven arrows. He got back inside, and the arrows were taken out by Doctor Hammond, afterwards the famous surgeon. Two passed through from his back, the points pushing out the surface skin just below the right nipple. Hammond pushed them through his body, and drew a handkerchief through the wounds by the use of a wire, to clean them out. The man recovered.

General Harney was at Fort Riley when we reached there. He had recently had a fight on the Platte river, Nebraska, with the Sioux Indians, in which he captured twenty-six chiefs, besides their wives and children. These he brought to Fort Riley and took on to Washington. They went by way of the Mississippi river and the ocean. The plan was to give the Indians an idea of our large white population and of our military strength, for they visited our navy-yards and arsenals. They came back by the same route, there being no railroads in those days reaching Kansas. The Indians

* Other features of this summer's campaign in Douglas county may be found in "The Events of 1856" and "Emigration to Kansas in 1856," published in Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 7, p. 521, and vol. 8, p. 302, respectively.

NOTE 1.—HARTMAN LICHTENHAN, of McDowell's creek, Geary county, visited the Historical rooms in May, 1903, and gave these reminiscences.

were returned to their hunting-grounds on the South Platte. General Harney lost in the fight in which he captured these Indians only thirty-two men, while he killed 300 men, women, and children. He was the best Indian fighter the United States ever had. He was in for demolishing them, and had no earthly mercy for them.[2]

When we came to Fort Riley, in September, 1855, there were only the First and Second dragoons and the mounted rifles. The dragoon was a a horse soldier, responsible for his animal. The rifles took the horses of the post where they happened to be for temporary use. On our way to Fort Riley we crossed the Neosho at Council Grove. There seemed to be only a few buildings there then—a blacksmith shop, grocery, and the post-office, and perhaps four or five other shanties. The Indians were right in around the town, and had the smallpox. We did not know of the epidemic, and camped right down in the midst of them and stayed all night, and although there were fatal cases among the Indians none of us caught the infection.

Philip St. George Cooke was our colonel, and Patrick Calhoun our captain. Henry H. Sibley, afterwards in the Confederate service, was our major. Robert Henderson, who died January 6, 1906, R. E. Laurenson, E. S. McFarland, and Patrick King, who settled in Geary county, were also members of the same company. Henderson and Laurenson each served as county treasurer of Geary county, and also as postmaster of Junction City. For eighteen months steady we were in the settlements, at Lecompton, Lawrence, Topeka, Hickory Point, etc. Whenever the two parties, free-state and pro-slavery, got together, they had a spat, and we got in between and stopped it.

We were staying at Lecompton at the time of the Hickory Point fight, in Jefferson county. A guard of eighteen men was sent out from Lecompton in advance of the main troop. When about eight miles out we saw a young man leading a horse out from a hay stable. He sprang on the horse and urged it into a run. The guard ordered him to halt; instead of halting he fired his revolver and hit the shoulder of one of our men. The members of the guard immediately returned the fire, and he fell with seventeen bullets in his body. We then went on, leaving him alone with two men, for the main command to come up. He was then put into an army wagon. The news reached Lawrence before long, and his friends claimed his body. He was evidently bearing news of our coming to the disturbers of the peace at Hickory Point.

We soldiers for eighteen months were kept in hot water chasing after the free-state or pro-slavery men. We would lie down on the prairie at night wrapped up in our blankets to sleep. Probably about eleven o'clock the guard would come to us and whisper: "Come, get up, mount your horses. See, there is a fire off there on the horizon to the right." Perhaps there would be another off on the left. We would gallop toward the fires, but the attacking party would hear our horses approach and slip off in different directions, and no one would be there when we arrived.

NOTE 2.—This battle, between the command of Gen. W. S. Harney and the Bois Brule band of the Sioux nation under Little Thunder, occurred on the 3d of September, 1855. These Indians were camped on Blue Water creek, Nebraska territory, four miles from the left bank of the North Platte. Eighty-six were killed, five wounded, about seventy women and children captured, fifty mules and ponies taken besides many killed and disabled, and practically all the camp equipage destroyed. Harney's loss was four killed, seven wounded, and one missing.—Report of General Harney, commander of the Sioux expedition; Senate Documents, 34th Cong., 1st and 2d sess., vol. 2, 1855-'56, serial number 811.

Our camp outfit was very small. We generally carried a pint or quart tin cup in which we cooked. Our meat was cooked on sticks held over the coals. We would set out with rations for a day or two, consisting of bacon and hardtack. On such duty we did not get bean soup or rice. Five crackers (a pound), one and one-fourth pounds of beef or three-fourths of a pound of bacon, made up a day's rations. At the time I joined the army the government paid the mounted soldiers eight dollars a month and infantry seven dollars. In 1854 the mounted soldiers received twelve dollars and the infantry eleven dollars. I got my discharge at Fort Leavenworth in December, 1857. I then received, besides my regular pay, an amount sufficient to pay my transportation back to Philadelphia, where I enlisted.

I, however, had decided to remain in Kansas, and came right back to McDowell's creek, Geary county, and settled on the farm I still own—section 35, township 11, range 7 east, eighty acres. This I bought of the government, direct, for one dollar an acre, although the regular price was $1.25 per acre. I had bought up an old land-warrant at a reduced price, good for eighty acres.

When I came back from the Salt Lake trip[3] I stopped in Leavenworth, and met an old friend I had known at Fort Riley, a tailor. He asked me if I had married. Finding I was still single, he told me he knew of a young woman he thought would make a good wife. I said: "Let 's go and see her." But he said: "No, I can't." I said: "What 's the use of your proposing a thing and backing out immediately." He explained that he had nearly finished a suit of clothing, which he must deliver before he quit work. I offered to see to its delivery, and then we set out to see the girl. This was on Wednesday. I felt satisfied with my visit, and when I bid her goodby she told my friend that we must call again. I thanked her and said I would. On Saturday I went back to see her, but did not take my friend. I asked her, if the weather was good, would she drive up with me to Fort Leavenworth on Sunday? When I went for her she said there was such good walking that she would prefer to go that way. I had friends at the fort, where we got dinner. About five o'clock she said she must go back, as she was expected to get supper for her parents. Hacks ran between the fort and the city, and we took one of them. Luckily there was no one in the hack but the driver and ourselves. We were within a mile of Leavenworth when I bursted out: "Now," said I, "I am living on a farm by myself, and I want to get a wife. Will you marry me?" She said our acquaintance had been short. I gave her a week to study over me, and told her she could make inquiry of the officers at the fort regarding my character, etc., for they had known me for years. We parted that evening and I went back on Wednesday. On the following Sunday I went back again, and I said: "How is it? Have you studied my question? Spit it out, let it be good or bad; but I don't want it to be No." She was willing to marry me. I called on the bishop (Bishop Miège) to see about our marriage, for I was in a hurry to have it done at once. He told me we would have to wait until it was spoken three times in church. I went back to my farm, but on the third Sunday I was on hand, and we got married. We lived together thirty-six

NOTE 3.—Evidently Mr. Lichtenhan was a member of the escort of Second dragoons which accompanied Col. Albert S. Johnston on the Utah expedition of 1857.—Senate Documents, 35th Cong., 1st sess., vol. 3, 1857–'58, p. 21, serial number 920; also mentioned by Percival G. Lowe in his "Five Years a Dragoon," 1905, p. 294.

years and raised a family of seven children, all living, all married, and all doing well. My children are:

1. Charles Lichtenhan.
2. Ellie, Mrs. William Asmussen, Wamego.
3. Elizabeth, Mrs. John Hansen, Wamego.
4. Kate, Mrs. Pat Shean, Kansas City.
5. Mary, Mrs. James Mung, Topeka.
6. Frank Lichtenhan, Junction City.
7. John Lichtenhan, on the McDowell Creek farm.

My marriage was in February, 1858, and my wife's name, Kate Foster. During the year 1860 not a drop of rain fell, from the 15th day of May until the following January. Nothing was raised, and in consequence provisions were very high. I freighted all summer from Leavenworth and Kansas City to the towns in the western part of the territory. In the fall I came home and asked my wife to take a trip with me to Iowa, where I could get flour at a low price for the winter supply. She said: "You must know that it is late in the season, and that Iowa is a cold country; we might be caught in the cold. A little longer absence from you will not make much difference, for you have been gone all summer, anyway." So, in three days, I started alone with my wagon and two yoke of oxen for Osceola, Iowa. I bought 2500 pounds of flour. For the best I paid $2.25 a hundredweight, and some I paid $2 for. On my way back I came through St. Joseph, Mo., and started to sell some of my flour at Kansas prices. The $2.25 flour I sold for $9 per hundred, and the $2 flour for $8. I reached home with 1200 pounds. My wife saw me coming, and, with our baby on her arm, came three-fourths of a mile to meet me. Her first words were: "How are you, boy?" I thanked her, and said: "How are you, ma, and how is the baby?" She answered and said: "We are all right, but did you bring any flour?" I told her I had a little, and we drove on till we came to the house. I slipped the yokes off of the cattle and let them go to grass. She started supper, and I took off my traveling clothes and laid my money-bag on the table. She saw it was pretty well stuffed. She took the bag and counted the money, and said: "Boy, you can't have much flour, if any, for you have five dollars more than when you started, and how could you get flour without any money?" I told her I did not steal it, nor the money with which it was bought, and that she should have the story in time. After supper I told her to set the baby on the dirt floor (there were no carpeted floors in Kansas at that time). I asked her to come out and climb in the wagon and hand out to me the sacks as I carried them to the house. But she was anxious to know how I got it, and, not to worry her longer, I told her that when I got below St. Joseph I began selling it at the prices named above. She asked me if I had the cheek to ask those poor people like us to pay nine dollars a hundred. I told her my conscience was just as good as the merchants'.

While in Texas 200 of us dragoons and 500 Texas rangers, soldiers belonging to the state of Texas, were ordered up on the Red river, on the border of Texas. We were caught in the snow, and suffered great hardship. Our captain, Patrick Calhoun, was in command of the expedition. After our return to Kansas he went to Washington on a furlough given him on account of illness from exposure on that expedition, I think, and finally

died in the East. While in Washington he made application for land-warrants for the soldiers who were with him on that expedition, in acknowledgment of our sufferings and good behavior. I think he died before they were obtained; at least, we soldiers did not learn of the granting of the warrants until about sixteen years ago, and then through a guard in the post-office in Washington. I obtained mine, for 160 acres of land, and sold it for as many dollars to a young man, as I did not wish to go to another state to locate.

WESTPORT AND THE SANTA FE TRADE.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by WILLIAM R. BERNARD.

WILLIAM R. BERNARD, the author of this sketch, was born in Albemarle county, Virginia, December 8, 1823. He was descended from English and Huguenot families. In 1839, when but sixteen years of age, he removed with his father's family to Callaway county, Missouri, and began work upon a farm; afterwards went to the Lake Superior country to prospect for copper; and then, like the true Western man he had become, went to Galena, Ill., and looked in at the lead-mines; from this place to Dubuque, Iowa. About the first of the year 1846, he was appointed a United States geologist for the northern peninsula of Michigan, and entered at once upon his duties. Towards the close of the year 1847 the corps of which he was a member was called to the southeast and southwest of Missouri for scientific purposes,[1] and about the end of the year 1848 the corps was ordered to California for examination of the geological formation of that country. Having a sister in Westport, Mrs. J. G. Hamilton, he obtained a leave of absence to visit her before starting on his journey to the Pacific slope. He reached Westport Christmas, 1847, and so well was he pleased with the location that he resigned his appointment, and decided at once to become a citizen of Missouri and embark in the Indian trade.

At the time he arrived at Westport the business houses of that village were, for the most part, located on a little stream that flows southeasterly through that town, crossing the present Westport avenue at what is known as Mill street. Since the period before named there had been a mill at the northwest corner of Mill street and Westport avenue. There were a number of excellent springs along the bank of this rivulet; hence the settlement. The first tavern located in the town was on this little stream, at or near the junction of Mill street, and on the north side of Westport avenue. This hostelry was the gathering place for hunters, trappers, traders, Indians, and soldiers; it was kept at that time by one Daniel Yocum. While upon this subject, it might be stated that the second tavern opened in the town was an establishment by A. B. H. McGee, at the present site of the Harris House, at the northeast corner of Westport avenue and Penn streets. John Harris succeeded McGee in this property in 1847, and conducted a hotel there until about 1861.

It is a well-established historical fact that in the year 1843 there assembled at Westport a number of men giving out that they were going to

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NOTE 1.—Report of Chas. T. Jackson, United States geologist for the survey of the mineral lands of the United States in Michigan.—Ho. Ex. Doc. No. 5, 31st Cong., 1st sess., serial number 571.

the borders of Texas to fight Mexicans. The rendezvous of this party was the Yocum tavern, and after completing their preparations they departed westward on the Santa Fe trail. Word had reached the borders of Missouri that Don Antonio José Chavez, a rich Mexican, was on his way to the Missouri river, at Independence, to trade, and these men had determined to meet and rob him. They came upon Chavez in camp on the banks of a little stream generally known as Little Arkansas river, in the present state of Kansas, killing him and robbing his train. It is said that they got in booty, among other things, $34,000[2] in Mexican silver, and started on their return to the Missouri with the booty. As the news had preceded Chavez that he was on his way to the Missouri with a great amount of money, so the information of the crime committed by these men preceded them on their return. They were met by a body of Jackson county citizens, near Council Grove, Kan., among whom was Geo. Buchanon, sheriff of Jackson county, and some ten of their number captured and a part of the money taken from Chavez was recovered. It might be added that some of the party escaped, by reason of having left the main body. The crime having been committed in the Indian territory and not within the jurisdiction of Missouri, the robbers were turned over to the United States authorities and tried in St. Louis; three were hung and others received various prison sentences.

There was some foundation for the report that they were going to the upper Arkansas to fight Mexicans. It will be remembered that the territory of Texas then extended across what is now Colorado into Wyoming. Its eastern borders extended from the Red river due north to the south bank of the Arkansas, about opposite Dodge City, Kan., thence up the river to a point where it crossed the Santa Fe trail, not a great distance from the city of Las Animas, Colo., and caravans loading at Independence for Santa Fe and beyond must perforce pass through territory claimed by both Texas and Mexico. The United States government, to protect caravans from attack by the Texas people, would send United States soldiers to escort caravans to the Texas boundary, there to be met by troops from New Mexico, who would protect them from that point. In the year 1843 the annual caravans from Independence were larger than usual, and were escorted by Capt. Philip St. George Cooke, who afterwards became a distinguished officer in the civil war, with four companies of dragoons, numbering about 200 men. A body of Texans under the command of Col. Jacob Snively was awaiting the caravans just inside the United States boundary, on the upper Arkansas. These parties being upon United States soil, Captain Cooke promptly disarmed them and brought about forty of their number back to the States.[3] The traders were unharmed this year.

NOTE 2.—Historical Sketches of New Mexico, by L. Bradford Prince, 1883, p. 282, says there was but $10,000 or $12,000 worth of specie and bullion taken from Chavez.

NOTE 3.—[The following account of this affair, written by the principal actor, Gen. Philip St. George Cooke, was printed in the *Army and Navy Journal* in the summer of 1882, entitled "A Day's Work of a Captain of Dragoons." Under date of May 25, 1882, General Cooke wrote Judge Franklin G. Adams: "I expect to see very soon—I am not sure whether in the *North American Review* or the *Army and Navy Journal*—a 'bit of history' from an old official journal of mine. It is the capture of the Texans, in 1843, which has always been kept in the shade." The location of this affair was on the Arkansas river, about seven or eight miles east of Dodge City.]

In the year 1843 the territory west of 100 degrees west longitude and south of the river Arkansas was recognized as belonging to Mexico. There was an overland trade across it, with Santa Fe for its first objective, of sufficient importance to be that year the subject of diplomatic correspondence between the Mexican government and our own touching the point whether military escorts to the caravans should, for the effective performance of their duty, be allowed to disregard the boundaries.

I have already given the *Army and Navy Journal* an extract from the journal of the escort

of that year, relating how a buffalo bull, after being struck down by a cannon shot, made repeated charges upon the center of a column of dragoons under a hot fire, and in the melee tossed a corporal, both rider and horse, upon his horns, the man's life being probably saved by the interposition of a bulldog.

I will now give the official record of the second day after the occurrence. It has never been printed. That remote wilderness frontier was far beyond the scope of the news-gatherer of that day. There was not then a mania for news, excited and fed by the telegraph, and there were reasons then to rather discourage public notice and attention to that affair. It is singular that the scene of that international transaction was claimed to belong to three different governments. The claim of Texas was made known to our government a few months later, and appears to have been recognized as an aid in its negotiations for annexation. (I was present, two years later, when an engineer officer took observations, and made it three or four miles within our territory.)

The day's work began at sunrise, about four o'clock, and the muster and inspection was thorough work; and the record omits a magnificent buffalo chase, just after the march began, in which I indulged. I was mounted on a noble thoroughbred, which I rode all day. At one time I was in the very midst — almost in contact — of a dense mass of thousands of savage-looking animals, all at thundering speed.

"JUNE 30.— Mustered and inspected the command at six o'clock; marched at 8:10; after marching four or five miles, I suddenly came in view of three horsemen, about 1200 paces ahead, whom I concluded must be Texan spies. I forthwith sent a sergeant and six men in pursuit. He returned in fifteen or twenty minutes at full speed and reported that he followed, without gaining on them, 'until they joined a large force on a lake,' and he had left his men in observation on the edge of a bluff. I directed him to guide us, and increasing my front to a platoon column, marched at the trot, sending orders to the baggage train to follow at the usual gait, under charge of the rear-guard. After proceeding thus for a short time, I saw the Arkansas river a mile off, and perceived a considerable force of men and horses about a fine, large grove on the opposite bank. They raised, as I approached, a white flag. I immediately sent a lieutenant with a trumpeter and flag to ford the river, instructing him to demand of their commander, if they had one, who they were, and what they did there; to give him, or any one he might send, safe conduct over and back; also to observe their numbers, the ground, etc., but more particularly whether and where the river was fordable by my command, telling him to cross and return at different places.

"While he was gone I arrived at the river shore, and called a council of all the officers. All of them answered me that they believed the Texans were in the United States, but two, who confessed themselves to be quite ignorant on the subject. I then said: 'Gentlemen, all perhaps would agree that if that force is in our territory it is my duty to disarm them; now I put you the question: With what little doubt there may be in your minds as to the fact, do you advise me, or not, to disarm these men, forcibly, if necessary? Lieutenant M., Lieutenant B., Captain T. (and Lieutenant L., after his return), answered in the affirmative. Lieutenant R., who had been necessarily employed in preparing fuses for the shells, came to the council as the vote was about to be taken. He declined the responsibility of advising or voting. Captain M. preferred, before answering, to see their commanding officer. Lieutenant L. at that moment returned, and brought with him Colonel Snively and his aide (Mr. Spencer, son of the secretary of war). I then said to Colonel Snively: 'It is my belief that your party is in the United States; have you a commission? What force have you? And what is your business here?' He replied that he commanded a Texan volunteer force of 107 men, and believed them to be in Texas. He then produced as his commission the following document, which I read aloud to the officers, who were all around me:

"'DEPARTMENT OF WAR AND MARINE,
WASHINGTON (T.), 16th February, 1843.

"'*To Col. Jacob Snively:*

"'SIR — Your communication of the 28th ult., soliciting permission from the government to organize and fit out an expedition for the purpose of intercepting and capturing the property of the Mexican traders who may pass through the territory of the republic to and from Santa Fe, etc., has been received and laid before his excellency, the president, and he, after a careful consideration of the subject, directs that such be granted you upon the terms and conditions therein expressed, that is to say:

"'You are hereby authorized to organize such a force, not exceeding 300 men, as you may deem necessary to the achievement of the object proposed. The expedition will be strictly partizan; the troops to compose the corps to mount, equip and provision themselves at their own expense; and one-half of all the spoils taken in honorable warfare to belong to the republic; and the government to be at no expense whatever on account of the expedition.

"'The force may operate in any portion of the territory of the republic above the line of settlements and between the Rio del Norte and the boundary line of the United States, but will be careful not to infringe upon the territory of that government.

"'As the object of the expedition is to retaliate and make reclamation for injuries sustained by Texan citizens, the merchandise and all other property of all Mexican citizens will be lawful prize; and such as may be captured will be brought in to Red River, one-half of which will be deposited in the custom-house of that district, subject to the order of the government, and the other half will belong to the captors, to be equally divided between the officers and men; an agent will be appointed to assist in the division.

"'The result of the campaign will be reported to the department upon the disbandment of the force, and also its progress from time to time, if practicable.

By order of the president,
M. E. HAMILTON,
Acting Secretary of War and Marine.'

"I then, after some conversation, told Lieutenant R. to entertain the gentleman, and called aside the other officers, and, after some remarks, I again put the question: 'Shall I, or shall I not, disarm these men, doing it by bloodshed, if they make it necessary?' (I at the same time said that I should not consider myself bound by their advice or vote.) Lieutenant L. and Captain T. responded, 'Yes.' Lieutenants M. and B. and Captain M., 'No.' There was a short pause.

"I had been in the country before; I knew that the boundary-line had not been marked by the government, and I believed it was my duty to consider that the line would prove to be on that side of the Texans where common opinion placed it, until the government should perform the duty of marking it. Besides the spies, I now saw many of their men crossing a mile or two

below, to the south side. I believed a civilized government should scarcely acknowledge such a document, which, without an indication of the forms and customs of regular organization, outrages the rules of modern warfare, which scarcely allow the individual robbery of private property on land. I believed that most of the ruffian crew were outcast citizens of the United States. If in Mexico, these men exceeded their instructions in that they had dared to send their spies into our country to assist and enable them the more surely to assail our peaceful trade; above all, the safety and welfare of fellow citizens who were large owners in the caravan depended upon my decision. I could no longer hesitate. But my government recognizing Texas as an independent nation, I deemed it my duty to recognize this as her army.

"We then returned, and all being seated in a group upon the grass, with veteran faces for a background, addressing the Texans, I said:

"'Gentlemen, your party is in the United States; the line has not been surveyed and marked, but the common judgment agrees that it strikes the river near the Caches, which you know is above this; some think it will strike as high as Chouteau's island, sixty miles above the Caches. Now the best authorities on national law agree that no power, in its warfare against another, has the right to enter a neutral's territory, there to lie in wait for its enemy, or there to refresh himself, afterward to sally out to attack his force, or his citizens, or his property; and it is the right of the neutral in such cases to disarm the intruders and send them where they please, through or out of their territory. I remember distinctly a precedent in the Polish revolution of 1830, where a large Polish force, retreating, passed the Austrian frontier, and they were disarmed and escorted on their way to another frontier. Now, there are about twenty of your men now crossing the river to the south side, and I found three on our road which I believe were sent to be spies of the movements of the caravan — a caravan of peaceful merchants of our own and a friendly state; a trade which it is our object to protect, and which you confess your determination to attack.

"'Now, Colonel Shively, I demand of you that your men march across the river and lay down their arms before me. Then, as you say you are in want of provisions, I will return to you guns enough for use in hunting; and you shall have free permission also to enter our own settlements. The arms I will hold subject to the disposal of our government. I have 185 soldiers, besides officers, and two howitzers, which can throw shells into the grove you are encamped in; you are at liberty to inspect them. I wish to treat you as friends — as imprudent friends; my course is legal; it will be no dishonor to surrender; you should do it at the demand of a civil magistrate; I should make the same demand if I had but ten men; but, of course, I can make no child's work of it. Go over to your men, who, you say, you are in doubt that they will obey you, and I will give you an hour to begin crossing; if any leave the grove in an opposite direction I shall instantly open fire with the howitzers, and thus drive you from the woods and attack you upon the plain.'

"Snively and his aide then offered various arguments in deprecation of my course; among others that, by national law, a power had the right to 'pursue an enemy twenty miles into a neutral's territory'; that they had seen lately 2000 or 3000 Indians, whom they feared, etc. They made also several propositions, evidently, I thought, with a design to get their men out of my power, or to gain an advantage; one was that I should send an officer over with them, to see their almost starving condition, and to satisfy himself that a party of seventy-five men, becoming discontented, had departed three days before for Texas. Snively said he had given them an order to save them from being treated as banditti.

"They said they had attacked 100 Mexicans ten days before, fifteen or twenty miles west of the Caches; had killed eighteen and wounded eighteen, taking the rest prisoners, whom he had liberated, giving them twenty muskets; that he was about returning to Texas, having become convinced that the caravan had returned. He admitted that their spies had gone with Mr. Brent's party to Walnut creek, about seventy-five miles northeast of this point.

"I had taken it for granted that his men could, and would, ford the river directly across to my front, where Lieutenant L. had first forward, but I now learned that he swam his horses, and that these officers were now going to a point near a mile below, where Lieutenant L. had returned with them. This made another disposition advisable, and I proposed to Snively that I march my force back with him. To this he and his friend cheerfully assented; they seemed pleased with it. Accordingly I marched down-stream several hundred paces. It was blowing a gale up-stream and the muddy water was very rough. I sent in a horseman and from the depth and quicksand he was immediately submerged, and with difficulty extricated. Then I marched further — so far that I thought I was losing control of the occasion. The howitzer boxes were water-tight. Halting for two minutes, the edge of the low, vertical bank was spaded off. Then, commanding forward, I gave spur, and my horse leaped in. I was closely followed, but all spread out, avoiding holes and quicksands encountered. It was 300 paces to cross, but it was safely accomplished. I then marched up the bottom, perhaps out of rifle shot both of the grove and the sand-hills. There was stir and excitement in the grove. Their horses were by this time saddled, but my line was formed, facing the bivouac at about 150 paces, the little battery unlimbered, slow-matches lit.

"Colonel Snively had put forward his aide to address the men and induce them to submit. They were paraded, and I waited possibly half an hour, Snively remaining with me from choice. I then commanded him to go and to send his men immediately to lay down their arms fifty paces in front of my line. He said he would do so, 'and, if alive, would return to me — he would have nothing more to do with them.' They soon began to comply, Captain T.'s troops having been advanced to receive the arms, and some dismounted men were sent to put them in an empty wagon which I had ordered to follow. There was an interruption. The aide was addressing them with much excitement. I rode forward, sending a platoon to their rear to search for arms in the grove. Captain T.'s sabers were gleaming in the sunshine. My men afoot quietly took the arms of those nearest, discharged them, and placed them in the wagon.

"The Texans then made a clamor, claiming to be treated as prisoners. I told them I would not consider them as prisoners; that they must address me through their officers, if they had any, with whom I would arrange their treatment; they also demanded to be escorted and protected to our settlements.

"There were individual attempts to slip off up the river-bank and to the hills. I had these men seized, and placed a picket-guard on the hills in rear. A man had been murdered, they said, just before my arrival, and Snively remarked: 'He must keep guns enough to shoot the fellow

In 1848, Mr. Bernard entered into a partnership with Col. A. G. Boone, under the firm name of Boone & Bernard. The place of business of this firm was on the north side of Westport avenue, second door west from Penn street; they also had a warehouse on the river, at the foot of the present Grand avenue. The firm prospered greatly. In 1848 gold was discovered at Sutter's mill in California, and the tide of emigration and gold-seekers to that country was immense. Large bodies of people from this country and from many of the countries of the globe landed from Missouri river steamers at Kansas City, and made their way to Westport to outfit and organize. Cattle, mules, horses, wagons, harness and everything pertaining to travel were in great demand. Westport was a market for the whole country, and droves of horses, mules and oxen were brought there from every part of the state and from many states for sale, and were disposed of. This entire outfitting business was cash trade, and money was plentiful. The prairies south of the town and beyond the present Wornall and Ward farms were covered with tents and wagons, and appeared like the camp of a great army. These parties made themselves up into trains, as they were termed; some employed mules for transportation purposes, some oxen, others horses, and not a few strong-spirited men loaded a few supplies into a cart drawn by a single mule, and walked beside it.

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this evening.' I now marched back, crossing the river at the same places, and camped opposite the grove, at 3:30 o'clock.

"At the moment in which I first marched to cross the river I sent an expressman on my trail to meet the caravan, and tell them I was about to disarm some hundred Texans; that they had reported a large party had left the country, and that I did not believe it, and to be on their guard. On my return I met my messenger, who reported the caravan two miles off. I sent him again with a note, written on horseback, announcing the result, and that I should camp here. Soon after, having left the main road, they came and formed near me their corral.

"Now, a Texan came to me, nearly exhausted from swimming the river, with a message that the Mexicans were in sight, about to attack them. I wrote a brief note to Snively, and sent it by a horseman, telling him if it were true to cross the river below me and he should be protected. As there was much stir and confusion around my camp, I sounded to horse, and the squadrons were soon in the saddle and on their assembly grounds. Soon after a message came that the rumor of Mexicans was false.

"Afterwards came a note, of which the following is a copy:

"'*Captain C.:* DEAR SIR—The man who was wounded when I visited your camp is expiring; it is impossible to move him at present. If you could send a company to guard us this night I would consider myself under many obligations. Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant, J. SNIVELY.'

"I returned answer that I believed there was no danger, and would not send men; if there was danger, to come over, leaving the man and the attendant hid in the woods.

"Now a committee of the caravan called to discuss matters; a principal man said that I 'ought to have slaughtered them all.' They seemed at first discontented that the Texans should be free. It has been ascertained that they had lied about the party who had left; it was only yesterday. The committee left me after dark, apparently well pleased.

"And now this most laborious record having made out, the eighteenth hour of excitement and labor, I lie down to rest with a comfortable feeling that important duties, much beyond the usual range of my low rank, have been faithfully, rightfully and successfully performed."

And so ended the day's work.

About half the disarmed were escorted to Missouri; the others chose to return to Texas; and it was reported a number of them lost their lives.

They and their friends were very revengeful, and for many years disposed to make the dragoon commander, and even his friends, the subjects of a Texan vendetta; nine years after he was in Texas exposed to plots and attempts of assassination; and, as afterwards informed, when he left, was followed as far as New Orleans.

But only five years after, returning from Mexico, an unknown gentleman 'of Texas' sent him his card to his hotel room in New Orleans; and this supposed enemy was ordered to be shown up.

Great was the writer's surprise when the stranger advanced, hands extended, with the greeting: "I have for years looked out for this opportunity to shake you by the hand and thank you for causing my release from a Mexican dungeon."

In brief, he had been an officer of our army; but it was his fate to join a Quixotic party who made a revolutionary invasion of Mexico and penetrated as far as Mier, in Tamaulipas. He was one of the Mier prisoners, who suffered a long and grievous imprisonment in the fortress of Perote. Our minister to Mexico, Waddy Thompson, had repeatedly interceded in their behalf, but in vain. Finally, news of the saving of the caravan, and especially the capture of the Texans, got to the city of Mexico. Our minister was furnished with some answer to Mexican reproaches; he felt encouraged to make a last appeal; he found President Santa Anna in the best disposition, and the release of the prisoners was readily granted. Santa Anna declared that the day's work "was the first act of good faith ever shown by the United States to Mexico."

In 1848 Boone & Bernard began an effort to draw Mexican trade to Westport;[4] before that time it had all gone to Independence. Nature did much to turn the trade to Kansas City. The eastern border of the plains, so called, on the great line of travel, was the little town of New Santa Fe, in the southwestern part of Jackson county. It was twenty miles from this point to Independence, and to Westport much less. By the Independence route the Big Blue river had to be crossed, and this was often high in the spring of the year; consequently much time was lost in passing it. The road to Kansas City led over the high ridge that divided the waters that on the one hand flowed toward the Blue and on the other toward Turkey creek. A little later than this, the definite time Mr. Bernard cannot recollect, a rich Mexican trader, Don Chavez, a brother to him who had been murdered, was on his way to the Missouri river to trade, his destination being Independence; he was fearful of robbers and, fortunately for the Westport trade, fell in with the noted scout and guide, F. X. Aubrey, who was also on his way to the Missouri. Aubrey and Bernard were friends, and he advized Chavez to come direct to the house of Boone & Bernard, at Westport, and offered to protect him to that point. Chavez did as he was advised, and brought with him $100,000 in Mexican silver. This money was conveyed in bags of rawhide. The money had been sewed up in the bags while the hides were green, so when the skins were dry the money was firmly secured.

Silver at this time was worth a premium in New York, but Chavez had been so worried in reaching the Missouri that he told Mr. Bernard that if he would get him the face value in New York he was welcome to the premium. There was no express at that time from Westport to St. Louis, and Colonel Boone advised against taking the money on account of the difficulty in disposing of it. Mr. Bernard, with Western energy and enterprise, accepted the money, and invited James Winchester, afterwards of the firm of Winchester & Piper, one of the great houses of Westport, to go with him. Mr. Winchester, ever ready for adventure, accepted the invitation. So the two loaded the money into a wagon at Westport, transported it to Kansas City, carried it on board a steamer, and guarded it night and day until St. Louis was reached and the amount forwarded in exchange to New York. This was probably in the spring of 1849. Mr. Bernard says that this transaction with Chavez, more than any other, brought the Mexican trade to Westport and Kansas City, and for this he gives F. X. Aubrey the credit. When it became known to Mexican traders that Mexican firms could meet all their requirements here, that fact, together with the advantage of a natural route, carried the trade to Westport, to the injury of Independence. Within five or six years after Don Chavez's visit to Westport, the trade of that place had grown to enormous proportions. Wagon-trains by the hundred came to and left Westport during the year.

Westport became a great outfitting station. Manufactures of every kind relating to transportation sprang up. Wagons were constructed on a great scale. Harness, saddles, tents, wagon-covers, were made and sold in great quantities. Two or more firms were wholly engaged in the making of yokes and bows. The trade in guns and gun furnishings was extensive. What is now Westport avenue was lined with outfitting houses from a point east of

NOTE 4.—History of Jackson County, Missouri, 1881, p. 351.

Broadway to Mill street, and on Penn street from Fortieth to Forty-second streets. So great did this idea of manufacturing take hold of the minds of the Westport people, that some time before 1855 a large factory was built on the main road leading south from Westport, at the crossing of the little stream before mentioned, for the manufacture of star candles.

Westport was the gathering-place for hunters, trappers, traders, and Indians. On its streets every type of man of the West was represented. About this time, or a little later, an unusual article of trade was in great demand, namely, strychnine, and it was imported and sold in wholesale quantities to hunters who pursued wolves for their pelts.

In 1853 Charles E. Kearney, a merchant of Santa Fe, came to Westport and became a partner of Mr. Bernard, under the firm name of Kearney & Bernard. The firm did a general outfitting business. Mr. Bernard says he had never known Mr. Kearney until he came to Westport at the time mentioned. Mr. Kearney had quite a history. At the breaking out of the Mexican war he was a member of a company of Texas rangers, commanded by Capt. Samuel H. Walker. This company was ordered to duty in Mexico, and was engaged in a number of battles in the Mexican war. Finally Captain Walker was appointed by the president captain in the Mounted Rifles, now Third United States cavalry, and Mr. Kearney went with Captain Walker. Captain Walker was killed at Huamantla, the last battle of the war between the United States and Mexico.

After serving his term of enlistment, Mr. Kearney went to Santa Fe, and thence to Westport. He was a man of military tastes, and was a member of a company in Kansas City, Mo., made up of prominent business men, known as Craig Rifles. Mr. Bernard, during the Mexican trade, was a member of several firms, and it was a notable fact that although these firms did in the aggregate a business of more than one-half million dollars, yet their entire loss did not exceed $5000. One of these losses, amounting to $3500, was caused by the trader owing it being killed by the Indians and his stock carried away and wagons destroyed. He does not remember now how the remaining $1500 was lost. The traders and trappers of the period were an exceedingly honest body of men. It seemed not to occur to them to do otherwise than pay their debts when it was possible for them to do so. Almost the whole of this business was done upon a credit of from six to twelve months.

The great Western trade from Kansas City and Westport practically stopped at the beginning of the civil war. The presence of war had something to do with it, for, from its beginning to its close, the western part of Jackson county was not wholly free from raiding parties. Fort Leavenworth, Atchison and Nebraska City had become starting-points for the trade. So far as war was concerned, they were safer places for the starting of trains. During the whole period of the war both Kansas City and Westport declined as trading-points. Garrisons of soldiers were kept in each.

Mr. Bernard relates an incident of Western enterprise to this effect. In 1865 Pleasant Hill was for a time the terminus of the Pacific railroad, and a large shipment of his goods for the Western trade had reached that point. A single track had been laid on the line of the railroad, as far as the summit now known as Lee's Summit; so he made a bargain with the railroad authorities to attach five cars of his goods to a construction train carrying supplies to build a bridge across the Little Blue. There were no sidings at

the summit; so he was compelled to load his train of sixteen wagons during a rain-storm from box cars while the flat cars carrying bridge materials had gone on to the Little Blue. This probably was the only instance of a wagon-train for the Western trade being loaded at Lee's Summit.

After the beginning of the Mexican war, government stores destined to New Mexico were required to be shipped from Fort Leavenworth. This was an inconvenient point for the freighters. The Santa Fe road, as it existed at that time from Fort Leavenworth, ran down across the hills, striking the Kansas river at what was called Toulee's[5] (or Moses Grinter's) ferry, a short distance above the present town of Argentine. The road thence lay south and west, keeping on the west side of Turkey creek, to a point about Lenexa, Kan., where it joined the main trail from Westport. It was probably thirty-five or forty miles from Leavenworth to the point of junction, and much of the road was rough, and, besides, the Kansas river was to cross, which was often troublesome in the spring of the year. The road from Kansas City, as before stated, on leaving Westport, passed over a high ridge, and was free from any stream of magnitude for the distance of at least eighty miles, or to the present site of Burlingame, Kan. It was clear to the minds of the freighters that if the government stores for the Western trade could be disembarked from the Missouri river steamers at Kansas City, it would be much easier and cheaper for them to get out on the great highway than from Fort Leavenworth. After many efforts were made, an agreement was finally entered into with the officers of the government, permitting the United States stores for New Mexico and southward to be unloaded at Kansas City, but at the same time it was understood that the government should be at no charge for storage. For the purpose of covering and protecting this property, a large stone warehouse was built at Kansas City, at a point now in the bed of the river; and to meet the expense of this house each of the freighters who received goods there paid a certain amount; this amount was fixed on a graduated scale. One of the prime movers in bringing the government stores to Kansas City was J. S. Chick, who is still living, and Mr. Bernard gives him the chief credit for its success.

Westport was the rendezvous and outfitting station of a great number of the exploring expeditions that went into the great West prior to 1860. Captain Bonneville, who left Fort Osage, now Sibley, in this county, on the 1st of May, 1832, passed through Westport, although he makes no specific mention of it.

Fremont's first expedition was organized at the trading-house of Cyprian Chouteau, some seven miles from Westport, near the Shawnee Manual-labor School. His party was composed almost wholly of Frenchmen and Canadian Frenchmen gathered up around St. Louis. Lucien Maxwell was hunter of the party, and Christopher Carson was its guide. Fremont's second expedition was organized at Westport, in 1843, and his men were largely Canadians. In this again Lucien Maxwell was hunter, while Thomas Fitzpatrick was its guide. Later Christopher Carson joined the expedition at a point on the Fontaine Qui Bouit, and was with it to the end. It is needless to speak of the results of the expeditions of Fremont; they are known the world over, and appreciated wherever pluck and bravery are admired.

In October, 1848, Colonel Fremont resigned from the army, and deter-

NOTE 5.—John Speer spells this name *Tooley*, in volume 7 of the Historical Collections, at page 495.

mined to return to California and make it his home. As he had done on former occasions, he organized his traveling force at a point across the line, near Westport. Bernard recollects well that he was accompanied by his accomplished wife, daughter of Senator Benton. Both Colonel Fremont and his wife were guests at the Harris House, and Mrs. Fremont spent some time as a guest of Maj. Richard Cummins, Indian agent, who lived in Cass county.

This expedition started October 19, 1848, and its leader determined to pursue a course he had not traveled before, up the Arkansas or one of its branches, and across the mountains at a pass of which he had heard but had never seen. This expedition was disastrous in many respects. By the time he had reached the great mountain range winter had come, his guide became lost, one-third of his men perished, and all of his mules destroyed; with two-thirds of his men, he escaped to Taos, N. M., where, after recuperating, he pursued his journey by the southern route.

Learning that the government was desirous of exploring routes, with a view to constructing a transcontinental railway, he returned to Missouri early in 1853. It is clear that Colonel Fremont and Senator Benton were of the opinion that the great line of railway should cross the Missouri at about the mouth of the Kansas, or, more accurately speaking, at Kansas City, Mo., proceed up the valley of the Kansas 400 miles, then cross to the Arkansas and up that stream or one of its branches, and thence by routes of which he had no personal knowledge to the end of the San Joaquin valley in California. In September of that year he again organized his traveling party at Westport, and started from that point, passing up the Kansas river and thence across to the Arkansas, as before mentioned, and up that stream to the mountains. He reported an easy route along the lines of the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth degrees of north latitude. This route, however, was not adopted by the government when the Union Pacific was built, nor was it adopted by the builders of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railway. It has the merit of being much shorter, but probably passed through a more mountainous region than does the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe. This was Fremont's fifth and last exploring expedition.

In May, 1846, the historian, Francis Parkman, landed at what was afterwards called Wayne City, in Jackson county, but made his way to Westport to organize and outfit. This he did in the course of a few days, and started on his trip, which led to Fort Laramie, on the North Platte, thence to the Black Hills, and from there back again to Laramie, and south to Pueblo, on the upper Arkansas, and thence back to Westport, by the way of the Arkansas. He has preserved the history of this trip in a delightfully written book known as "The Oregon Trail." He mentions the names of Col. Wm. Chick, the father of our citizen, Joseph S. Chick, and Louis Vogle.

Parkman gives this description of Westport in 1846: "Westport was full of Indians, whose little, shaggy ponies were tied by the dozen along the houses and fences. Sacs and Foxes with shaved heads and painted faces; Shawnoes and Delawares fluttering in calico frocs and turbans; Wyandottes dressed like white men; and a few wretched Kanzas wrapped in old blankets were strolling about the streets or lounging in and out of the shops and houses." He also says: "Whisky, by the way, circulates more freely in Westport than is altogether safe in a place where every man carries a loaded pistol in his pocket."

At a later date Mr. Bernard knew both Maxwell and Carson well. Maxwell was a thrifty man and became immensely rich, receiving a large grant from the Mexican government. Maxwell's ranch, at the head waters of the Canadian, became a great source of litigation in the courts of the United States after his death.

In the year 1853 the government determined to survey three routes from the Mississippi to the Pacific ocean, with a view of constructing a railroad line. The first of these expeditions was to start from St. Paul and terminate at Puget Sound; the third from Fort Napoleon, at the mouth of the Arkansas, or more correctly from Fort Smith, on the western border of the state of Arkansas; while the second, under the command of Capt. John W. Gunnison, United States topographical engineers, rendezvoused at Westport. Most of their outfitting was done there, and a number of trappers and hunters joined the party at that place, but Mr. Bernard at this date cannot recall their names. It is a historical fact that Captain Gunnison passed up the left bank of the Kansas river; visited Fort Riley; crossed there the Republican fork; and thence in a southwesterly direction crossed the other branches constituting the Kansas river, proceeding until he reached the Arkansas, at the vicinity of the present town of Larned; thence up the Arkansas, through the Royal Gorge, and out into Utah. He was there murdered by Indians, but the expedition went on under the command of another officer, Lieut. E. G. Beckwith, who discovered a better route up the Huerfano. Much of the route[6] marked out by Captain Gunnison has since been followed by the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad. This road follows the Kansas on its right bank to Topeka, thence in a southwesterly direction, striking the Arkansas valley at Hutchinson, and passing through Great Bend, at about the point selected by Captain Gunnison. A river and county in Colorado bear the name of Gunnison, in memory of the intrepid explorer. The Gunnison country was famous as a mining region for a time.

Mr. Bernard knew Capt. E. F. Beale[7], and remembers his expedition, which left Westport in May, 1853. He had a party of twelve riflemen. They went to Council Grove first, then up the Arkansas, then to the mouth of the Huerfano, thence to the San Luis valley, and from that point on to the Pacific coast.

Mr. Bernard was well acquainted with F. X. Aubrey, and had many business transactions with him. He was an honest, simple-minded man, true to friends, but ever ready to resent any imputation against his honor. Aubrey was the first man to take a loaded train from the Missouri river to New Mexico in winter. He was the discoverer of a third route to Santa Fe, about 1849–'50. Before this there were but two, namely, that by way of the Cimarron, and the other by way of the mountains, which was at a later date followed by the Santa Fe railroad. Aubrey's route crossed the Arkansas river below the mouth of the Big Sandy, not far from Big Timbers. The greatest distance without water on this route was thirty miles, while on the Cimarron road the greatest distance without water was sixty miles;

NOTE 6.—Report of the Secretary of War Communicating the Several Pacific Railroad Explorations, vol. 2, p. 14, Washington, 1855.

NOTE 7.—Central Route to the Pacific; Journal of the Expedition of E. F. Beale and G. H. Heap, from Missouri to California, 1853, Philadelphia, 1854.

however, for various reasons the Aubrey road was not generally used. As has been often written and told, Aubrey was killed at Santa Fe, by Maj. Richard H. Weightman. Mr. Bernard's account of this tragedy was furnished by an eye-witness, and is as follows: Prior to Aubrey's trip to California, Captain Weightman had been conducting a small paper at Santa Fe, and through its columns had cast some doubt upon the discovery of the new pass through the mountains to California claimed by Aubrey. Some time thereafter Aubrey returned to Santa Fe, and meeting Captain Weightman the two adjourned to a neighboring saloon, in accordance with the custom of the time. Both men called for brandy. Aubrey raised his glass to his lips, and then putting it down said: "What has become of your paper?" Weightman answered: "Dead." "What killed it?" asked the other. "Lack of support," was the answer. "The lie it told on me killed it," said Aubrey. Without a word Weightman threw a glass of brandy into his opponent's face, and, while blinded by its effects, stabbed him to death.[8]

Mr. Bernard also knew Major Weightman, who, after the above tragedy, returned to Missouri. In speaking of the matter once, Major Weightman told Mr. Bernard that he saw that Aubrey was angry, and was drawing his pistol, and that one or the other must be killed, and that he only struck to save his own life. Mr. Bernard has no doubt that the reason given was both true and a good one.

At that period, and among such men, the accusation of lying was followed by a blow, frequently mortal. Major Weightman was an artillery officer during the Mexican war, and accompanied General Kearney's expedition from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe in 1846. He then went with Doniphan's expedition, from the last-named place to Chihuahua. He greatly distinguished himself at the battle of Sacramento Pass.

When the civil war began he entered the Confederate army. At the battle of Wilson Creek, August 10, 1861, as colonel in the Missouri State Guard, he commanded a brigade of Missouri infantry, and distinguished himself by boldly seizing an advantageous position in advance of the Confederate lines. The recent Senator F. M. Cockrell commanded a company in this brigade. Colonel Weightman was killed at about the time General Lyon, commander of the federal forces, fell. Mr. Bernard has no doubt that he would have taken high rank had he survived.

Mr. Bernard tells this story: On one occasion William Wing Loring, colonel of the United States Mounted Rifles, now Third cavalry, was passing through Westport and left his kit with Kearney & Bernard for safe-keeping. After some time it was placed in the basement of the store building, where it remained until the last year of the civil war, and was finally found by some federal soldiers, who were exploring the premises without leave of the owner. They at once took possession of the contents, which consisted of one or two sabers, shoulder-straps, some moth-eaten uniforms, and a liquor case well filled. The liquors were pronounced excellent by those who confiscated them, some of whom celebrated the occasion. Colonel Loring was at that time a brigadier-general in the Confederate army. Mr. Bernard knew him well, and, as was usually the case with officers of that period, a gentleman of the highest type. After the civil war, General Loring entered the service of the khedive of Egypt, and distinguished himself on the battle-

NOTE 8.—This account of the killing of Aubrey agrees substantially with that given by F. A. Root in "The Overland Stage to California," p. 425.

fields of the oldest country in the world, as he had done in those of the states and Mexico.

Mr. Bernard, in his dealing with the government, came in contact with many officers who became distinguished afterwards in the civil war. Among them were Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, Col. E. V. Sumner, and Maj. David E. Hunter. Major Hunter had a brother-in-law living in Westport and often visited him. He also knew well Lieut. J. E. B. Stuart, First cavalry, who afterwards became famous as a Confederate cavalry leader. He also knew his family in Virginia. He remembers with pleasure the profound respect the freighters, traders and hunters had for the officers of the army, and recalls the courtesy shown and prompt protection afforded by the officers on their part. On the plains and at the outlying posts the officer in command deemed himself the representative of the government, and did not fail to do all that was required to protect its property and the lives and property of its citizens. He was not bound in red tape, but acted with promptness and decision.

Mr. Bernard enjoyed the intimate acquainance of Thomas H. Benton, who often visited Westport, and every one knew the prominent idea in Senator Benton's mind was a railway to the Pacific coast. He argued and spoke for it in and out of season. When at Westport he usually was the guest of Col. A. G. Boone. Mr. Bernard remembers once being in St. Louis and hearing Senator Benton speak from the court-house steps in favor of a railroad to the Pacific coast. The crowd listened to him with respect, though incredulous as to the practicability of building a road through the Rocky Mountains. In the course of the speech some one called out: "How will you get through the mountains?" Senator Benton replied: "It is an almost level road from Westport to the Rocky Mountains, a distance of about 600 miles, and when we get to the mouutains we will get through some way." But some one called out again: "But after you get to the mountains how will you get through?" Pointing to a liveryman in the audience, a man of large stature and well-known habits, Senator Benton said: "When we get to the mountains, if we cannot get through any other way, we will get Bob O'Blenis to swear a hole through." This was followed by a laugh, and ended all questions as to how the mountains should be crossed.

In that early day little use was made of banks; in fact, there were no great banks west of St. Louis. There were one or two branch banks at Independence, but these did not do business on a large scale. The merchant through whom the trader bought his goods was his factor. The factor received the goods and bought the wagons and teams—that is, he bought such as were not brought in from New Mexico, and gave attention to the loading, and to the weigh-bills and bills of lading. The factor also advanced to the trader such money as he needed until the receipts came in from his venture. These receipts came in the first instance to the factor, who paid himself for charges and advances, and turned the remainder over to the trader.

Mr. Bernard recollects that the first great shipment of goods made to Kansas City and Westport was for the firm of Messervy & Webb, New England merchants, doing business at Santa Fe, N. M. The goods were consigned to Boone & Bernard, who as factors engaged wagons and teams for transportation purposes. There were sixty-three of these wagons, each drawn by six yoke of oxen. The freight of each wagon was about 6000

pounds. In this case John F. McCauley, of Independence, furnished the transportation and loaded at Kansas City.

A sketch of Westport would be incomplete without mentioning at least some of its prominent business men. Mr. Bernard takes 1855 as the period. Among the men and firms of prominence were Kearney & Bernard, A. G. Boone, J. M. & J. Hunter, Baker & Street, William Dillon, S. P. & W. H. Keller, S. C. Roby, J. G. Hamilton, F. Gallup, Fred Eslinger, Edward Price, Henry Sager, Francis Booth, J. Bucher, Antonney Richter, and A. B. H. McGee and Louis Vogle, P. D. Elkins, father of Senator Elkins, of West Virginia, F. G. Ewing, freighter, and Caleman Smith, manufacturer of ox-yokes. H. F. Hereford and Joel B. Morris were the most prominent physicians. Park Lee was the principal lawyer in the place, and John J. Mastin was a law student. Scott & Boggs was the principal druggists, and did a large business. A. M. Eiseley had a bakery at the northeast corner of the present Mill street and Westport avenue. A bakery in those days was more important than a bakery at the present time. It was patronized by traders, trappers, hunters and Indians who had not the means or inclination to go to hotels. Eiseley became comparatively wealthy, and built a two-story stone building, which at the time was probably the best in the town. This building was afterwards burned, but Eiseley's heirs were left with much valuable property. Among those citizens who should be mentioned was W. Bent, who had a trading-house on the Arkansas about thirty-five miles above the present site of Las Animas, Colo. He was a man of great ability and established a number of forts and trading-houses at different points on the Arkansas, and south of it. The building afterwards used as a commissary, at old Fort Lyon, Colo., was built by him. This fort or post was the model of all the trading forts or posts on the plains. It was in the form of an oblong, with a gate opening on the east, and an open court within. The rooms occupied for various purposes all opened onto this court. At each corner was a tower with embrasures for artillery, generally built of sun-dried bricks. Colonel Bent's wife was a Cheyenne woman, and the couple spent most of their time at some trading-post on the plains. Their children, however, resided at about the present location of Thirty-eighth and Penn streets. The eldest son, Robert, became an excellent business man and lived for many years in New Mexico. At the beginning of the civil war, another son, George, entered the Confederate army, and was taken prisoner, but was afterwards released by an army officer who knew his father. A third son, Charles, was under the care of Bernard until about the close of the civil war, when he left for the plains, and became one of the most cruel of Indian warriors that ever scourged the Santa Fe trail. Some years later he was killed in a fight with the Kaw or Kansas Indians.

Mr. Bernard recollects that one session of the legislature of Kansas territory was held at the Shawnee Mission, a few miles west of Westport. There was ample room at the mission for the deliberations of the legislature. The individual members, for the most part, however, boarded at Westport, and went back and forth daily.

Kansas was *dry* at that time, in fact, as it is in theory now. It was Indian country then, and the government absolutely controlled the liquor traffic, as it does in the Indian Territory to-day. Therefore the mission, as a residence, was not wholly satisfactory to those who needed stimulation produced by the spirit of corn.

As a conclusion, Mr. Bernard subjoins the following sketch of Col. A. G. Boone: He was a grandson of Daniel Boone, the hunter and explorer, and was probably born in St. Charles county, Missouri, and was a deputy county clerk there at one time. In this office he learned much of form that was useful to him in business afterwards. He then removed to Portland, a point in Callaway county, on the Missouri river, and with his brother-in-law, Warner, entered into the tobacco business. Later he came to Fort Osage, in Jackson county, and was in the employ of Lilburn W. Boggs, once governor of the state, who kept a trading-house at this point. He was a master of the Osage language; also spoke several other Indian tongues, and was successful as an Indian trader. He came to Westport about 1838, and left at the beginning of the civil war, when he established himself at a trading-post called Boone Town, a short distance below the present city of Pueblo, Colo. He was employed by the government frequently in negotiations with the Indians. Colonel Boone, though a most successful man, probably did not accumulate a fortune. He was a most lavish entertainer, and his house was open to all traders, and was a stopping-place for people of prominence coming from and going to the great West. He was a very tall, large man; in dress, manners and habits he was a gentleman of the highest type of the old school.

EXPLANATION OF MAP.

(Opposite page 576.)

This map is the first attempt of the Historical Society to locate within county boundaries the various places and routes of importance in Kansas previous to 1854. It also includes some wagon-roads used as late as the later '60's.

Where possible the accompanying notes give exact locations. In most cases credit for authority has been omitted because of the many different sources from which it has been obtained.

After the plate for the map had been cast, attention was called to the fact that it did not show the noted points and stopping-places on the Santa Fe trail. To mend this several of the more important are located in the notes under the different counties.

The secretary will be glad to receive any information towards the perfecting of this map and notes.

ATCHISON COUNTY.

1.—Cow island (Isle au Vache), site of Cantonment Martin, the first military post established in what is now Kansas, in October, 1818. A part of the troops of the Yellowstone expedition wintered there in 1819–'20. (For history of the island, see index of this volume; also, vol. 8, p. 436.)

2.—Mission and school of the Methodist Episcopal Church South among the Kickapoos, Rev. F. M. Williams, superintendent, 1860–'61. The building occupied by the school was situated about a mile west of the eastern boundary of the reservation, on the overland stage line, near Kennekuk. (See also, "Kickapoo Missions," this volume.)

Atchison.—Starting-point of the overland stage to California, the Butterfield overland despatch to Denver, and the Parallel road to the Kansas gold-mines.

BARTON COUNTY.

Fort Zarah was established September 6, 1864, by Gen. Samuel R. Curtis, and named in honor of his son, Maj. H. Zarah Curtis. It was located on the left (or east) bank of Walnut creek, about one-half mile from its confluence with the Arkansas river. The fort was abandoned in December, 1869, and a few years later all the stone in the buildings had been confiscated by early settlers in that neighborhood. (See B. B. Smyth's "The Heart of the New Kansas," 1880, p. 82.)

Pawnee Rock, a sandstone promontory, which jutted out at a height of twenty feet or more upon the Arkansas bottoms just north of the present town of that name. The plain at its base was a popular camping-ground on the Santa Fe trail, while the face of the rock bore the names of the passing travelers. The present owner, by using this historic point as a stone-quarry, has destroyed much of its old time interest.

BOURBON COUNTY.

1.—Fort Scott, established May 30, 1842; abandoned October, 1865. T. F. Robley, in his History of Bourbon County, says that the post was practically abandoned in April, 1853. In May, 1855, the buildings, which cost in the neighborhood of $200,000, were sold at public auction for less than $5000 for the whole bunch.

2.—Fort Lincoln, located on the Osage river, about twelve miles north of Fort Scott. Established in 1863; abandoned in January, 1864.

Zebulon M. Pike first entered what is now Kansas, on his expedition of 1806, at a point near the northeastern corner of this county.

BROWN COUNTY.

Site of boarding-school established by the Presbyterian missionary board for the Kickapoo Indians, in 1856; continued work until June, 1860. A day-school was taught in this building from 1866 to November, 1871, at the expense of the Indian fund, when the building was dismantled for the purpose of erecting a new school building.

The Jim Lane road entered Kansas on the northern boundary of this county, 1856.

DONIPHAN COUNTY.

1.—Iowa and Sac and Fox mission, established May, 1837, under the auspices of the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, by Rev. Samuel M. Irvin, and located near the present town of Highland.

2.—Site of old Kaw Indian village visited by Bourgmont in 1724.

DOUGLAS COUNTY.

1.—Trading-post of Frederick Chouteau, established about 1827 or 1828; removed about 1830 to the mouth of Mission creek, Shawnee county.

2.—Methodist Episcopal mission among the Shawnee Indians, established about 1848. Site was on section 8, township 13, range 21 east, near the mouth of the Wakarusa, and was under the charge of the Rev. Abraham Still and others. Abandoned about 1857.

ELLIS COUNTY.

Fort Hays was established October 11, 1865, and was known as Fort Fletcher. On November 11, 1866, the name was changed to Fort Hays. Fort Fletcher was located on Big creek, about fourteen miles southeast of the present Hays City, but a flood in the spring of 1866 or 1867 utterly destroyed the post; whereupon it was reestablished by General Pope on a site about a mile west of Hays City, and on the line of the proposed Kansas Pacific railroad. Fort Hays was abandoned as a military post in 1889. During the summer of 1899 the reservation was declared open for settlement by a subordinate in the Interior Department, but the Kansas delegation in Congress, in March, 1900, succeeded in securing to the state of Kansas the land and houses for educational purposes. A branch of the State Normal School and an experiment station of the State Agricultural College are now located here.

ELLSWORTH COUNTY.

Fort Harker was established in August, 1864, as Fort Ellsworth. The original site of the fort was on the north bank of the Smoky Hill river, at the crossing of the old Santa Fe stage road, and was for a long time the shipping-point of freight for New Mexico. The name was changed to Fort Harker November 11, 1866. In January, 1867, the site of the fort was abandoned and a new one located about a mile east of the old one. Abandoned in the fall of 1873.

FORD COUNTY.

1.—"Fort Mann. No definite information relative to the location of this fort has been found. It appears, however, from a book entitled 'The Prairie Traveler,' written by Capt. Randolph B. Marcy, U. S. A., and published by authority of the War Department in 1859, that Fort Mann was situated near the Arkansas river, on the route from Fort Leavenworth, Kan., to Santa Fe, N. M., about 359 miles from Fort Leavenworth and about 423 miles from Santa Fe. It is understood to have been established about 1845, and to have been discontinued upon the erection of Fort Atkinson, at the train crossing of the Arkansas. Fort Mann is referred to in Niles's Register of January 1, 1848, vol. LXXIII, p. 275."—Letter from United States War Department, June 26, 1906. See, also, Fort Mackay.

"Fort Mackay, located on the site of old Fort Mann, on the Arkansas river; named after Col. A. Mackay, quartermaster's department, U. S. A." Dates of establishment and abandonment not ascertained. This was also the site of Fort Atkinson, which was established August 8, 1850.

Fort Atkinson was located on the Arkansas river about six miles west of the town of Dodge City. It was established August 8, 1850, and abandoned October 2, 1854.

2.—Fort Dodge was located on the north bank of the Arkansas river, about two miles east of the present town of Dodge City. It was established in 1864, and abandoned as a military post in 1882. What remained of the old military reservation, $126\frac{70}{100}$ acres, was purchased by citizens of Dodge City in 1889 and presented to the state of Kansas, to be used as a State Soldiers' Home, which was opened January 1, 1890.

Caches, five miles west of Dodge City, Kan., on the Santa Fe trail, were pits dug on the north bank of the Arkansas river in the spring of 1823 by James Baird and —— Chambers, who were on their way to Santa Fe, N. M., with merchandise. They "cached" their goods in these pits and proceeded to Taos, N. M., where they obtained mules, and returned and took their goods to Santa Fe. (See Gregg, vol. 1, p. 67).

FRANKLIN COUNTY.

1.—Ottawa Baptist mission was first established in 1837 on the Marais des Cygnes river, near the present town of Ottawa, by Rev. Jotham Meeker, and continued until his death, January 11, 1854. After the flood of 1844, the mission was moved to higher ground, about five miles northeast of Ottawa.

2.—Sac and Fox Mission, located on the Osage river, about six miles east of the Osage and Franklin county line; established about 1860 or 1861, by Reverend Duvall, a Methodist minister; removed to Osage county some years later.—C. R. GREEN.

GEARY COUNTY.

1.—Fort Riley, established in the spring of 1852, by Maj. E. A. Ogden, and known as Camp Center, being very near the geographical center of the United States. Name was changed in spring of 1853 to Fort Riley, in honor of Gen. C. B. Riley.—Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 7, p. 101.

2.—Provinces of Quivira and Harahey, visited by Francisco Vasquez de Coronado in 1541, as located by J. V. Brower and others.

HAMILTON COUNTY.

1.—Fort Aubrey, established early in September, 1865, by companies D and F, Forty-eighth Wisconsin volunteer infantry, under command of Capt. Adolph Whitman, and abandoned April 15, 1866. It was located on section 23, township 24, range 40 west, at a spring, the source of Spring creek, about two and one-half miles from its confluence with the Arkansas river, and about fifty miles east of Fort Lyon, Colo., and 100 miles west from Fort Dodge, by the wagon road.

JEFFERSON COUNTY.

Trading-house of Frederick Chouteau, built at Horseshoe lake (Lake View, Douglas county, now) in fall of 1829, and abandoned in 1831.

JEWELL COUNTY.

Fort Camp Jewell, on site of Jewell City, built by the home guards, in 1870. W. D. Street was captain.

JOHNSON COUNTY

1.—Shawnee Mission (Methodist Episcopal Church South), established in 1829 or 1830, by Rev. Thomas Johnson. Located on the northeast quarter of southwest quarter of section 24, township 11, range 24 east.

Shawnee Manual-labor School, successor to the Shawnee Mission, 1839. Located on southwest quarter of section 3, township 12, range 25 east.

Shawnee church, located on north half of southeast quarter of section 11, township 12, range 24 east.

The Prophet's Town, located on northeast quarter of southwest quarter of section 32, township 11, range 25 east.

Quaker Shawnee mission, established 1834, abandoned about 1861. Located on northeast quarter of section 6, township 12, range 25 east. See, also, Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 8, p. 250.

Baptist Shawnee mission, established 1831, abandoned about 1855. Located on the northeast quarter of section 5, township 12, range 25 east.

Little Santa Fe, located on the west half of section 23, township 13, range 25 east, was a noted stopping-place early in the '40's.

KEARNY COUNTY.

"Chouteau island was in the upper ford of the Arkansas river, just above the present town of Hartland, Kearny county, Kansas. The name dates from the disastrous expedition of 1815–'17, when Chouteau retreated to this island to withstand a Comanche attack." Note in Thwaites' Early Western Travels, vol. 19, p. 185.

LEAVENWORTH COUNTY.

1.— Site of second French fort mentioned by Bougainville, in his list, 1727, in "Northern and Western Boundaries of Ontario." Toronto, 1878. [See Bradbury's Travels. Thwaites, vol. 5, p. 67, foot-note 37.]

Also site of ancient Kaw Indian village, supposed to have been deserted on the removal of the tribe to the mouth of Independence creek, Doniphan county.

Also, site of Kickapoo Indian mission, located in the northeastern part of the county, and established by Rev. Jerome C. Berryman in fall of 1833.

2.— Fort Leavenworth, established in May, 1827, by Col. Henry Leavenworth, and called "Cantonment Leavenworth" until February 8, 1832, when the name was changed to Fort Leavenworth.

Camp Bateman, established in October, 1857, by a part of the Sixth United States infantry, under command of Lieut.-col. George Andrews. Abandoned May 8, 1858. It was a temporary camp, and was loated at Cincinnati, near Fort Leavenworth.

Camp Thompson, established April 29, 1858, by Lieut.-col. George Andrews, of the Sixth United States infantry. Abandoned May 7, 1858. A temporary camp, located near Fort Leavenworth.

Camp Magruder, located near Fort Leavenworth; a temporary camp for recruits *en route* to Utah, during July and August, 1860, under command of Lieut.-col. Geo. B. Crittenden, mounted riflemen. The data concerning Camps Bateman, Thompson and Magruder are from a letter from United States War Department, June 26, 1906.

3.— Leavenworth, the starting-point of the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak express line; also of the Fort Leavenworth and Fort Scott military road.

Maj. Robert Wilson established a trading-post in 1844 in Salt creek valley, near the Salt creek bridge. In 1852 he sold out to Maj. M. P. Rively and became sutler at Fort Riley.

A Catholic manual-labor school was established in Kickapoo township about 1834, but as the Indians did not take kindly to labor, the school was abandoned to a great extent. In 1854 one of the buildings of the school was used by the *Kansas Pioneer*, of Kickapoo City, for a printing-office.

LABETTE COUNTY.

1.—Hopefield mission among the Osages, established by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1823, was first located on the Neosho river, in what is now the Indian Territory, and was removed northerly at two subsequent periods, the last time to the west bank of the stream, in Labette county, near the village of old White Hair, chief of the Great Osages. This mission was discontinued in 1837.

2.—Village of old White Hair, chief of the Great Osages, located on the west bank of the Neosho river, about five miles south of the present town of Oswego, in Richland township, Labette county.

LINN COUNTY.

1.—Trading Post, established in 1834, by Girard and Chouteau. For a number of years the furs collected here amounted to $300,000 annually—all paid for with whisky, tobacco, and trinkets.

2.—Sugar Creek mission (Catholic) among the Pottawatomie Indians, established in March, 1839, and abandoned in 1847. This site was near the town of Centerville, and was abandoned for the new mission site on the Kaw river, at St. Marys.

MARION COUNTY.

Lost Springs, a favorite stopping-place on the Santa Fe trail, was located on the north half of section 21, township 17, range 4 east, and was about 180 miles from Independence, Mo.

MIAMI COUNTY.

1.—The Miami mission was located about ten miles southeast of Paola, near the site of the old Miami village, which was on the Marais des Cygnes, on section 24, township 18, range 23 east, and was established in 1847. One of the agencies was also located at this place. The Catholics established a mission among the Miamis in 1850.

2.—The Baptist mission among the Weas was located a mile east of Paola, and was established by Dr. David Lykins about 1840, and was in successful operation for many years.

3.—The Methodists established a mission among the Pottawatomies in 1837. It was located upon the site of the town of Osawatomie, and abandoned when the Pottawatomies moved north in 1847–'48.

MORRIS COUNTY.

1.—Council Grove, the principal stopping-place on the Santa Fe trail in Kansas, mentioned as early as 1820. A treaty was made here, August 10, 1825, between the Osage Indians and Benjamin H. Reeves, Geo. C. Sibley, and Thomas Mather, commissioners for the United States for the purpose of securing the right of way for a road from the western frontier of Missouri to the confines of New Mexico.

Kaw Indian mission school, under the control of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, from 1850 to 1854. (See page 231, this volume.)

Rock Creek crossing was situated about the middle of section 12, township 16, range 9, where the trail crossed Rock creek, the Kaw Indian name of which stream was Ne-ko-its-ah-ba, meaning "Dead Men's creek." Some time in the early nineteenth century a great Indian battle was waged along the valley of this stream between the border tribes on one side and the plains tribes on the other. The latter-day Indians, seeing so many bones along the creek and evidences of the fight, gave the above name. This crossing was a good camping- and watering-place, with wood for fuel. A. I. Baker settled there in 1853. On the night of July 3, 1862, Baker and his brother-in-law, George Segur, were killed by the Anderson gang.—GEO. P. MOREHOUSE.

Big John creek and springs, 140 miles and 55 chains from Fort Osage, on the Missouri river, and on the Santa Fe trail, was one of the fine camping-grounds. Here were two fine springs, one known as Big John spring and the other as Fremont spring. John C. Fremont once stopped here, in the early '40's, and for many years a stone with his name, date, etc., existed, along with many ancient and odd inscriptions carved on the ledge of rocks near the springs. The springs are several rods northeast of the original crossing of the trail, but at its crossing in later years.—MOREHOUSE.

Diamond Springs, originally named on the trail as "The Diamond of the Plain," was located 158 miles and 28 chains from Fort Osage; was an important camping-place and stage station in the trail days. This spring is near the head of the present Diamond creek (then called Otter creek), and situated near the southwest part of the northwest quarter of section 34, township 16, range 6 east. "The Diamond of the Plain" was and is one of the largest fountain springs of pure cold water in the state. On the night of May 4, 1863, the noted guerrilla, Dick Yeager, and his band of outlaws, without any cause, robbed the Diamond Springs station on the trail, and killed Augustus Howell and severely wounded his wife. The Diamond Springs of trail days is about five miles north of Diamond Springs, on the Strong City extension of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railway, and was 589 miles from Taos, N. M.—MOREHOUSE.

NEOSHO COUNTY.

1.—Boudinot Presbyterian mission among the Osages was established in 1824, and abandoned in 1837. Located on Neosho river, near mouth of Four Mile creek, on farm now owned by James O'Brien.

Osage Catholic mission, on the site of the present town of St. Paul, established by Father John Schoenmachers, in 1847. (See page 19 of this volume, Father Ponziglione.)

2.—Neosho mission, on west side of Neosho river, established by Presbyterian church in 1824, Rev. Benton [not Benson] Pixley in charge; discontinued in 1829.

3.—Canville trading-post, established by A. B. Canville, in 1844, near the town of Shaw. A treaty between the United States and the Osage Indians, September 19, 1865, was made at this place. Other trading-posts were established in different parts of the county as early as 1837, by Edward Chouteau, Gerald Pappin, and John Matthews.

Village of George White Hair, chief of the Osages, was located in this county, exact site not known.

OSAGE COUNTY.

Methodist mission among the Sac and Fox Indians during the '60's, located near the new Sac and Fox agency, about one mile southwest of Quenemo; Reverend Duvall and wife were missionaries. This was the only mission in Osage county.—C. R. GREEN.

Burlingame was one of the most-noted stopping-places on the Santa Fe trail, and was located at the crossing of Switzler's creek. The original trail is now and has always been the principal street of the town.

PAWNEE COUNTY.

Fort Larned, located on the south bank of Pawnee Fork, about eight miles from its confluence with the Arkansas river, established October 22, 1859, and known as "Camp on the Pawnee Fork." Name changed to Camp Alert, February 1, 1860, and to Fort Larned, in June of the same year, in honor of Col. B. F. Larned, then paymaster-general. Abandoned in 1868.

POTTAWATOMIE COUNTY.

1.—St. Mary's mission among the Pottawatomies, removed in 1847–'48 from Sugar creek, Linn county, and continued as a mission school until 1869. It is now the prosperous Catholic college at St. Marys. This mission was the first established by the Jesuits on Pottawatomie creek, Miami county, in 1838, and removed to Linn county the following year. (See, also, volume 7, page 516. The location and date of establishment as given in volume 7, page 106, are incorrect.)

2.—Kansas Indian village, on the north bank of the Kansas river, just below the mouth of the Big Blue river, on the farm once owned by Welcome Wells. Supposed to have been first occupied about 1775, and abandoned about 1830, when the tribe removed to the western part of Shawnee county. (See Kansas Historical Collections, vols. 1 and 2, p. 280.)

REPUBLIC COUNTY.

Village of the Republican Pawnees, visited September 29, 1806, by Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike, and where the stars and stripes were first raised in what is now Kansas. This village site is located on section 3, township 2, range 5 west. The site was given to the state of Kansas by Elizabeth A. and George Johnson, of White Rock, Republic county, and has been suitably marked and fenced by the state, and placed under the charge of the Kansas Historical Society.

RICE COUNTY.

Stone corral, fort and breastworks on the west side of the Little Arkansas, at the crossing of the Santa Fe trail, on the southwest quarter of section 13, township 20, range 6 west.

Rifle-pits and Buffalo Bill's well, on the southeast quarter of section 2, township 20, range 9 west, a little north of the Santa Fe trail.

SCOTT COUNTY.

Pueblo Indian ruins, supposed to be the ancient site of Cuartelejo, a fortified place founded about 1650 by a party of Pueblo Indians, who fled from Spanish oppression from Taos, in New Mexico. They are located twelve miles due north of the present site of Scott City, and ten miles south of the Smoky Hill river.

SEDGWICK COUNTY.

1.—Camp Beecher, established June, 1868, as Camp Davidson; name changed to Camp Butterfield in October, 1868, and to Camp Beecher in November, 1868; abandoned October, 1869; located on the present site of Wichita.

2.—Site of J. R. Mead's trading-post, on what is now the town site of Wichita; established in fall of 1863; abandoned in latter '60's.

SHAWNEE COUNTY.

1.—Kaw Indian village, north of Kansas river, six miles west of mouth of Soldier creek—Fool Chief's village—1830 to 1847. Located on southeast quarter of section 16, township 11, range 15 east.—Miss FANNIE E. COLE.

2.—Baptist Indian Mission, established in 1848, under the direction of Isaac McCoy. This mission was located on the northwest quarter of section 32, township 11, range 15. Some of the buildings are yet standing.

3.—Fred. Chouteau's trading-house, established in 1830 and abandoned in 1847.

4.—Kaw Indian villages of Hard Chief and American Chief, 1830–'47, and Methodist mission, 1835–'45. (See "The Kaw Missions," this volume, page 193.) Hard Chief's village located on northeast quarter of northwest quarter of section 28, township 11, range 14 east.

Camp Leedy, Topeka. Where the Kansas troops in the Spanish-American war were mobilized in 1898.

Uniontown, the sight of a government trading-post, established in 1848 and abandoned about 1855, was located on the northwest quarter of section 23, township 11, range 13 east, on the California trail, a short distance from where it crossed the Kansas river, on the only rock ford on the river. Indian annuities were distributed from this point. At one time over fifty buildings were located here.—W. W. Cone's Historical Sketch of Shawnee County, p. 11.

TREGO COUNTY.

Downer's Station, a military post on the Smoky Hill route, about fifty miles west of Fort Hays, and fifty miles east of Monument; established May 30, 1867; abandoned May 28, 1868. An eating station on Butterfield's overland despatch line was also located at this point, but it was burned, together with a number of other stations on the line, in 1867.

WALLACE COUNTY.

Fort Wallace, first called Camp Pond Creek, established in September, 1865; name changed to Fort Wallace April 16, 1866; abandoned May 31, 1882. Located at the junction of Pond creek with the south fork of the Smoky Hill river, and opposite the mouth of Rose creek, two miles southeast of Wallace station, on the Union Pacific railroad.

WYANDOTTE COUNTY.

1.—Cyprian Chouteau's trading-house, located on the north side of the Kaw river, at the old Grinter ferry, on the northwest quarter of section 28, township 12, range 24 east, six miles west of the Missouri state line. Built in 1828–'29 for trading with the Delawares and Shawnees. John C. Fremont fitted out at this post for his first exploring expedition, in 1842.

2.—Wyandotte church, near the western limits of Kansas City, Kan., about three miles from the confluence of the Kansas and Missouri rivers; built in 1844.

3.—Mission buildings on section 3, township 11, range 23 east, on Delaware diminished reserve, as located on plat of original surveys on file in the state auditor's office, at Topeka. These buildings are supposed to have been those of the Delaware mission established in 1832 by the Methodist Episcopal church. A church was built for the Delawares on the site of the present town of White Church by the same denomination.

4.—"Four Houses," so called from being built on the four sides of an open square. This trading-house of Francis and Cyprian Chouteau was built on the site of what is now Bonner Springs, and was located on the north side of the Kaw river, about twenty miles from its mouth. It was established between 1813 and 1821.

Francis Chouteau established the general agency of the American Fur Company at the mouth of the Kansas river in 1821, at the southern angle of the great bend in the Missouri, opposite Randolph bluffs.

In 1825 Francis and Cyprian Chouteau built a trading-house on the south side of the Kaw river about a mile distant from the old Methodist mission. It was located on the river, on section 13, township 11, range 24 east, and was about seven miles from Westport, Mo.

Route of Sieur de Bourgmont, commandant at Fort Orleans, from the Kansas Indian village at the mouth of Independence creek to the country of the Paducas, on the Saline river, in western Kansas, made in the fall of 1724. He apparently returned by the same route. His mission was to establish a peace between the Paducas and the tribes of the lower Missouri valley, and to induce trade with the French. (See page 255 of this volume for a more extended account of this trip.)

Zebulon M. Pike's expedition through Kansas, as traced by Coues, in his "Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike," traversed the following counties: He entered Kansas near Xenia, Bourbon county, on September 5, 1806, and crossed Bourbon, Allen, Woodson, Coffey, Lyon, Chase, Marion, Dickinson, Saline, Ottawa, Cloud, and Republic, to the village of the Pawnee Republic, where on September 29, he held a council with the Pawnees and had the Spanish flag hauled down, and the United States flag hoisted for the first time over what is now Kansas. He continued his journey in a generally southwestern direction, crossing the counties of Jewell, Mitchell, Lincoln, Ellsworth, and Barton, where he struck the Arkansas river, and followed it through the counties of Pawnee, Edwards, Ford, Gray, Finney, Kearny, and Hamilton, where he left the state.

Maj. S. H. Long, of the United States topographical engineers, in 1819 ascended the Missouri river to Council Bluffs with the Yellowstone expedition, which camped there that winter. In 1820 he ascended the Platte river to its source, and explored the Rocky Mountains in that

vicinity. On the return trip Major Long divided his party, he descending the Red river to the Mississippi, and the balance of his party returning by way of the Arkansas river. This latter party reached a point now the west line of the state on July 30, 1820, and by the 17th day of August had followed the river down to the south line of the state.

Thomas Say, the zoologist of the Long expedition of 1819–'20, was detailed to visit the Kansas Indian village. With a small detachment he left the main party on the Missouri at Fort Osage and, pushing westward, entered Kansas in what is now Johnson county on the 10th day of August, 1819. He followed up the south side of the Kansas river to where Topeka now stands, and crossed to the north side of the river; thence on an Indian trail west to the Kaw village, near Manhattan, on the Blue river, which they reached on the 20th of August. On the 24th they set out for the Platte river, but when but seven miles up the Big Blue were surrounded by a war party of the Republican Pawnees and robbed of their horses and provisions, and compelled to return to the Kaw village. Being unable to refit for their trip here, they were compelled to return to the Missouri river and join the main party.

Col. John C. Fremont made five trips across Kansas—1842 to 1848—for the purpose of exploring the country to the westward of the Missouri river. In June, 1842, he entered Kansas on his first trip, and fitted out for his expedition at the trading-post of Cyprian Chouteau, located on the Kansas river, six miles west of the Missouri state line. From here he started west, crossing the counties of Johnson, Douglas, and Shawnee, to a point a little west of Topeka, where he crossed the Kansas river, following in a northwesterly direction through Pottawatomie, Marshall and Washington counties, towards the Platte river, in Nebraska. In 1843 his second expedition followed up the Kansas river, practically over his first route as far west as Pottawatomie county, and from here followed the Kansas river to where Fort Riley is now located. From that point he continued northwest, probably through the counties of Geary, Clay, Cloud, Jewell, Smith, and the northeast corner of Phillips county. In 1845 he made his third trip at the government's expense, on the return from which he crossed Kansas from the west to the east, following down the Smoky Hill river to a point in McPherson county, where he left the river and went southeast to the Santa Fe trail, which he followed east to the Missouri river. Fremont's fourth expedition, made at his own expense and for the purpose of improving his California estate, started from Westport, Mo., in October, 1848, ascended the Kansas, and crossed to the upper Arkansas. His fifth expedition was over the same route through Kansas as the last, starting from Westport, September 22, 1853, and was for the purpose of surveying, at his own expense, a route for the Pacific railroad between the latitude of 38 and 39 degrees. It was during this trip that, being too ill to travel, he sent the main part of his company ahead, and encamped for several days in the vicinity of Burnett's mound, Shawnee county,

taking part of his meals with Mrs. Thos. N. Stinson, who was temporarily living in that vicinity while awaiting the completion of her cabin at Tecumseh. She afterwards named her daughter for his wife, in compliance with a request then made by Colonel Fremont.

The Santa Fe trail, from Franklin, Independence, and Westport, on the Missouri river, in Missouri, to Santa Fe, N. M., was used for some years previous to 1821, trade being carried on over a portion of it by means of pack animals. This trail then followed up the Arkansas river to where Bent's Fort was afterward located, and from there swung off to the southwest to Taos and Santa Fe, N. M. Wagons were used as early as 1822, and its virtual commencement may be dated from this time. In 1825–'27, a United States corps of engineers, under Joseph C. Brown, surveyed, located and mapped what they considered the best and most direct route to Santa Fe. According to this survey, the trail left the Arkansas river in what is now Gray county and ran in a southwest direction to the Cimarron river, which it followed to the extreme limits of the state. The trail entered Kansas from the east near the town of Glenn, Johnson county (according to Chittenden in his "History of the American Fur Trade"), and crossed the following counties: Johnson, Douglas, Osage, Wabaunsee, Lyon, Morris, Marion, McPherson, Rice, Barton, Pawnee, Edwards, Ford, Gray, Haskell, Grant, Stevens, and Morton, and out of the state. The old trail ran over the route as laid down here as far west as Gray, and from there it followed up the Arkansas river through Finney, Kearny and Hamilton counties to the Colorado line. Council Grove and Burlingame were the most noted stopping-places on the road. The trail was about 775 miles long, about 500 of which were within the limits of Kansas.

In 1847 a part of the Mormon emigration crossed northeastern Kansas as they passed west on their way to Utah. In the auditor's office, at Topeka, the official surveys show one of their trails leading from Fort Riley to the Nebraska line. In the early '50's the Mormons recruited at points near Atchison, Leavenworth, and Kansas City. Mormon Grove, near Atchison, was one of their favorite camping-places. This later Mormon emigration through Kansas used the California road.

The overland pony express, a rapid means of conveyance for dispatches and mail, ran from St. Joseph, Mo., to Sacramento, Cal., using the old California trail and stage road. The first trip was made April 3, 1860. They continued weekly, and later twice a week, for nearly eighteen months. The completion of the Pacific telegraph put an end to the famous pony express.

The Leavenworth and Pike's Peak express was established in 1859, to meet the wants of a direct route to the new gold-mines of western Kansas. It ran over the old Fort Leavenworth and Fort Riley road, *via* Easton, Winchester, Hickory Point, Pennsylvania House, Ozawkie, Rock Creek, Indianola, St. Marys, Louisville, Manhattan, and up the Kaw

California Road
Fremont's
Holladays
NEMAHA
BROWN
DONIPHAN
MARSHALL
Overland Stage Line
California Road
St. Joseph
Atchison
Jim Lane's Road
ATCHISON
JACKSON
RILEY
POTTAWATOMIE
Big Blue River
Thomas Say - 1819
JEFFERSON
Butterfield's Overland Dispatch
L. & P. P. Exp Line
LEAVENWORTH
WYANDOTTE
Fremont's Route - 1843
GEARY
WABAUNSEE
SHAWNEE
Thomas Say 1818
DOUGLAS
JOHNSON
Road
MORRIS
Santa Fe Trail
OSAGE
FRANKLIN
MIAMI
LYON
Neosho River
CHASE
COFFEY
ANDERSON
LINN
Pike's Route - 1806
Fort Scott
GREENWOOD
WOODSON
ALLEN
BOURBON
Fort Scott
Fell River
UTLER
WILSON
NEOSHO
CRAWFORD
ELK
Verdigris River
COWLEY
CHAUTAUQUA
MONTGOMERY
LABETTE
CHEROKEE
Geo A Root, Del., 1906

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valley to Fort Riley and Junction City; thence in a northwesterly direction along the divide between Chapman's creek and the Republican river, through Dickinson, Clay, Cloud, Mitchell, Jewell, Smith, Phillips, Norton, Decatur, Rawlins and Cheyenne counties, out of Kansas.

The California road, starting from St. Joseph, was used as early as 1847, and over it a great part of the Mormon travel passed. It ran through Doniphan county and through the Kickapoo reserve in Brown county; through Nemaha, Marshall and the northeast corner of Washington counties; then into Nebraska, following the South Platte westward.

Lane's road started from Nebraska City, Neb.; struck Brown county on Pony creek; Plymouth, on section 15, township 1, range 15 east; Lexington, section 18, township 2, range 15 east; passed near the old town of Powhattan, Brown county; crossed the northeast quarter of section 34, township 5, range 15, Jackson county, and on this quarter John Brown's "Battle of the Spurs" was fought; thence followed the present line of the Rock Island railroad to Topeka. The embargo placed on free-state travel in 1856 up the Missouri river caused Northern people to come overland through Iowa and Nebraska; hence the opening of the Lane road.

California trail from Fayetteville, Ark, connecting with the Santa Fe trail near Canton, McPherson county, as located by James R. Mead. Do not know its northern continuation.

Osage Indian trail, from the Verdigris river in Wilson county, westward to Osage hunting-grounds on the Arkansas river, as located by James R. Mead.

The Butterfield overland despatch route, extending from Atchison to Denver, *via* the Smoky Hill fork, a distance of 592 miles, and was operated by D. A. Butterfield in 1865-'66. There were fifty stations on the route through the following counties: Atchison, Jefferson, Shawnee, Pottawatomie, Riley, Geary, Dickinson, Saline, Ellsworth, Russell, Ellis, Trego, Gove, Logan, and Wallace.

The overland stage line to California ran out of Atchison and connected with the old California road at Kennekuk station, on the Kickapoo reserve, and over that route through the following counties: Atchison, Jackson, Nemaha, Marshall, and Washington. This line extended to Placerville, Cal., a distance of 1920 miles, and daily stages were run over it.—"The Overland Stage to California," by Frank A. Root.

In September, 1878, a band of Northern Cheyennes, under the leadership of Chief Dull Knife, left the Cheyenne and Arapahoe agency, in the Indian Territory, and started north to join their old friends, the Sioux. There were about 300 in the party, including eighty-seven warriors.

About the 14th of September they entered the state in Comanche and Barber counties in small squads and immediately began depredations. They then moved in a general northerly direction across the state, occupying eighteen days in the journey, attacking the settlers, pillaging and destroying property, and murdering thirty-two persons. They passed through the following counties: Comanche, Barber, Meade (where an all-day fight on Sand creek occurred between them and the settlers and United States soldiers), Gray, Finney, Lane, Scott, Logan, Gove, Sheridan, Decatur, and Rawlins. In Decatur county, on the Beaver, and in Rawlins county, many atrocious murders were committed by them. This was the last Indian raid through Kansas.

ERRATA AND ADDENDA.

Page 13, line 1 of note.—The "six daughters and five sons" were the children of Benjamin Spilman, the grandfather of A. C. Spilman, and not the children of Dr. James F. Spilman. A. C. Spilman is not a Presbyterian minister.

Page 19, line 4 from end.—For "Hattie M. Wills" read "Hattie M. Mills." Line 3 from end, for "1883" read "1885."

Page 126.—The date of address by Geo. W. Martin, at Lawrence, should read "October 3" instead of "October 2."

Page 162, line 12 of note.—For "1829" read "1831."

Page 166, line 2 from end of text.—For "also William Jackson" read "*alias* William Jackson."

Page, 169, last line of text.—For "six miles" read "ten miles."

Page 170, line 3.—For "20 x 40" read "25 x 50."

Page 176, note 27.—Rev. Joab Spencer writes that the $75 paid for each child was the amount the government paid the church for feeding, teaching and clothing the child. The Indian parents paid nothing. Judge T. S. Huffaker closed the Kaw school in 1854, because the government could not pay enough to justify him in continuing. "I think," says Mr. Spencer, "he was getting only $50 and the use of the farm."

Page 186, last line of text.—Matthias Splitlog was a Wyandot, and never identified with the Shawnees.

Page 190, line 4 from end of note.—After "appointed" insert "assistant."

Page 191, line 2.—This building had not been remodeled; Rev. Joab Spencer visited it in 1903, and the only change since forty years before was from decay and neglect.

Page 192, line 3.—"June 26, [1853]. Contrary to the general rule (it being Sunday), we leave for Wahkarrussi this morning, having learned that the Indians are assembled there for church service or meeting, and start early to witness the occasion, never having been at one of their missionary gatherings." Extract from Capt. J. W. Gunnison's journal, Pacific Railroad Explorations and Surveys, 1853-1854, vol. 2, p. 6.

Page 193, line 6 from end of text.—For "Mr. McAlister's" read "Mrs. McAlister's." This letter is found in Biography of the Rev. Jesse Greene, by Mrs. Mary Greene, 1852, p. 47.

Page 197.—In Mrs. Mary Greene's biography of her husband is contained the following letter of the Rev. William Johnson, missionary to the Kaws, then stationed at the mouth of Mission creek, Shawnee county:

"KANSAS MISSION, November 2, 1840.

"*Rev. Jesse Greene:* DEAR BROTHER—The past summer has been a time of sore trials and unusual apprehension to me. The Lord has tried me in a way in which I have never before suffered. I have felt and thought as I never before have done, and why it is so the Lord only knows. While thus smitten with grief, and almost ready to sink,

I received a kind letter from you which was to me as a visit from some friendly angel. I could not think why you should write to me; I had not received any letters from preachers (except on business) for a year or two. I had long ceased to expect one, when to my astonishment yours came, doubtless to convince me that I had friends and brethren who thought of me, who felt and prayed for me. I wish I was able now to testify the sincere gratitude of my heart for your kind and brotherly feelings toward me. I hope and pray that all your kindness and religious affection, which you have had or may have for me, if not gratefully reciprocated by myself, may be abundantly rewarded by 'our Father which is in heaven,' whose we are, and whom we have engaged to serve through our short lives.

"I am now at home alone; the Indians are gone and the whites are gone. You will at once be convinced that my condition is not enviable in point of social happiness. My great concern is about these poor Indians. What is to be the result of our toil here? I tremble at the thought; I feel conscious that the friends of missions, and even the preachers of our conference, will not understand the embarrassments which hang around this mission. The superintendent seldom sees, and, I often fear, too seldom thinks about us. In this condition I feel left alone to do a great work, for which I know myself to be inadequate. As necessary and desirable as help is, none can be obtained; yet all agree that we ought to have help. You could not expect that these things would fail to agitate my mind to some extent; yet I feel at present an anxiety to make an effort this year for the poor Kansas; although broken down in spirit and smitten low in feeling, I am willing, by the grace of God, to try. It may be the only and all the work the Lord has for me to do, to teach these poor heathen the way to heaven. I wish I had ability; I wish I had energy; but doubtless both are the gifts of God; then let me say, more correctly, I wish I had more religion, more of the warming love of God, more self-denial, more zeal for the salvation of souls; then, all would be well; then truly, 'labor will be rest, and pain sweet,' while God abides with His own people, and aids by His spirit in preaching His own word to perishing souls. Remember me to yours, in peace and love.—Wm. Johnson."

"This letter was written, if I mistake not, shortly after Brother Johnson had been called, by the painful dispensations of providence, to lay the remains of a beloved child among these savages." "This tribe of Indians go every fall further back into the interior, on their hunting excursions, and the white persons employed, either at the mission, or by the government, avail themselves of this opportunity to visit the settlements, or their friends."—Life of Rev. Jesse Greene, pp. 48, 49.

Page 198, second paragraph.—Mr. Peery did not design establishing a manual-labor school among the Kaws.

Page 204, last line of text.—On Sunday, July 29, 1906, a memorial white church was dedicated at White Church, in Wyandotte county, on the site of the old church here mentioned. The sermon was preached by Bishop E. R. Hendrix, of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. The building is of white stone, of Old English style of architecture, costing $3000, and has been erected in honor of the early missionaries to the Delaware Indians; there is a memorial window to twelve of the early missionaries.

Page 206, line 3 from end of text.—For "brothers" read "cousins."

Page 216, line 11 from end.—The Rev. Joab Spencer writes: "As will be seen from the appointments, the Methodist Episcopal Church South was never without an organization."

Page 221, line 5 from end of text.—For "Rev. Mr. Love" read "Rev. George W. Love."

Page 225, line 6 from end of text.—For "Kansas missions" read "Shawnee and Kansas missions."

Page 227, line 2 from end.—After "Delaware" insert "N. M. Talbot." Last line.—After "Kickapoo" insert "J. T. Peery, first half of year; Kansas, second half of year."

Page 228, last appointment under 1845, for "Kansas, J. C. Berryman," read "Kansas, J. T. Peery." Also, in the last appointment of 1846, substitute "Peery" for "Berryman"; during 1844, 1845 and 1846 J. C. Berryman was superintendent of Indian Mission conference.

Page 230, add to list of appointments for 1858, "Kickapoo, Charles Boles." In the appointments for 1859 and 1860, for "Delaware, N. T. Shaler," read "Delaware, Charles Boles." In appointments for 1861, after "Delaware" insert "Charles Boles."

Page 297, Steamer Admiral (No. 1.)—This boat was on the Missouri river in 1843. "Log of the steamboat Omega, from St. Louis to Fort Union. 1843. June 26. . . . Met the steamboat Admiral at Weston."—Chittenden's American Fur Trade of the Far West, p. 1003.

Page 300, C. W. Sombart to Phil E. Chappell:

"In camp near GOSPORT, IND., August 15, 1906.

"*Friend Phil.:* Yours of June 29th received some time since. In reply: The steamer C. W. Sombart was built at Jeffersonville, Ind., in 1857, by myself and associates, A. L. Shortridge, T. E. Draffen, C. W. Sombart, and Julius Sombart. I was captain of her, and ran in the trade to Glasgow until June, 1858. The C. W. Sombart was destroyed by fire, at St. Louis, in June, 1858. The dimensions of the Sombart were 220 by 33 feet beam, 6 feet hold; cylinders 22 inches in diameter and 7 feet stroke. I afterwards bought the Carrier, and commanded her until she sank, near St. Charles, in 1861. I wish it was so I could sit down and talk an hour with you about the good times when we were young and steamboating was in its prime. As well as I remember, I commanded the following boats, but do not think such information you need: C. W. Sombart, Carrier, Jennie Lewis, Marcella, Clara, Nile, Mountaineer, Martha, Stephens, Rob Roy, Post Boy, Isabella, and Dakota.—H. MCPHERSON. (My post-office is Gosport, Ind.)

Page 301, Steamer Emma.—"Five companies of the Eighth Kansas volunteers, B, E, H, I, and K, with a battalion of the Seventh Kansas, embarked on board the steamer Emma, May 28, 1863, at Leavenworth, and left at daylight the following morning, going down the Missouri river; they landed at Columbus, Ky., and went from there by rail to Corinth, Miss."—F. A. ROOT.

Page 306, Martha C. Jewett.—Extract from letter of Phil. E. Chappell, of August 27, 1906:

"There was never but one Jewett on the river. His name was Wm. C. Jewett, and he built, and ran as commander, the Lewis F. Linn, Rowena (1), and Martha C. Jewett (named for his sister). This was in the '50's, and, although I was then but a lad, I remember him as well as if it was yesterday. He was a small, dapper little fellow, exceedingly polite and affable, and was a general favorite with the traveling public and the shippers. He was about thirty years old when I first knew him, dressed always in the height of fashion, and, being a bachelor, was an especial favorite with the young ladies of Boonville, Glasgow, Lexington, and other lower-river towns. I have known people to wait two weeks for Captain Jewett's boat in going to St. Louis,

and I have known him to hold his boat at a landing for an hour waiting for an old farmer to haul in his last hogshead of tobacco, which had been delayed on the road. Is it any wonder that he was the most popular captain that ever ran the river? Captain Jewett died at the age of about forty-five, at the Planter's House in St. Louis, with the cholera. This was, I think, in 1849 or 1850. He was from one of the New England states. He left a nephew, Jewett Wilcox, who became a noted hotel man in Chicago in the '60's, but no immediate descendants."

Page 309, Steamer Radnor.—Francis Parkman, on his trip to the Pawnees, in the summer of 1846, for the preparation of "The Oregon Trail," came up the Missouri river on the Steamer Radnor, leaving St. Louis April 28, 1846.

Page 316, Steamer Walter B. Dance.—Charles Gerteisen, agent for the A. T. & S. F., at North Topeka, Kan., came from St. Louis to Kansas City in the summer of 1866 on this boat.

Page 316.—Frank A. Root gave the following names of Missouri river boats too late to be added to Mr. Chappell's list: The Converse, 1866, ran between Atchison and Leavenworth; the Lyon; the Lyre; the Mexico. From a letter written by Mr. Root, dated Atchison, K. T., June 11, 1860, to the Wellsboro (Pa.) *Agitator*, the following is taken: "The steamers Spread Eagle, Chippewa, and Key West, composing the fleet of the American Fur Company, were stuck on sand-bars several hundred miles above the Kansas-Nebraska line in the spring of 1860, waiting for the annual June rise of the Missouri to release them."

Page 316.—Of interest here is an article taken from the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, July 15, 1906:

"Passing from the lower Mississippi river to the Missouri is noted the Clara, whose captain, Isaac H. McKee, was married in 1848, if the writer remembers correctly, to Miss Mary Homan, a beautiful belle of Boonville. . . . Thomas E. Tutt, F. M. Dozier. Polar Star, E. F. Dix, master, with H. M. Blossom as clerk.—This boat had the proud distinction of making the run from St. Louis to St. Joseph in two days and twenty hours, and for that achievement the boat 'held the horns' for a couple of seasons, when the James H. Lucas, under the command of Capt. Andrew Wineland, wrested them from her by making the run in two days and twelve hours. The New Lucy.—Under the command of Captain Conley, with Pilot John Massey (now alive in St. Louis), had the record of making the quickest run to Waverly, a few miles below Lexington, where she met with an accident which disabled her machinery; had she been able to go through to St. Joseph, she would undoubtedly have broken the record of the Lucas. The A. B. Chambers, Gormley.—Named after one of the early owners of the St. Louis *Republican*; this boat was one the most beautiful steamers on any of the Western rivers; was lost at Atchison in the spring of 1859. Rounding into the wharf at that place, she was drawn into an eddy, thrown onto a snag, and broken up almost instantly. Fortunately, although she had an unusually heavy passenger list, not a single individual was lost. The Martha Jewett, Silver.—This craft was built by Captain Jewett, known as 'Dandy' Jewett, and commanded by him possibly until the day of his death. She was a magnificent vessel, and had the credit of making the record trip from St. Louis to Lexington. . . . F. X. Aubrey, Reader.—Named for the man who made the ride from Santa Fe to Independence in six days and was afterwards killed by Major Weightman in a saloon brawl at that place. Sultan, McCoy. . . . Admiral, W. H. Baker.—This is the boat which sunk at Parkville with a heavy cargo of whisky on

board. The wreck of the boat was visible within a stone's throw of the shore for many months; but no effort was ever made to recover the whisky, possibly because the price of the wet goods was too low to justify the expense. Within the last fifteen years, however, thousands of dollars have been spent in an effort to locate the hull of the Admiral, but without avail."

Page 316.—For "Kate Sweeney Bend" read "Kate Swinney Bend." She was named for the daughter of Capt. W. D. Swinney, of Glasgow, Mo., a wealthy tobacco manufacturer.

Page 319.—The name of Brierly occurs in several places in this volume in the river articles, sometimes as "Captain Brierly," "Thomas F. Brierly," and as "Thomas H. Brierly." All references should read "Thomas H. Brierly." The following is a letter from Phil. E. Chappell on the subject:

"KANSAS CITY, MO., August 23, 1906.

"*My Dear Mr. Martin:* I have just returned home from Colorado and find your favor of the 20th.

"There was never but one man on the river named Brierly, and his name was Thomas H. Brierly. He was one of the most popular and well-known captains on the river and commanded several boats, among them the Ben W. Lewis, El Paso, Morning Star, F. X. Aubrey, and the famous James H. Lucas. If I am not mistaken, he built the Lucas, Morning Star, and Lewis.

"The Lewis was named for Ben W. Lewis, of Glasgow, Mo., a very wealthy tobacco manufacturer and large shipper. It was important to obtain his patronage, and when Tom Brierly was about to select a name for his new boat (1857) he went to Mr. Lewis and told him he proposed to name his boat for him, and offered to allow him to take an interest in her. Mr. Lewis saw a little further ahead than most men, and probably saw the decline in steamboating. He said: 'Tom, I don't know about steamboat stock. I know that when I buy tobacco at 10 cents per pound and sell it at 50, I ain't losing anything; but I don't know about steamboats.'

"Captain Thomas H. Brierly quit the business in time to save his fortune. He died on his farm near St. Joseph, Mo.

"I enclose you a letter from my old friend, Capt. Henry McPherson, in relation to the fate of the C. W. Sombart. The captain is now over 80."

Page 330, line 4 from end of text.—For "progress" read "project."

Page 333, line 15.—"April 19" should read "April 12."

Page 366, line 19 of note 6.—After "Pierce, A. C.," for "1861" read "1862."

Page 414, line 13 of note 1.—William J. Bryan did not receive the electoral vote of Kansas in 1892. In 1892 the vote of Kansas for president was: Benjamin Harrison, 157,241; James B. Weaver, 163,111; consequently the ten votes of Kansas in the electoral college were cast for James B. Weaver. The vote for president in 1896 was: William McKinley, 159,345; William J. Bryan, 172,854; and the ten votes of Kansas in the electoral college that year were cast for William J. Bryan.

Page 435, line 18 from end of text.—For "J. F. Lindsey," of company F, Eleventh Kansas, read "John G. Lindsay."

The name "Robitaille" occurs on pages 82, 187, 188, 235 and 469 of this volume, under different spellings. To a deed dated September 7, 1866, given the Historical Society by Mrs. Alfred Gray, is affixed the signature "Robert W. Robitaille."

Page 302, *et seq.:*

"KANSAS CITY, MO., September 7, 1906.

"*Mr. Geo. W. Martin:* In answer to your inquiries about Captain Throckmorton, I have to say that there was but one Captain Throckmorton on the river, and his Christian name was Joseph W. He ran the river many years, probably from the '40's to 1860, or perhaps later. I remember him well. He was a short, heavily built man, and while never as popular as Jewett, Brierly, Nanson, and some other captains, was always considered one of the best navigators on the river. He differed from most of the old-time steamboat men, in that he never used profane language, and did not countenance it on his boats. During his long career on the river, if my memory serves me right, he commanded the General Brooks, Malta, John Golong, War Eagle, and Florence. I do not think that he ever commanded the Platte Valley. Capt. W. C. Postal built that boat at Jeffersonville, Ind., in 1857, and she came out in the spring of 1858. Postal commanded her, I know, in 1858 and 1859, and sold her in the fall of 1859 or 1860. Throckmorton may have then run on her afterwards. Captain Throckmorton was one of the few old Missouri river steamboat men who stuck to the Union during the civil war. He was quite an old man when I last saw him, in 1860. I do not know when or where he died, but when he passed away there died one of the most-honored men ever on the river."—PHIL. E. CHAPPELL.

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